ISKOS 28

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The Modern Conflict Archaeology and History of a German Second World War Transition Camp in Hanko, South Finland

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THE MODERN CONFLICT ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF A GERMAN SECOND WORLD WAR TRANSITION CAMP IN HANKO, SOUTH FINLAND

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Helsinki, for public examination in auditorium PIII, Porthania, on 12 October 2024, at 10 o'clock.

Helsinki 2024

Deutsches Lager Hanko 1942–1944. The Modern Conflict Archaeology and History of a German Second World War Transition Camp in Hanko, South Finland
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Cover image: Original colour slide of the Urlauberlager of Deutsches Lager Hanko in early May 1943 acquired by the author from the personal archives of Mr. Siegfried Ehrt. Hanko Museum.

Graphic design: Ville Korkiakangas

Layout: Liisa Kunnas

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ISBN 978-952-6655-42-0 (print)
ISBN 978-952-6655-43-7 (pdf)
ISSN 0355-3108

Printed by Waasa Graphics 2024

ABSTRACT

In the summer of 1942, construction of the large transition camp Deutsches Lager Hanko (until 1943 Deutsches Lager Hangö) commenced on Cape Tulliniemi at the southernmost tip of Finland. The camp was large for Finnish circumstances and built to facilitate the transports of the ever-growing number of German soldiers travelling on furlough between Finland and Germany. During its little over a two-year-long existence German soldiers, Ukrainian auxiliary volunteers and female auxiliary helpers in the camp defied the ever-changing and at times very harsh conditions on the windy cape and found ways to adapt to nature and to interact with the local community.

Archival material on the German military presence in Hanko and the German transition camp on Cape Tulliniemi during the Second World War is virtually non-existent. Multidisciplinary modern conflict archaeology can therefore play a vital role in trying to understand the history and make sense of the reality of life in the large camp. Conflict archaeology research of the remaining constructions and the finds and features buried in the soil illustrate the daily life of men and women in transit. The diverse materiality of the camp provides clues and answers to questions such as how the camp was built, how waste disposal was organized and how the men and women in the camp lived and interacted with the surrounding nature and the townspeople of Hanko.

A broader and perhaps more creative approach than what is usually associated with archaeology is necessary for achieving an understanding and appreciation of extensive and complex Second World War sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko. This new approach includes a rethinking of the excavation and documentation methods used, as well as careful consideration when making decisions where the finds are kept for future generations and about what to conserve, preserve and not to preserve post-excavation. To get a more complete picture of life in the camp from the individual perspective of the German soldiers and their interactions with the civilian community in Hanko it is necessary to find new and sometimes unorthodox ways to trace relevant research material. Collecting war memorabilia is a huge business, and collectors' constantly hunger for Second World War items. Finds like photographs, personal diaries, letters as well as lost artefacts related to the camp in Hanko can therefore be found on internet web auction sites, in estate sales and in personal collections all over the world. These finds help fill in the blank spots and explain the materiality found in the ground. The addition of photographic art research to modern conflict archaeology research facilitates the analysis of the finds and surviving structures of the camp by allowing them to be studied in close detail and from many different perspectives.

Modern conflict archaeology research of the German transition camp in Hanko increases the knowledge of and interest in the Second World War among the public, especially among schoolchildren. The excavation finds, which mostly consist of mundane everyday civilian artefacts, offer a new and almost totally overlooked glimpse into the materiality of the Second World War. The finds from the dumpsites of the camp bring humanity and the individual experience of war to the fore and provokes relevant discussions and thoughts about the role of ordinary humans caught up in a World War. Second World War camp sites should be considered cultural heritage sites, despite their relatively young age. Sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko provide an important research and tourism potential for future generations and are part of the historical cultural landscape much in the same way as prehistoric dwelling sites and medieval villages or building foundations from the 18th century.

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PREFACE

My journey with the archaeology of recent armed conflicts started as a seven-year-old child in the small seaside town of Hanko. In the late 1960s the area around our small but cozy summer home in Kapellhamnen harbour was scarred by the battles between Finnish and Soviet forces during the Second World War, and debris from the conflict could be found almost everywhere. It was here, during what now seems like endless sunny and warm summer days, that I and other small boys roamed the beaches, islands, and woods looking for war junk that we proudly displayed in crude wooden boxes at home (Photo 1). Those carefree summer adventures left a lasting impression on me and led me to start my studies in archaeology and history in the early 1980s.

During my childhood and early youth my parents always encouraged me to buy books, and even contributed financially if I decided to spend my savings on scientific literature instead of comics. As a result, I frequently visited the Academic Bookstore in Helsinki on the hunt for new exiting reads about the Second World War and archaeology. Here, in the middle of books about ancient Rome and Greece, I stumbled upon a book about the archaeology of war for the first time.

The book I picked up from the shelf was titled *Battlefield Archaeology* and was written by the Australian military historian John Laffin (1922–2000). The book was not a scientific one, it contained many pictures and was easy to read, and I could relate to much in it because of my childhood digs in Hanko. It was also informative in all its suggestions about where and how to look for wartime artefacts and what to make of the finds, but I longed for more, and remember thinking it lacked some depth.

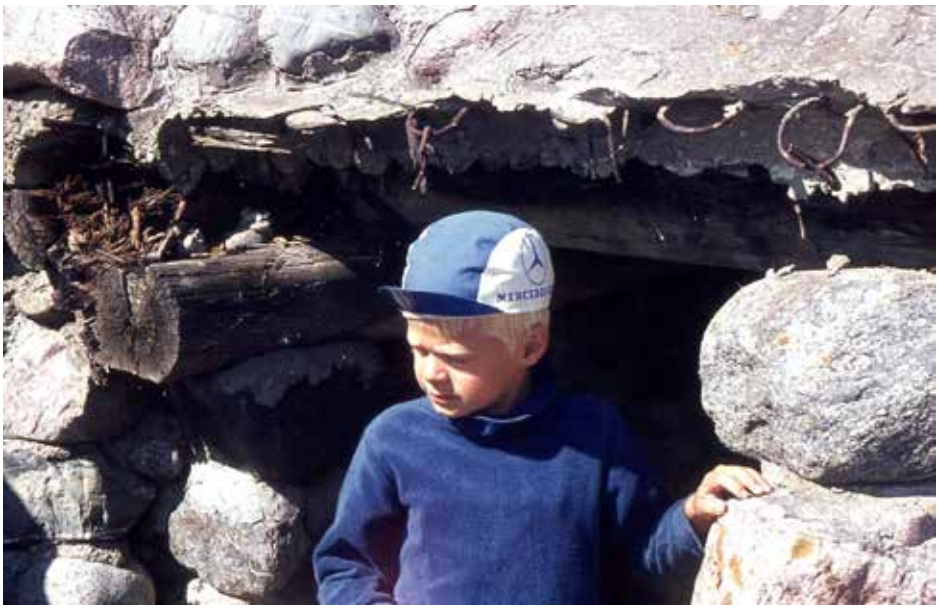

Photo 1. The author exploring a Soviet Second World War bunker in Hanko in 1969. Photo by the author's father Leif Fast.

One of the many pictures in the book made an everlasting impression in me. The picture showed a key to room 169 of the Strand Palace Hotel in London found by the author in the no man's land of a First World War battlefield near Givenchy in northern France (Laffin 1987: 50). In the picture caption, Laffin speculates about the history of the key:

> The key… arouses much speculation; perhaps a young officer stayed at this London hotel while on leave – no private soldier could have afforded to do so. Perhaps he was killed in a general attack or when on patrol or blown to pieces by a shell. In any case, he disappeared while the key remained. The place at which I found it suggests that when he died, he was half-way between the opposing front line trenches. I wish it were possible to know with whom this officer spent his last leave during the Great War. (Laffin 1987, 50)

I found the idea of tracing the tragic history of an individual soldier from a single artefact discovered on the battlefield utterly intriguing and yearned for more literature on the topic. To my great disappointment and despite tens of visits to the same bookstore during the upcoming years no new books about the archaeology of the First or the Second World War emerged but the image of the key stayed in my mind.

My archaeology studies, first at the University of Turku and a few years later at the University of Helsinki, from the mid-1980s onwards were entirely focused on prehistoric archaeology. Already during the first lectures of my academic studies, I was promptly taught that archaeologists in Finland deal with the time before 1050 AD and historians with the time after that. Nobody questioned this strict division between archaeology and history. No one ever mentioned that archaeology could contribute to the research of the First or the Second World War. Like almost all my colleagues, during my career as a field archaeologist from 1987 onwards I was totally preoccupied with the archaeology of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron age of Finland.

In 1990, during my early years as a field archaeologist, I successfully excavated a Swedish soldier's croft from the late 18th century in Vasa Sundom, western Finland. As a result of the excavation, I was able to track down the history of the building and the sad fate of the individual soldier who lived in it for a short while before he was killed in the battle of Oravais on 14 September 1808. A visit to that battlefield later that same year provoked an early interest in battlefield archaeology of the armed conflicts of the 18th and 19th centuries, but my planned excavations and surveys of the area came to nothing.

In 2005, the British TV series *Two Men in a Trench* caught my attention, followed up by the TV series *Finding the Fallen* in 2007. That very same year I conducted archaeological excavations of Hertoniemi Manor, the home of vice-admiral Carl Olof Cronstedt, who was the commander of the Sveaborg sea fortress outside Helsinki in the early 19th century. It was after this excavation that I gradually decided to pursue the archaeology of the recent and contemporary past side-by-side with archaeological excavations of prehistoric sites.

In 2009, I read a news article about how Finnish archaeologist Oula Seitsonen had excavated a prisoner of war camp for Soviet soldiers in northern Finland (*Yle* 11 August 2009). A few years later I picked up the book *Beyond the Dead Horizon: Studies in Modern Conflict Archaeology* by Nicholas J. Saunders from the library of the University of Helsinki in 2012. It was at this point that I finally realized that the sites I had been digging as a child in Hanko could now be considered cultural heritage and be investigated by archaeologists in a scientific and multidisciplinary manner!

In 2013, after conducting over 100 excavations of mainly Stone Age dwelling sites and spending over twenty excavation seasons in the field, I felt that I needed to find a new angle and new motivation for my research. I contacted war historians, fellow archaeologists in Finland, and archaeology students from the University of Helsinki to form a research team that would conduct conflict archaeology excavations of Second World War sites and battlefields in Finland. Because of my previous interest in Hanko and its wartime history, this area seemed a good place to start.

A meeting with representatives from Hanko Museum was set up in March 2014 to discuss my plans. It was during this meeting that museum director Laura Lotta Andersson suggested that instead of excavating battlefield archaeology sites

in the Hanko archipelago I might want to look at the area of the former German transition camp on Cape Tulliniemi. A nature trail was about to be opened in the area and the adjacent remaining German Second World War barracks were to be demolished for safety reasons in the immediate future. As the fate of the barracks was to be decided within the following weeks, documentation of the site was urgent. I decided to take a closer look at the site which I had never even heard about before.

My first visit to Deutsches Lager Hanko took place only a day after that meeting. Equipped with only a camera, I found myself standing alone and in total awe amidst the eerie and crumbling German Second World War period barracks. The weather was grey, cold, and damp, and the smell of decaying wood and the sea filled the air as the barracks squeaked and squealed in the wind. It felt as though time stood still, and after a long stroll in the area I started to realize the research potential of the site. Questions like what happened here, who walked through these doors and looked through these windows, ran through my mind. I wanted to find artefacts related to the camp, research them and the surviving structures, and ultimately tell the story of the forgotten camp and the German soldiers who once passed through here on their way back to Germany or the wilderness of the northernmost Arctic front between 1942 and 1944. I wanted to let the finds from the excavations of the site, archive sources, and the remains of the architecture tell the story of the camp but in 2014 hardly any historical source material other than a map of the camp from March 1944 was available. I thought that eventually I would find some archive material to support the archaeology of the site, but little did I know then how difficult this would be, what lay ahead and how long and complex my journey with the German soldiers in Hanko would become.

As the excavations of the camp got underway and the years went by, finds from the camp started to accumulate, but finding background material about the camp in the archives continued to be very difficult. Important period items such as photographs, letters, and diary entries from the time of the camp could not, with a few very rare exceptions, be found either in German or Finnish archives. In my search for these important historical artefacts, I decided to turn to the German eBay internet auction site, crowdsourcing, and the local community in Hanko. At first my mission was only to find a few photographs to illustrate the German presence in Hanko during the Second World War. Later, I turned the focus to the camp itself and to all kinds of items that could be associated with the camp and the journeys of German soldiers passing through the town between 1942 and 1944. The search for artefacts such as photos and other personal items and memorabilia associated with the camp with the help of social and traditional media, relatives of German soldiers, militaria collectors and international auction houses soon became a daily activity that lasted through the whole research process.

During the many years of research, I also participated in the planning and building of a photographic art research exhibition in Helsinki and two more traditional museum exhibitions directed towards the public in Hanko. The efforts to reach out to the community with these exhibitions were not in vain, and generated important contacts with relatives of German war veterans and the discovery of new artefacts that supported the research work immensely. The unique artefacts gathered through this tedious, time consuming and hard work added greatly to the finds from the archaeological excavations of the site. In the end they made it possible to present a much broader and detailed picture of the history of the former German transition camp in Hanko than would have been possible by traditional archaeology and scarce archive sources alone.

Modern conflict archaeology is still a very new branch of conflict archaeology, and mostly unknown to people with an interest in the Second World War in Finland. "Why excavate something that is so close to us in time?", "Don't we know all about that already?" are questions that I encountered during my research on a regular basis. I hope this thesis answers these relevant questions. Finally, there is of course the important issue of what to do with all the finds post-excavation. This is a question my mother raised already in my childhood when she watched me carry more and more war junk into our summer home in Hanko. I feel

that we need to look at the materiality of modern wars from a different perspective than finds from prehistoric sites. Not all conflict archaeology finds can or should be preserved for posterity in museum collections in Finland as is the rule with traditional archaeological finds. Instead, finds such as food-ration cans and bottle fragments can contribute to the historical value of the site itself and form a part of the public's overall experience when displayed among the crumbling ruins of what once was Deutsches Lager Hanko.

The following work is not only the result of seven excavation seasons and interdisciplinary conflict archaeology research in Hanko between 2014–2019 and 2022–2023 but also of years of intense work in my workspace in Helsinki during the winter months from 2014 to 2024. With the publication of this thesis, I kind of feel that my life as an archaeologist has come full circle. I now perform scientific archaeological excavations in areas where I roamed and dug as a child, and add pictures that my father and I took in the 1960s to excavation reports and publications I write in 2024. Although I realize I have come a long way since those childhood days sometimes I feel that same overwhelming feeling when a special kind of wartime artefact comes out of the ground and starts telling its story. The archaeology of the Second World War is much about just that – stories that need to be told. The mundane finds illustrate personal fates and events in a global industrial war, they bring the horrors and stories of the past to this day and provoke questions and debate.

Helsinki 29 June 2024,

Jan Fast

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous people and institutions have contributed to this thesis by offering help, support, insights, or research materials and all of them deserve my heartfelt thanks. To begin with, I would like to offer my sincere gratitude to Professor of Archeology Mika Lavento, who in 2015 suggested that I could write my thesis about the archaeology and history of the German transition camp in Hanko instead of the Neolithic Stone Age of southern Finland. A very special thanks goes out to my supervisors, Professor Volker Heyd and Docent Oula Silvennoinen from the University of Helsinki, for their guidelines and honest opinions and for keeping me focused throughout the entire writing process. Professor emeritus Nicholas Saunders and Associate Professor of Contemporary Archaeology Stein Farstadvoll from UiT, the Arctic University of Norway, read through and commented on the manuscript of the thesis. Their suggestions about what to do to improve the text was very important during the last stages of the writing process.

In Hanko, Mr. Tomy Karlsson helped me with finding people to interview and stood by my side from the first days of research to the last. Always happy to help me out with photos, the Hanko harbour books, or whatever difficulties or questions I encountered over the years, his help was always much appreciated. Mrs. Gerda Smorra, the daughter of German officer Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver who travelled through the camp in Hanko to his death in the battles on the Arctic front before her birth, supplied me with the original Feldpost letters, photographs, and pocket diary of her father. I will forever cherish the long talks she and I had during my visit to her home in Bremen in 2017. Mr. Reinhard Saalfeld helped me with the transcriptions of Gerhard Klöver's Feldpost letters along with several other letters and documents found on the Internet.

The yearly excavations at Cape Tulliniemi between 2014–2019 and the writing of this thesis would not have been possible without financial support from Hangö ommaruni, Sparbanksstiftelsen i Hangö, the Finnish Cultural Foundation, and the The Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland. Equally important to the successful fieldwork seasons were my excavation assistants, archaeologist, MA Teemu Väisänen, osteoarcheologist Fanny Fagerholm, and metal detectorist Lasse Nyman, without whom many of the dumpsites would never have been found or excavated. Annika Welander from the Freeport of Finland helped us out with the drive-through permits and paperwork during the numerous visits to the fenced off areas of the camp. Many archaeology students from the University of Helsinki, and abroad, contributed to the research during the several excavation seasons, not to mention the around 200 persons who participated in the community archaeology excavations over the years. I would also like to thank the photographic art research project *Poetic Archaeology* led by Jan Kaila and administered by The University of the Arts in Helsinki for their co-operation between 2015–2017.

The very large number of finds from the excavations and other items found a home in the Hanko Front Museum, and now form a very good reference collection for future conflict archaeology research of the Second World War. The close co-operation with museum director Jörgen Engroos over the years resulted in co-operative and pedagogic conflict archaeology excavations directed towards schools in Hanko in the years to come. Hanko Museum hosted a large exhibition based on the results from the excavations in 2018–2019. This exhibition would not have been half as good as it was without the help of the cunning staff from the Hanko Museum, museum director Laura Lotta Andersson, Kim Kidron, and Lassi Patokorpi.

The work started and ended with maps. Cartographer Marjo Karppanen helped me with the mapping of the site and the re-drawing of the original map of the camp for this thesis, for which I am eternally grateful.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Irma and Leif Fast, and my wife Nina Skopa-Fast, for always believing in me and supporting my choice of profession. Without you this thesis would never have come to be.

1 INTRODUCTION

> "The sea retains no trail,
> of ships that there have passed. And the wind whispers no names, of the ones that were on board.
>
> No rock or sand preserves, what once in time did happen. And wooden houses crumble when their day is done.
>
> What's left is just a saying that the burning tells.
> To the one who listens in the night
> among the ocean's nymphs and trolls."
> (Reuter 1934: 5. Translation by the author[1])

The poem above was originally written in Swedish for a theatrical play in Hanko before the Second World War (Reuter 1934). Little did the writer then know how well it would describe the forgotten and mostly lost fates and stories of the German soldiers and the ruins of the German transition camp in Hanko in 2024. Over 60 million people perished in the Second World War, and on this almost incomprehensible scale the German casualties and the events of the war on the far northern front might seem tiny. Set against this backdrop the events that occurred in Finland and the small town of Hanko and within the borders of the German transition camp situated there between 1942 and 1944 might appear inconsequential.

And still, the continuous stream of German soldiers passing through Hanko between 1942 and 1944 is a reminder of the all-engulfing power of the Second World War. The words of the German soldiers in their letters and diaries, the photographs and documents, the silent and slowly decaying barracks as well as the common and mundane artefacts in the soil, all bear witness to the tragedies that ordinary human beings experienced amongst the crushing and devastating historical events. In the German army as in all other armies during the Second World War, the soldiers constantly longed for furlough. Every German soldier, including those of them who fought in the desolate areas of the northernmost front, were entitled to at least one, usually 7 to 14-day long home leave, once a year. Besides the home leave there were many other types of furloughs, for instance recovery leave, special leave and recreation leave (also known as front leave). These furloughs could also be added to by permission to help with farm work at home or in the case of the death of a close relative.

In Nazi-Germany the home-leave was not only a military issue aimed at letting the soldiers meet their loved ones and their families during the strained times of war. It was also an important and regulated political tool that linked the frontlines and the home front. During their furloughs the soldiers were supposed to not only recover from their war strains and gain strength but also to boost the morale of the people at home. At the same time the relatives, especially the soldiers' wives, were supposed to make the soldiers visit at home as carefree and happy as possible (Packheiser 2020, 13). Many engagements and marriages were formed and children conceived during the home-leaves, either for personal reasons or as part of the population policy of the Nazi-regime (Packheiser 2020, 376). The soldiers as well as their next of kin were usually both physically and mentally stronger after a home leave, which served the long-term goals of the Nazis. It can also be argued that the furlough system prolonged the war, as both soldiers at the front and the people at home dreamed about the next home leave, peace, and ultimately the long-awaited homecoming of the soldiers when the war was over (Packheiser 2020, 448).

On the Finnish front, the much-awaited journey of the German soldiers travelling on home-leave started on the frontlines, or wherever in Finland they were stationed. From there the sol-

[1] All citations in this study have been translated by the current author, unless stated otherwise.

dier first had to make his way by foot, truck, bus, or some other transport to larger towns like Rovaniemi or Oulu, which were the main starting points of the long journey home. After registration it was time for a train journey either through neutral Sweden (until the summer of 1943) or through Finland to the large transition camps in Turku or Hanko in the south. Every week thousands of German soldiers would pass through the transition camp at Cape Tulliniemi, and for most of the German soldiers who were travelling on furlough from Finland to Germany between 1942 and 1944, Deutsches Lager Hanko would become a familiar place. The history and role of the German transition camp in Hanko and its much overlooked and forgotten Second World War heritage can only yield its full history through interdisciplinary research. To get the full picture, the history of the camp can, and I think should be, studied using the methodologies of modern conflict archaeology, community archaeology, photographic art research, and of course traditional archival, social history, and traditional historical research. It is only by using all means possible that we can attempt to grasp the reality of transition camps like Deutsches Lager Hanko.

In Finland, as in many other parts of Europe and the world, research on the Second World War has mostly been conducted by military historians. Many of these researchers have a personal background in the military or the armed forces. In genral, persons with a military background and education have an advantage in knowing more about tactics, military strategy, and warfare. This knowledge greatly increases their ability to research and understand wartime events such as battles and troop movements during armed conflicts. However, war is so much more than troop movements and military strategy. A good example of this is the book *Suomen laivasto 1918–1968* which details the sea operations in the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea during the Second World War but hardly mentions the human cost of these battles or the war materiel and troop transports on the cargo ships (Kijanen 2008). Even in the latest book about Finland in the Second World War, the important issue of the German troop transports and the logistics of the war behind the frontlines is left out entirely by the war historians (Visuri et al. 2024).

During the past twenty years research on the Second World War in Finland, including its battles, chains of command, different personalities, and even personal relations of the Finnish commanding generals, have been studied by historian Lasse Laaksonen a researcher in the field of humanistic sciences. At first his approach was not appreciated by the traditional, military based research community. As one Finnish military historian with a background in the military told him:

> A researcher with a background in the humanistic sciences shouldn't even attempt to understand the complex events of war, only a person with a military background can truly understand the nature of war and the events surrounding it. (Lasse Laaksonen 2014, personal communication)

Historian Oula Silvennoinen who also has a background in the field of traditional historical research, has written his PhD thesis and published several books from 2008 onwards touching on sensitive issues regarding the relationship between Finland and Nazi Germany during the Second World War. His attempt to look at the dark sides of the Finnish-German brotherhood of arms 1940–1944 aroused a fierce debate from right wing extremists and made him a target on social media (Oula Silvennoinen 2017, personal communication).

Conflict archaeology research on the Second World War is a rather new phenomenon in all Nordic countries. In Finland, the role of archaeology in the research of the Second World War was virtually non-existent until the first excavations of Second World War prisoner-of-war camps were conducted by archaeologist Oula Seitsonen in Finnish Lapland in 2009. Apart from a few articles in newspapers, this excavation and the surveys and other fieldwork that followed in the far north went much unnoticed until the start of the multidisciplinary academic research project *Lapland's Dark Heritage* (2014–2018). Seitsonen's doctoral dissertation *Digging Hitler's Arctic War: Archaeologies and Heritage of the Second World War German military presence in Finnish Lapland* was the

first published scientific conflict archaeology PhD thesis in Finland (Seitsonen 2018).

This study should be seen against this research background. It aims to answer a variety of questions such as how the troop and war materiel transports through Hanko were organized over time, how the German transition camp in Hanko was planned, laid out, built, and parts of it re-used after the Second World War, how life in the camp was adapted to the surrounding nature, fauna, and climate, and how the German soldiers in the camp lived and interacted with the civilian community in Hanko. As in archaeology in general, the materiality of the site is of importance when trying to get a more complete picture of daily life in the camp. Excavating and sorting the waste from the camp also provided clues as to how garbage disposal was organized within the camp. The finds from the dumpsites and the camp itself illustrate different activities in different parts of the camp, dealing with universal questions and showing both the limitations as well as the great possibilities of modern conflict archaeology research. The history of war has mostly been studied with a focus on the battles. Modern conflict archaeology research of sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko offers a unique glimpse into a different side of the war, far behind the frontlines. The complex picture painted by the excavation finds, letters, and other artefacts kept by the relatives of German soldiers in transit paint a picture of the fates and experiences of individual soldiers during their furloughs and other journeys through Hanko.

Finally, there is the question of what to do with Second World War sites post-excavation. What is the future status of the Second World War heritage of the area, and the material remains of the German transition camp in Hanko? The answer to this is intimately connected with the value we place on the heritage of the Second World War in general. Should the site be forgotten, or regarded as a protected heritage site, a place of remembrance, or a tourist attraction? What should we do with the thousands of excavation and other finds?

2 METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

> Is there really any difference between historical and archaeological sources, or is archaeology merely an 'expensive' method of verifying what we already historically know?
>
> Does archaeology really bring something new to the events of the war, or is it a worthless effort in dealing with such modern events? (Figenschau 2019: 82).

Overgrown remains from conflicts that took place only decades ago are like wounds that are slowly healing. The opinion that these scars of war in the landscape are better left untouched or covered up is something I have encountered several times during my research in Hanko. The general idea that we already know all that happened during the Second World War in Finland is quite widespread, too. The latter opinion is of course easy to dismiss as many of the smaller events of the Second World War left very few objective and researchable documents in the archives. However, what if the archaeological research of a military camp like Deutsches Lager Hanko serves another purpose? That is not to forget the past, but instead to bring forth the terrible personal tragedies of the Second World War in order not to forget. The crumbling military architecture and easily identifiable mundane artefacts from the excavations invite the participants of the dig and exhibition goers to a physical hands-on dialogue with the past. This experience can at best be overwhelming and engaging, and can form the basis for a deeper interest in history than what can be achieved by only reading books about the Second World War. However, on a theoretical level it is also worth remembering the words of Alfredo González-Ruibal: "An archaeology of the contemporary era, like psychoanalysis, often means to unearth what we already knew from the beginning but did not know that we knew it" (González-Ruibal 2019: 30).

2.1 The different archaeologies of recent history and conflicts

As already mentioned, the multidisciplinary archaeological research of the recent history and armed conflicts of the 20th century is quite a new phenomenon, and has only been established as subfields of archaeology during the past two decades (see, for instance, Graves-Brown 2000; Buchli & Lucas 2001; Holtorf & Piccini 2009; Mullins 2014; Olsen & Pétursdóttir 2014a; 2014b; Pétursdóttir & Olsen 2014; Pétursdóttir 2016; McAtackney & Penrose 2016; Seitsonen 2020). Although scattered excavations and documentation work occurred as early as the 1950s and 1960s, it can be argued that the archaeological research of modern history has its roots in the 1970s and 1980s. The field of research has always been quite diverse (Gould & Schiffer 1981: 1). In 1987 John Laffin published his book *Battlefield Archaeology* and in 2002 archaeological research of the battlefields of the First World War in series like *Two Men in a Trench* introduced the term Battlefield Archaeology to TV-viewers, as well as to aspiring conflict archaeologists like me. Battlefield Archaeology was later to become a sub-discipline under the more academic umbrella called Conflict Archaeology. The concept of Modern Conflict Archaeology, which can again be considered a sub-discipline of traditional Conflict Archaeology and Battlefield Archaeology was born between 1998–2004 and later found its home at the University of Bristol in Great Britain (Saunders 2012: 10).

2.1.1 The archaeology of the contemporary past

The rapid changes in our society over the past century have led to a situation where recent history is quickly forgotten and lost. This has led to a broad-

er interest among the public towards the archaeology of the recent (Harrison & Schofield 2010: 7). Especially in the United States, excavations of historically important sites from the 19th and 20th centuries were carried out long before the first excavations of similar sites took place in Europe. The archaeology of the contemporary past has its roots in projects like *The Garbage Project* run by William Rathje in the United States since the 1970s (Rathje & Murphy 2001). It can be summarized as a project that studies the living habits of people through interviews and surveys and compares the results of these with the garbage they leave behind (Burström 2007: 25–26). Extensive archaeological excavations of modern landfills have been carried out by the project. The results have supplied the researchers with a huge amount of information about for instance decomposition processes that have been helpful when creating new, more sustainable packing materials.

The archaeology of the contemporary past was introduced to the TV audience and archaeologists alike in the Nordic countries in 2005 in the form of a Swedish TV-series named *Utgrävarna* (The Diggers). The series became popular very quickly, and the last episode attracted an amazing 750 000 viewers but despite this a decision not to continue the series was made in late 2005 (Joo & Edvardsson 2005). In Sweden, Professor Mats Burström at Stockholm University has been active in promoting scientific contemporary archaeology research. According to him the archaeology of the contemporary past might not rewrite history, but it addresses many broad issues of relevance to archaeology in general (Burström 2017: 229). In an email at the start of my PhD research in 2014, Mats Burström pointed out to me that the archaeology of the contemporary past is also memory history, as it brings forth personal memories and emotions among the participants and the public (Mats Burström, 7 March 2014, personal communication via e-mail). Memories are often as fragmented as the finds encountered by archaeologists during archaeological excavations, they are often not reliable by themselves when trying to understand and reconstruct past events. He also points out that archaeologists need to be careful and recognize the emotional aspects they attach to the finds (Burström 2017: 221). According to him, archaeology is largely about trying to create order among the thousands of fragmented finds, agreeably an order that probably never existed in the first place. When dealing with the record of tragic and dramatic events in a war, keeping objective and focused is especially important.

Mats Burström pioneered the field with his book *Archaeology of the Contemporary Past* in 2007. The book supplied the reader with an overview and examples of fields of study, including a chapter named Bunker Archaeology. This chapter touches on the work done by the French urban philosopher and cultural theorist Paul Virilio between 1958–1965 (Burström 2007: 44–47). Virilio published his photographs and observations of the eerie bunkers and fortifications of Hitlers' Atlantic Wall in a book named *Bunker Archéologie* in 1975. In the book he pondered over their existence, both in relation to the Second World War and to the present day. He also reflected over their status, and how the remains (which were among the newest ones in the region) were reduced to grey and silent witnesses of a war that already had become history (Virilio 1994: 10–12). Virilio was possibly the first European to realize the value of Second World War ruins and their ability to convey a physical dimension to the history of war. The Second World War bunkers of Hitlers' Atlantic Wall are in many aspects like the German barracks of Deutsches Lager Hanko, in constant change, always threatening to collapse and provoking thoughts and discussion. Much like me, Virilio decided to record and explore the Second World War ruins, in order to give them a new meaning (Virilio 1994: 13).

2.1.2 Battlefield and conflict archaeology

The sinister and 'dark' history of the wars of the 20th century has been studied by many researchers over the past years (see, for instance, Dobinson et al. 1997; Saunders 2000; 2012; Schofield et al. 2002; 2006; González-Ruibal 2008; Schofield 2009; Burström et al. 2009; Gilead et al. 2009; Theune 2010; 2018; Myers & Moshenska 2011; Scott 2011; Moshenska 2013; 2015a; Carr et al. 2018). In Spain, archaeologist Alfredo González-Ruibal has worked

in several projects related to the archaeology of the contemporary past, particularly the archaeology of the Spanish Civil War (González-Ruibal 2020) and the archaeology of the trenches of the Franco dictatorship (González-Ruibal 2011). He has excavated battlefields and concentration camps, and touched on the possibilities and limitations encountered when combining public and community archaeology with conflict archaeology research over several decades. Needless to say, I was inspired by his work in my research of the Deutsches Lager Hanko.

Gabriel Moshenska points out that the archaeology of modern conflict is almost always controversial, and is dependent on the relationship between researchers and a wide variety of different actors. Already in 2008, he called for an ethical debate within the field of modern conflict archaeology (Moshenska 2008: 159–175). Ethical aspects were also taken into consideration during the research on Deutsches Lager Hanko where research often depended on co-operation with, for instance, relatives of German soldiers, local associations in Hanko and Finland in general, military enthusiasts, museum and city authorities, media, etc. It is important to integrate all of these actors in the research, despite that they all have their own political and/or ideological agendas or personal and collective interests. The battlefield and conflict archaeology of the contemporary past can also touch on sensitive political narratives in different countries. The research of the tragic history of the Second World War demands a careful and highly systematic approach to be successful. The Second World War in Finland involved soldiers of many different nationalities and it is crucial to have contact with for instance the respective embassies especially if the work touches on ethically sensitive issues like the exhumation of fallen soldiers and excavations of sites where human remains might be found. In Finland details regarding the exhumation of fallen soldiers and prisoners of war has been agreed upon in treaties between Finland and The Russian Federation and Finland and Germany. In Finland these treaties are coordinated by the association Sotavainajien muiston vaalimisyhdistys ry.

2.1.3 Modern conflict archaeology

Modern conflict archaeology offers a broader multidisciplinary toolkit and a more diverse approach to research events and structures of war than traditional battlefield or conflict archaeology. Modern conflict archaeology focuses on the research of the wars of the 20th and 21st centuries. The research topics are extremely varied, and the especially the multidisciplinary approach includes anthropological research of the social, cultural, and psychological aspects, as well as technological, military, and political issues. Because the research is focused on wars that occurred within the space of living memory, researching it requires a great deal of sensitivity and ethical consideration (Saunders 2012: 10).

Artefacts form an important part of modern conflict archaeology research (Schofield 2005: 53). These can be found in a wide variety of different places, on the other side of the world or near one's summer home, on the bottom of the sea, in a forest, or packed in a forgotten box in a museum, in the attic of a Second World War veteran, or for sale on Internet auction sites like eBay or the Finnish huuto.net. Mundane and easily identifiable artefacts like pipes, combs, bottles, and toothpaste tubes found during traditional archaeological excavations can provoke intense discussions and form a link between the present and the past. If the artefact can be connected to the personal history of the individual who once wore it or handled it can really tell a story.

Many of the locations like Deutsches Lager Hanko form multi-layered landscapes that can be understood, appreciated in cultural heritage management, or used in tourism after multidisciplinary research (Saunders 2012: 10). Landscape archaeology focusing on the landscape of war is perhaps the broadest scale on which military activity can be felt and assessed (Schofield 2005: 44). This is particularly true at Cape Tulliniemi where the beauty of the surrounding nature collides with the crumbling German wartime barracks and rusty mangled relics found in the ground. Remains of domestic buildings like barracks form an integral part of the experience of the camp. The barracks give an indication of how the soldiers lived and a true sense of authenticity to visitors of

the site (cf. Schofield 2005: 51). The architecture and the layout of camps and buildings or ruins also add value to the research. They make it possible to research patterns of use, social structures and how space was controlled or divided by convention, order, and discipline (Schofield 2005: 53).

As modern conflict archaeology research focuses on recent wars, memory history and the oral testimonies of individuals who witnessed the events can be documented, and previously recorded or published interviews can be added to the research. Although the passing of time fades and distorts these memories, recording them is usually highly emotive and engaging (Schofield 2005: 38). The interviews can also help in the archaeological research of the site by pointing towards interesting new areas to excavate, and giving a personal voice to the experience of war in a publication.

2.2 Archaeological research of Second World War sites in the Nordic countries

2.2.1 Conflict archaeology research of the Second World War in Sweden

Conflict archaeology excavations of Second World War related sites have been undertaken in Sweden at least since 2005. Sweden remained neutral during the entire war, and as a result the focus of the archaeological research has instead been on camps for escaped prisoners of war, training camps for Norwegian resistance fighters and internment camps for Baltic war refugees and holocaust survivors.

Among the excavated camps in Sweden is a former labor camp for Soviet prisoners of war situated in Krampen in northern Västmanland. The camp was constructed for Soviet prisoners of war that had escaped German captivity in Norway between 1943 and 1944. Excavations of the camp commenced in 2005, and interviews and archive material were compared with archaeological finds from the site (Lihammer 2006: 8–9). Even though the finds from the excavation did not add much to the known history of the site they confirmed details about life in the camp and its special circumstances (Burström 2007: 37). Film fragments found during the excavations proved that movies were shown in the camp and finds of bicycle parts showed that the many stories of how the Soviet prisoners of war worked hard to save up for bicycles were true (Lihammer 2006: 24).

In Sweden, archaeological fieldwork has also been carried out at the former internment camp for Estonian and Romanian war-refugees that was founded in 1944 at Lovön in Uppland, Central Sweden. The excavations at Lovön between 1999–2007 were primarily directed towards the extensive Iron Age gravesite located there, but as the research area was situated within the area of a much later Second World War internment camp this area was also included in the research (Petré 2011: 6). The excavation finds offer an insight into the life of the Estonian and Romanian refugees housed there during a period of 14 months between 1944 and 1945. Many everyday personal items were found during the excavations, including a hoard of 19 German Second World War coins from 1939–1944 that was found outside one of the barracks foundations (Petré 2011: 14–15; Fåhraeus et al. 2005). The results of the excavation showed that archive sources and the oral history of a site can be inadequate and wrong, and that artefacts in the ground tell their own story about the daily life of the refugees in the camp (Petré 2011: 16). More recently, archaeologist Mirja Arnshav has done research on the boats and materiality connected with Baltic refugees during the final stages of the Second World War. The research results were published in a doctoral thesis titled *De små båtarna och den stora flykten – Arkeologi i spåren av andra världskrigets baltiska flyktbåtar* in 2020 showcasing that archaeology is not always about excavations (Arnshav 2020).

The Skatås Project was a multidisciplinary modern conflict archaeology research project of an internment camp for holocaust survivors situated in Skatås, Göteborg on the west coast of Sweden between 1945 and 1946. The rather small-scale excavations in 2008 focused on using the archaeological finds as catalysts for memories and thoughts about the internment camp (Persson 2011: 52). The Eckersta camp in Södermanland on the southeast coast of Sweden was one of around

twenty camps in neutral Sweden that were used to train resistance fighters for the Norwegian resistance movement during the Second World War (Burström 2007: 37–38; Persson 2011: 51). In 2005 a small archaeological excavation was conducted on the site for the Swedish TV-series *Utgrävarna.* The few and mundane artefacts from the excavation mainly consisted of glass fragments, bottle caps and other small finds like a comb but the TV-program stirred a lot of discussions about the camp and its forgotten history.

In the summer of 2021, a field survey and documentation of Örnberget 1 in Norrbotten in northern Sweden was led by archaeologists Frida Palmbo and archaeologist Lars Backman from Norrbottens museum (Palmbo 2022). Their research was directed towards a group of house foundations that had possibly been used for allied radio transmissions in 1944–1945, then under the codename Sepals Blue.

The finds from the site included fragments of shoes and clothes, knives, metal cans, Second World War period newspaper fragments and a large battery that may well have been used to run a radio receiver. The battery was well preserved and very similar to batteries used by the Norwegian resistance movement during the Second World War. The fact that the area had been used both before, during and after the Second World War however made it difficult to tie any of the finds directly to the activities of the allied intelligence service.

2.2.2 Conflict archaeology research of the Second World War in Norway

In 1940 Norway was invaded by Nazi Germany, and during the 1940–1945 period some 400 000 German soldiers were stationed within its borders. Adding to this, altogether around 140 000 foreign Prisoners of War were imprisoned in Norway during the Second World War. Over 500 permanent or temporary camps were established in Norway between 1940 and 1945 to intern enemies of the Third Reich, including prisoners of war, slave labourers, political and criminal prisoners, and Norwegian Jews (Jasinski 2014: 146). In Norway, much like in all other Nordic countries research on and general knowledge about remains from Second World War camps and ideas of what to do with these in the future are developing rapidly. Several excavations of Second World War sites have been carried out over the years, the most recent ones being the excavations of the Second World War prisoner of war camps at Spittal, Kitzbühel, Sværholt, Kalvik, and the Romsdal peninsula.

The archaeological surveys and research of the second World War remains on the Romsdal Peninsula started in 2008. Funding for the project was granted by the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Jasinski 2014: 149). An important part of the archaeological survey of the Romsdal Peninsula was to detect important Second World War camps of the Atlantic Wall, slave workers and prisoners of war within the cultural landscapes and map and photograph them (Jasinski 2014: 151).

The research results provided the possibility to create a general typology of at least six different types of prisoner of war camps and slave labour camps in Norway 1940–1945 (Jasinski 2014: 158). The research in Romsdal resulted in a better understanding of the sites as structures of war and as parts of different and varying cultural landscapes in Norway, and raised the awareness of their potential as a research source in the future (Jasinski 2014: 151).

A camp for Soviet prisoners of war at Sværholt in northern Norway was established in 1942 as part of the construction of a German coastal battery, and then abandoned in 1944. Archaeological surveys of the area in 2001 and 2010 provoked an interest in excavating the remains, and archaeological excavations of the site were conducted over four consecutive excavation seasons between 2010 and 2013. The methods used in the research included detailed surveys of the camp area and mapping of all structures visible on ground surface, soil chemical sampling of the entire camp area, as well as digging trial trenches in the remains of dwellings and other structures (Grabowski et al. 2014: 7). The finds from the archaeological excavations challenged the common assumptions about the relationship between prisoners, guards, and locals, and suggested that life in the camp may have also included some measures of sympathy between the German soldiers and Soviet prisoners of war (Grabowski et al. 2014: 22).

The planned widening of the E6 road in the region of Sørfold in Nordland resulted in a conflict archaeology excavation of the Kalvik prisoner of war camp in 2017. The research methods used by archaeologists from the Arctic University of Norway included archaeological excavations, detailed documentation of visible Second World War structures, systematic metal detecting and phosphate analysis. Written sources, maps, and photos were also added to the research (Figenschau & Arntzen 2017). The research results shed light on the daily life of the prisoners of war in the camp and the differentiation of activities in different areas of the camp. The documentation revealed many unknown details about the construction of the camp as well as its internal logistics (Figenschau & Arntzen 2017).

The German-run prisoner of war camps Spittal and Kitzbühel in northern Norway were part of the German Lyngen-Stellung constructed by German forces as a last defensive line against the Soviet Union and manned from autumn 1944 to May 1945 (Figenschau 2016: 200–201; Figenschau 2019: 69). The prisoner of war camps, located quite close to each other, were partly excavated in 2015, and the excavation results were published in an article in 2019. The results provoked discussions and thoughts about the ability of conflict archaeology to bring something new or unexpected into the well-known narratives of the Second World War (Figenschau 2019: 15).

2.2.3 Conflict archaeology research of the Second World War in Finland

In Finland archaeological research of remains from the Second World War was practically non- existent before 2006. Much like in Sweden and Norway, a change in attitude towards conflict and battlefield archaeology started in the first decade of the 21st century, with publications and fieldwork by a handful of Finnish archaeologists (Seitsonen & Herva 2011: 178). The University of Helsinki has been particularly active in the field of interdisciplinary conflict archaeology research in Finland. Here the research has focused on a wide variety of different armed conflicts ranging from the First and Second World Wars to the Cold War period (Seitsonen & Thomas 2023: 217).

During the Second World War, the Germans built almost 100 prisoner of war and labour camps for some 30 000 Soviet prisoners of war in Finnish Lapland (Seitsonen & Herva 2011: 171). Archaeologist Oula Seitsonen's projects have focused on the mapping and surveying of these remains. Already in 2006, he started his conflict archaeology surveys in the Inari region and made some small-scale trial excavations of German-run prisoner of war camps and other Second World War sites in the area (Seitsonen 2018: 18). The first larger conflict archaeology excavation of the German Second World War military base in Peltojoki was conducted in 2009 (Seitsonen et al. 2017). The excavation produced the first archaeologically documented set of German finds from the Second World War period in Finland (Seitsonen & Herva 2011: 185). The excavation results from Peltojoki also added to the understanding that conflict archaeology of sites from the Second World War are not only about the war but also about human thinking, survival and interaction with the surrounding nature (Seitsonen & Herva 2011: 186). After Seitsonen's pioneering work, the torch of conflict archaeology has been carried by many more archaeologists and university students in Finland. Second World War conflict archaeology is now an accepted field of study among most archaeologists.

Lapland's Dark Heritage project started with funding from the Academy of Finland in 2014/2015. The five-year long project sought to understand the diverse cultural values and meanings of the material heritage associated with the Second World War in northern Finland (*Lapland's Dark Heritage* webpage). The multidisciplinary project involved a large international research team within the fields of archaeology, history, anthropology, ethnology, sociology and criminology. To achieve its conflict archaeology goals the project organized field surveys and small-scale community archaeology excavations of German sites in the areas of Inari and Rovaniemi. Oula Seitsonen, who participated in the project, submitted his PhD dissertation *Digging Hitler's Arctic War: Archaeologies and Heritage of the Second World War German military presence in Finnish Lapland* to the University of Helsinki in March 2018 (Seitsonen 2018). Even though the project officially ended in

2020, research continues, but on a smaller scale. Refugee camps from the so-called Lapland War between Finnish and German forces (1944–1945) have been documented by the project in Västerbotten in northern Sweden in 2018 (Seitsonen et al. 2019a: 10). In the Kilpisjärvi region surveys based on Lidar images and wartime air surveillance photos were still being conducted in the autumn of 2021. Mapping and surveying have also been conducted at the Second World War German airfield in Kaamanen, Inari (Oula Seitsonen, 18 October 2021, personal communication via Messenger).

In 2017, two university students, Aleksi Rikkinen with a background in geosciences, and war history enthusiast Eemil Sillanpää, realized that the Sturmbock-Stellung, a formidable German defensive line in Northwestern Finnish Lapland, was still mostly undocumented and unmapped. The fieldwork started in 2018, and during one month of intense fieldwork over 500 shelters, 800 firing positions and one-hundred artillery positions were documented (Rikkinen & Sillanpää 2019: 5). In 2019 the focus shifted from the frontline fortifications and shelters to the rear areas, where the remains of over 3 000 different buildings and other structures (barracks, shelters, horse stables, and tent sites) were documented and mapped. In addition to these, two formerly unknown prisoner of war camps were found (Rikkinen & Sillanpää 2019: 5–6). The so-called Eisbär-Stellung fortifications north of the Sturmbock-Stellung was also mapped in 2019, providing much new information about the German defensive positions in the far north (Rikkinen & Sillanpää 2019: 6–7). The results of the surveys were published in 2022 (Rikkinen & Sillanpää 2022).

The Pori airfield, situated on the west coast of Finland was constructed in 1939 and saw much use by the German Luftwaffe between 1941 and 1944. The airfield was an important aviation equipment depot for the Germans, and was used for the dispatch of aircraft and spare parts to Northern Finland and Northern Norway (Uhari 2009: 97). In 1944 the airfield was abandoned and blown up by retreating German troops (Väisänen 2020: 65). The multidisciplinary research of the history and materiality of the ruins of this overgrown and largely forgotten German Second World War airfield started in 2019 as a part of the PhD research of archaeologist, MA Teemu Väisänen at the University of Turku. The research of the airfield combines community archaeology excavations with local schools and history enthusiasts, work in archives, and interviews with locals about their memories and experiences of the airfield and the German military presence in Pori. Finds from the excavations have been presented to the public in the form of exhibitions in the local museum (Väisänen 2020: 67).

The supply and training camp for Waffen-SS troops near Tuira railway station in Oulu in northern Finland, Waffen-SS- Finnland Stützpunkt IV, was one of the largest German camps in Finland. The soldiers who lived in the Lager Niedersachsen part of the camp worked in the nearby port (Tuuli Matila, 23 October 2021, personal communication via Messenger). A survey of the area was carried out in 2020, and in the autumn of 2021 a three week-long trial excavation of the former Waffen-SS campgrounds was organized by the University of Oulu. The excavation was called for because of new construction work starting on the site in 2022/2023. The excavation was supervised by PhD researchers Tuuli Matila and Marika Hyttinen and PhD Oula Seitsonen from the University of Oulu (Tuuli Matila, 23 October 2021, personal communication via Messenger). The area remained inhabited until the 1980s, and closed undisturbed find contexts from the second World War proved impossible to find. As a result, the trial excavations in 2021 produced huge amounts of modern waste but only a few finds from the Second World War. Among them was a single German uniform button, a German mess tin, part of a flashlight, and a couple of cartridge shells. Excavations in the area continued in 2022, but once again very few German artefacts were found. Research focusing on the after-war history of the area continues, but the area of the camp itself has now been demolished.

During the early stages of Operation Barbarossa from 22 June until 2 December 1941, short and fierce battles between Soviet, Finnish, and Swedish voluntary forces occurred in Hanko in the south of Finland. Today, many well-preserved remains of the Second World War such as command posts,

trenches, and dugouts are still visible on the mainland and in the archipelago, and unmarked graves of Soviet soldiers are still found occasionally. In 2018 a modern conflict archaeology project named *Hanko 1941* was initiated by the author and MA Teemu Väisänen. The project surveys, documents, and excavates Second World War remains on both the Soviet and the Finnish/Swedish side of the conflict on the Hanko front (Fast & Väisänen 2020). Between 2019 and 2024 the project has documented and excavated several battlefields and conflict archaeology sites in the Hanko archipelago and on the mainland, such as Soviet lieutenant general Sergei Kabanov's underground command post and the burnt down Hamsterbo dugout (Fast & Väisänen 2023). Surveys to locate and find fallen and missing soldiers have been conducted on a yearly basis between 2018–2024. In 2019 the project found and forensically exhumed the remains of seven Soviet soldiers that were killed in action in the summer of 1941. The remains of the soldiers were reburied in the Soviet war cemetery in Hanko.

In 2022 a new modern conflict archaeology project named *Porkkala 1941–1956* was started by the author. The objective is to survey, excavate, and study remains from the Second World War and Cold War periods in the Kirkkonummi-Inkoo-Siuntio region to the west of Helsinki. The project aims at involving local schools and institutions in the pedagogic conflict archaeology research over several years to come (2024–2030).

2.2.4 Conflict archaeology research of the Second World War in Denmark, Iceland and Greenland

Camp Greely, an American Second World War camp at Langanes in Iceland, has been documented by conflict archaeologists, but so far, the research has only been published in a report (Hreidarsdottir 2019). Some astonishing work has also been done in northeastern Greenland, where for instance well-preserved remains of German Second World War weather stations have been studied and documented (Jensen & Krause 2014).

Despite having many Second World War remains within its borders conflict archaeology research of Second World War sites has so far been minimal in Denmark. An exception is the work done by field archaeologist Camilla Damlund. In her research she has studied the German concrete bunkers of the Danish part of the Atlantic and how these structures have become a part of Danish culture that Danish people still engage with. In a published article from 2021 she also ponders over the preservation and presentation of these tangible remains from the Second World War (Damlund 2021).

2.2.5. Conflict archaeology research of First and Second World War sites in other parts of Europe

In other parts of Europe, conflict archaeology excavations of battlefields and a wide variety of other sites from the First and Second World Wars have been numerous over the past decades. Some of these projects have included a community archaeology dimension, despite the sensitive ethical issues involved in the research.

For instance, in Belgium in 2018 conflict archaeologist Simon Verdegem, with his team that included Peter Doyle, a leading military historian from the UK, and Robin Schäfer, oversaw and led a huge, crowdfunded First World War conflict archaeology excavation project titled *Dig Hill 80* that attracted hundreds of visitors from all over the world. The excavation centred on a well- preserved German strongpoint on a ridge top near the village of Wijtschate. The project received an impressive 179 000 euros from crowdfunding alone.

A totally different type of conflict archaeology, focusing on the sinister and dark history of the Second World War Nazi extermination centres at Chełmno, Sobibór, and Bełżec, has pursued traditional archaeological excavation methods at the sites starting as early as 1986 (Gilead 2010: 159). In 2007, Professor Caroline Sturdy Colls from the University of Staffordshire began assessing Treblinka as an archaeological site, with an emphasis on mainly using "non-invasive" archaeological methods, including geophysical surveys of the site and visual inspection, due to the sensitive nature of the research (for more on the archaeology of the Holocaust, see for instance, Sturdy Colls 2015).

3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

> Arrival in Hangö,
> The eternal sea is still murmurs in our ears, where waves hit the island rocks, or still it murmurs the breath of the pine forests along the white skinny trails.
>
> Lost in this whispering of earth and sea the human feels as standing on a height, Expanded where we belong to the gods, whose steady strides are leading us to the north. (Kettman 1943: 10. Translation from Dutch by Ria Berg).

The region's many wars have left their marks on the Hanko peninsula, but the beautiful maritime landscape of Hanko has affected the soldiers of the different armies staying in the area. The scenic seascape has also been used for propagandistic purposes by the different nations fighting on the Cape through the ages, from the Russians and British in the 19th century to the Soviets and the Germans in the 20th century.

The renowned German War correspondent SS-Unterscharführer George Kettman Jr. visited Deutsches Lager Hanko in 1942 or 1943 and wrote the heavily propagandistic National Socialistic poem above either during or after his visit. The text in the poem serves as a reminder about how even the simple beauty of the landscape of Cape Tulliniemi and Hanko itself so familiar to everyone who has strolled through the beautiful and scenic nature reserve area can be twisted and used in a propagandistic context.

3.1 The tides of ice, sea, and war on a windy cape

3.1.1 Geography and early history

The Hanko peninsula and Cape Tulliniemi form the southernmost part of the 500 km long ice-margin formation called Salpausselkä I. It was formed during the last Ice Age as the front of the melting ice sheet withdrew towards the northwest and the front of the continental ice sheet remained stationary for a long period of time. During this colder period massive ice-margin formations were deposited at the front of the glacier (Kielosto et al. 1996: 93). This formation is mostly made up of gravel and sand, that even today covers 44% of the total land area of the Hanko peninsula and especially Cape Tulliniemi. The rest of the land surface is mostly composed of exposed bedrock and different unsorted materials (Kielosto et al. 1996: 18).

The area completely deglaciated some 11 000 years ago but was first left entirely submerged by the meltwaters (Kielosto et al. 1996: 93). Gradually the land rose from the sea, revealing sandy banks and small islands that over thousands of years formed an archipelago riddled with skerries and groups of underwater rocks. Although no archaeological finds have been made, it is probable that this rather hostile and desolate maritime environment was first visited and inhabited by sealhunting hunter-gatherer populations already during the Late Stone Age. Over the ensuing millennia, signs of permanent habitation are very scarce. So far, no finds at all from the Bronze Age, and only very few finds from the Iron Age, have been discovered in Hanko. One excavated settlement site from the 15th or 16th century situated in Hangonkylä village close to Cape Tulliniemi might have had its first inhabitants already during the Late Iron Age (Jansson et al. 2010: 86).

In the early medieval period maritime traffic grew steadily in the Gulf of Finland, and subsequently also in the waters around Hanko. The first literary source where Hanko is mentioned is the so-called Danish Itinerary from the late 13th or early 14th century. The itinerary describes a route from the eastern coast of Sweden to the southern coast of Finland and after that to Tallinn in Estonia situated less than 100 km to the southeast

from Hanko. With maritime traffic in the Gulf of Finland increasing during the coming centuries, the strategic importance of Hanko gradually grew.

3.1.2 Hanko, a strategic place through the ages

Due to its geographic location, Hanko is often referred to as the strategic corner of Finland (Silvast 1998: 11). During its over 600-year-long period as an equal part of Sweden, Finland's relationship with its large eastern neighbor Russia has always been problematic.

The first military defences on the sandy and rocky peninsula were erected in the 17th century. Periods of peace were regularly interrupted by skirmishes and wars and during military conflicts Hanko was often affected, as new fortifications were planned, constructed, and subsequently demolished (Keynäs et al. 1993: 26). The construction of Russia's new capital St Petersburg (later Leningrad) in the innermost part of Gulf of Finland in 1703 made Finland's and Hanko's position even more precarious. After the 1808–1809 war between Sweden and Russia the whole area of Finland was ceded to Russia as a Grand Duchy, but it retained its Swedish laws and protestant religion.

The turbulent events in Russia in 1917 led to Finland declaring its independence on 6 December 1917, followed by the Finnish Civil War. On 3 April 1918, the German Baltic Sea Division landed in Hanko to assist the nationalist White Guard under General Carl-Gustav Mannerheim to defeat the communist Red Guard, which at that time occupied the Finnish capital Helsinki. The German landing in Hanko sealed the fate of the communists, ending the civil war on the 15 May 1918.

Towards the end of the 1930s the Soviet Union, ostensibly feeling Leningrad's position threatened, demanded the right to establish a naval base in Hanko as well as some other border adjustments. After negotiations broke down the Soviet Union attacked Finland on 30 November 1939 and the so-called Winter War began. Hanko, as well as other towns was heavily bombed. After the war, in the early spring of 1940, the war treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union demanded that Hanko be handed over to the Soviet Union to function as a naval base. The whole population of the peninsula was evacuated in days in exchange for some 30 000 Soviet soldiers and civilians. This period of occupation lasted until 2 December 1941, when after an almost six months long siege, short but fierce battles in the Hanko archipelago and artillery duels on the mainland, the area was once again in Finnish hands. Afterwards, like in 1918, Hanko harbour was again used by German forces, now in Operation Barbarossa from 14 January 1942 to 1 September 1944 (Hanko harbour books, Hanko harbour archives).

In the summer of 1942, construction of a large German transition camp commenced on Cape Tulliniemi. The area was well-known for its beautiful seascape and nature, cold and windy during winter and rich in birdlife during the spring and autumn when migratory birds flocked to the area. With the construction of the camp, hundreds of years-old stands of pine trees now had to give way to barracks and other constructions that were built to accommodate thousands of soldiers fighting an industrial war. Its beaches on both sides of the narrow cape, covered with pebbles and sand that were deposited over ten thousand years ago, would now be filled with soldiers carrying out their morning duties. Trash and chemicals used for delousing and other activities were deposited in the pristine soil of the northern part of the cape which had remained untouched for millennia.

3.1.3 The harbour, the heart of Hanko

Being a windy place, and the waters around it notoriously difficult to navigate, especially during bad weather conditions, Hanko has always depended on good and protective harbours. The oldest harbour in Hanko called Kappelisatama, became too shallow for the larger and larger ships being used and fell out of use in the 17th century. It was gradually replaced by the harbour of Hauensuoli on the southern side of the cape, close to Cape Tulliniemi (Keynäs et al. 1993: 25). The construction of the new harbour of Hanko was completed and opened for traffic in 1873 (Photo 2; visithanko.fi).

The busy and mostly ice-free harbour of Hanko is the southernmost port of Finland. It is connected by a railway to other parts of Finland. Both cir-

cumstances made it interesting from a military and strategic point of view. The port of Hanko was to be used by both German and Soviet troops during both World Wars.

3.2 Finland, Germany and Hanko in the World Wars

3.2.1 Finland and Germany during the First World War

The true nature of the Finnish-German brotherhood in arms is a complicated affair with deep cultural roots in the history of the two countries starting already when Finland was part of Russia between 1809–1917. During the First, as well as the Second World War, the Finns sought for military help and signed multilateral agreements with Germany on many separate occasions.

In the early 20th century, opposition to the Russian rule increased among the Finnish upper and middle classes. This resulted in the formation of the so-called *Jaeger* movement in 1914, with over 1 000 volunteers leaving on a clandestine mission to seek military training in Germany. Not having the opportunity to travel back to Finland, the battalion would instead fight in the ranks of the German Army from 1916 in the battles on the northern flank of the eastern front in the First World War. In February 1917, the Finnish leaders asked Germany for military help to free itself from Russian rule. Ten months later, on 6 December 1917, Finland declared its independence from Russia and the Jaegers returned to Finland. Their battles were, however, not to be against Russians, as they had anticipated when they left for Finland. Instead, the Jaegers found themselves fighting in the Finnish Civil War (27 January–15 May 1918) against fellow Finns in the (communist) Red Guard on the other side of the conflict. The long-awaited German help came on 5 March 1918 when German forces arrived on the Åland islands, and on 3 April the German 10 000 strong Ostsee-Division led by General Rüdiger von der Goltz landed in Hanko to launch the main attack on Helsinki (Photo 3).

Only one day after the Germans arrived in Hanko, the 4 000 strong unit Abteilung-Brandenstein landed and took the town of Lovisa east of Helsinki on 4 April 1918. The German war effort contributed to end the war sooner than would otherwise have been the case, but it could have had dramatic consequences had things gone differently during the months that followed. In the aftermath of the Finnish Civil War, the newly formed conservative-monarchist Senate asked the German troops to remain in Finland. In October 1918, under pressure from Germany, the Finnish Senate and Parliament elected a German prince, Friedrich Karl, the brother-in-law of German Emperor William II, to become the King of Finland. When Germany lost the First World War this plan was quietly abandoned.

3.2.2 From war to war – Finland and Germany 1918–1940

After the disastrous civil war that had cost the lives of tens of thousands of Finnish citizens a period of growth in economic and social welfare ensued in Finland. But dark clouds were already building on the horizon. With Benito Mussolini coming to power in Italy in 1922 and Adolf Hitler becoming Germany's chancellor in 1933, the table was set for a new World War.

The relations between Finland and Germany between 1918 and 1939 can be described as close in both culture, science, and economy, but despite the rise of national socialism in Germany Finland remained an independent Nordic democracy. Still, there were Finns, especially in the upper class and in business and academic circles, that dreamed of a "larger Finland" and had a very pro-German attitude (Johansen 2016: XII). A Fascist party called the Patriotic People's Movement (IKL, *Isänmaallinen kansanliike*) was founded in Finland in 1932, but its size and influence on the parliamentary process was marginal.

On 23 August 1939 Germany and the Soviet Union signed the secret Ribbentrop pact. In the pact, which divided Eastern Europe into different spheres of interest between Germany and the Soviet Union, Finland was placed in the Soviet sphere (Johansen 2016: 9). Only a week later, on

Photo 2. Postcard showing Hanko harbour in the 1930s with Cape Tulliniemi in the background. Original photo acquired by the author from German eBay.

Photo 3. German troops landing in Hanko harbour on 3 April 1918. In 1942 similar scenes would unfold. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

1 September 1939, Germany started the invasion of Poland from the west, and on 17 September the Soviet Union attacked Poland from the east.

With the war in Poland still raging, the Soviet Union started to quickly implement the other agreements signed in the pact. The Baltic states of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia were approached with offers of military co-operation, of "defence and assistance" by the Soviet Union. These offers were backed up by the deployment of large numbers of troops on their borders. Finland was also confronted with a similar offer, whose true nature was to establish Soviet military bases along the coasts of the Baltic Sea, including Hanko (Johansen 2016: 9). While the Baltic states succumbed to the Soviet demands and opened their borders to Soviet troops, Finland decided to do the opposite and start negotiations with the Soviet Union. Three separate rounds of negotiations between the two countries started on 11 October 1939 but resulted in a standstill a month later, on 13 November 1939 when Finland stubbornly rejected the Soviet demands to establish Soviet navy and aircraft bases on the Hanko peninsula. Some two weeks later Soviet forces attacked Finland, starting the Winter War (30 November 1939–13 March 1940).

Despite fierce resistance, the Finnish defences were ultimately ground down, and with no help from the Allies in sight the situation on the frontlines rapidly declined. Hermann Göring advised the Finnish leaders to accept the Soviet demands if they wanted to keep their independence (which of course at the time was important from a German point of view). He also supposedly hinted to the Finnish ambassador in Berlin that a war between Germany and the Soviet Union would soon break out, and as a part of that Finland would later be given the opportunity to gain back the lost territories (Johansen 2016: 112).

The Moscow peace treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union was signed on 13 March 1940. The treaty demanded that large areas of Finnish territory be handed over to the Soviet Union including the Hanko peninsula, on which almost immediately a large Soviet naval base was to be constructed. The evacuation of the civilian population of Hanko (some 8 000 people) had to be undertaken in a hurry and be completed in only ten days (Silvast 2015: 23).

3.2.3 A fragile peace: The interim period March 1940–June 1941

The situation in Finland after the Winter War was tense, and the continuous fear of a new invasion either from the Soviet Union or possibly even from Germany, which had invaded both Denmark and Norway in April 1940. The continuous Soviet build-up of troops along the country's eastern border made the fear of an attack from the east even more tangible. In this situation, and with a famine threatening, the alternative of remaining neutral was not considered a safe option by the Finnish leaders.

Since the end of the Winter War, Finland had sought a military alliance with Norway and Sweden, but this effort was effectively hindered by the Soviet Union. With Germany invading Denmark and Norway in April 1940, the idea of an alliance with the Nordic countries became impossible (Junila 2000: 9–10). A new Soviet offer of food and military protection against Germany, much like the one offered before the Winter War, was turned down by the Finnish leaders (Johansen 2016: 165). As summer came and the situation turned desperate, the Finnish government once again looked towards Germany for help. In an instruction on 21 July 1940, Adolf Hitler had started to voice concerns over the "Russian problem" and a possible war against the Soviet Union (Menger 1988: 79). In this scenario, Finland was important to the German war effort. Very soon, already in August 1940, the first practical steps were taken of Operationsbahn Finnland, in the form of weapons and materiel transports to northern Finland (Menger 1988: 79). These were soon to be followed by the first clandestine German troop transports.

The early stages of the planned co-operation with Germany were, however, looked upon with anxiety by many Finnish leaders, including Gustaf Mannerheim. The idea of armed foreign troops in Finland was considered dangerous, and especially Mannerheim was worried that Germany would annex Finland and install a puppet regime (Johansen 2016: 167). Due to these fears an agreement, very similar to the one previously made with the Soviet Union to allow Soviet troops and war materiel to be transported through southern Finland to the naval base in Hanko, was presented to the German

negotiators. An agreement, stating that German soldiers could travel unarmed through Finland to the north (with weapons carried in separate train cars) was reached before troop transports started in September 1940 (Korhonen 1961: 110). Even the first German furlough transports from Kirkenes in northern Norway to Turku, and from there by ships to Stettin, took place already in the beginning of December 1940 (Korhonen 1961: 130). With the German troop and war materiel transports starting, a sense of calm before the storm spread both in Germany and in Finland. Many Finns saw a window of opportunity arise to avenge the Soviet attack of 1939 and to recapture the territories that were lost in the Moscow peace treaty, including Hanko in the south.

On the eve of Operation Barbarossa, the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, some 80 000 German soldiers from practically all branches of the German army (Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe, Kriegsmarine and the Waffen-SS) had been transported to Northern Finland. The number of soldiers increased throughout the war from 154 230 in 1942, to 189 530 in 1943 and finally to 203 950 soldiers in 1944 (Junila 2000: 67). When the joint attack on the Soviet Union started it was not a simultaneous movement by the two armies but instead occurred in two separate stages, with the Germans attacking on 22 June 1941 and Finland declaring war on the Soviet Union three days later, on 25 June 1941.

3.2.3.1 Hanko and Operation Barbarossa

The Germans considered the Soviet naval base in Hanko a direct threat to their plans, and saw it as their responsibility to take it. An invasion of Hanko by the German 163. Infanterie-Division, which was to be moved to Finland from Norway, was scheduled to take place a couple of weeks after the war had broken out and when support from Luftwaffe bombers could be arranged (Jokipii 1987: 569; NARA archives T-312, R-1052). The Division commander of the German 163. Infanterie-Division, General Erwin Engelbrecht and liaison officer to Finland Waldemar Erfurth, visited Hanko accompanied by Finnish commanding officer Colonel Aarne Snellman on 20 June 1941. After observing the planned fields of battle, the trio concluded that one German infantry division would not be sufficient to invade Hanko, and that the goal could only be achieved by a joint operation of the 163. Infanterie-Division and the Finnish 17. Division (Visuri 2017: 138). Until the final decision was made about how to attack Hanko, the 17. Division would maintain the encirclement of the Soviet troops on the Hanko peninsula (Jokipii 1987: 569).

Already in the beginning of the attack, in the summer of 1941, the Germans proposed that the plans to invade Hanko be postponed. Instead, the 163. Infanterie-Division was sent to Syväri (Svir) in Karelia, where its objective later was to participate in a joint but unsuccessful attempt by German and Finnish forces to complete the encirclement of Leningrad in late 1941 (Silvast 1998: 87). In July 1941 Mannerheim also decided to move the main part of the 17. Division from Hanko to the Karelian Isthmus. After that the number of Finnish troops on the Hanko front was totally insufficient for an attack on the Soviet naval base. The decision not to invade Hanko was probably taken to avoid unnecessary casualties, as Hanko was expected to fall into Finnish hands soon anyway when German forces reached the Estonian capital Tallinn (Reval). This assumption, however, proved to be a mistake and Soviet forces held out in Hanko for an additional four months despite having had their main supply route from the south cut. The naval base in Hanko was successfully evacuated by the Soviets by the beginning of December 1941.

A somewhat awkward situation ensued at the start of Barbarossa when the Luftwaffe bombed Hanko for three days. The first bombing raid with 20 planes took place on the eve of 22 June, and the second one with 30 planes in the afternoon of 23 June. Finnish forces stood by and observed from a distance so as not to provoke military action from the Soviets until 25 June (Jokipii 1987: 569–570). In 2015, during the fieldwork in Deutsches Lager Hanko, a lone spent 20 x 80 mm German MGFF cannon casing was found in the delousing area of the camp. The find was from the cannon of a German bomber or fighter aircraft, and is probably related to one of the early German air-attacks on the town of Hanko. Random German air raids

occurred now and then even after June. During one such attack, on 3 July 1941, a German Junkers JU 88-A5 bomber was shot down and crashed in the sea in Tvärminne just south of the Hanko peninsula. All four officers on board, pilot Martin Hesse, observer Anton Linke and the two gunners, Max Sippel and Karl-Heinz Müller, were killed in the crash. The remains of the aircraft were found and documented by the Finnish Aviation Museum in the late 1990s. Despite several dives to the crash site in the 1990s and one dive supervised by the author in 2020 the human remains of the four German airmen have so far not been found. The wreck of the aircraft is now completely buried by sand (Fast 2020).

3.2.4 From attack to retreat 1942–1944

The German attack in the far north met difficulties immediately from the start. As the front gradually stabilized by the end of 1942, the German troops in Northern Finland found themselves stuck in a hostile environment far away from home. In the south, Finnish forces at first rapidly occupied the territories that were lost in the Winter War, but here too the advance came to a standstill in 1942 followed by a two-year period of trench warfare.

In June 1944, a massive Soviet offensive was started to crush and push back the Finnish forces on the Karelian Isthmus. Hitler insisted on Finland fighting the Soviets to the bitter end, and in a personal letter to him Finnish president Risto Ryti promised that Finland would not sign a separate peace treaty with the Soviet Union. The letter was presented to Hitler by the German minister of foreign affairs Joachim von Ribbentrop on 26 June 1944 (Johansen 2016: 283). It contained a loophole, as it was bound personally to Ryti, but the agreement between Ryti and Hitler secured German military help in the decisive months to follow.

On 4 August 1944, Ryti resigned his presidency and was followed by Gustaf Mannerheim. According to the Finnish interpretation, his agreement with Hitler could now be overturned. A peace treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union was put in effect one month later, on 5 September, and signed on 15 September 1944. All land areas ceded to the Soviet Union were to be returned including Petsamo in the far north. Instead of Hanko, Porkkala, another peninsula closer to Helsinki, was to be leased to the Soviet Union for a period of 50 years, but in the event was returned to Finland in 1956. The peace treaty included a demand for Finnish forces to expel all German troops from Finland in what could be considered a very short period. This resulted in the so-called Lapland War between Finland and Germany from 15 September to 27 April 1945, when the last German soldiers left Northern Finland for Norway. It has been estimated that the German losses in Lapland were somewhere around 7 500 lost or dead and 21 000 wounded in the year 1941 alone (Westerlund 2007: 97). Between 1941 and 1945 the German army lost at least 16 400 soldiers during the battles in Finland while 60 400 were wounded (Nenye et al. 2016: 501).

3.3 The logistics of a war in the Arctic

3.3.1 From harbour to harbour, German troop transports by sea to Hanko and other Finnish ports 1940–1944

Prior to the start of their attack on the Soviet Union, the German soldiers had to be transported to Finland on ships to northern Finnish harbours, by train through neutral Sweden, or by land from German occupied Norway. The large cargo ships filled with soldiers and war materiel typically navigated along the Swedish east coast to avoid Soviet submarines and minefields, and crossed over to harbours like Vaskiluoto in Vasa on the west coast of Finland as early as 21 September 1940 (Laurila 2006).

From a German military perspective, the control of Hanko harbour was important, and capturing it was considered a major strategic goal already at the start of Operation Barbarossa for three reasons. Firstly, it was the only harbour in Finland that was ice free for most of the year. Secondly, it was only a short sea trip away from the important harbours of Stettin (Szczecin), Danzig (Gdansk), Reval (Tallinn), and Libau (Liepaja) on the other side of the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea. Thirdly, a railroad connected Hanko harbour to Oulu and Rovaniemi in the north, making it perfect for

the transport of both soldiers and war materiel to the north as well as furlough traffic. However, there were difficulties too. According to German General Herman Teske, the sea transports in the Baltic Sea region were made difficult because of mines, Soviet submarine activity and the resulting necessity of travelling in convoys, lack of ship tonnage, changes in weather conditions, lack of beacons and storage facilities in the Finnish ports, as well as lack of harbour workers (Teske 1952: 160–162). Especially the Soviet submarines posed a serious threat to the troop transports. In the autumn of 1942 Soviet submarines travelling at a depth of over 40 meters managed to break through the German minefields and sink many German and Swedish cargo ships (Komulainen 2000: 127–128). This caused chaos in the German sea traffic in the Baltic Sea, forcing the troop carriers to travel in escorted convoys (Kijanen 2008: 123). In March 1943 the Germans started construction of a submarine net, and new massive minefields that would effectively close off the Finnish Gulf between Reval and Porkkala east of Hanko. Three submarine listening posts were also constructed (Kijanen 2008: 125). The work with the construction of the submarine net was completed by May 1943, but mines were still being laid until 29 June 1943 (Kijanen 2008: 123). After this the German cargo ships could travel in relative safety over the Gulf of Finland (Komulainen 2000: 160).

When war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the port of Hanko was still occupied by Soviet forces. As a result, the German troop carriers were forced to use other harbours on the Finnish coast, with the harbours of Turku, Vasa, Jakobstad, and Oulu being the most frequently used from 1940 to 1942. German troops also continued to be transported to Finland through German occupied Denmark and through neutral Sweden. After the Soviet forces withdrew from Hanko on 2 December 1941 Hanko harbour could finally be used for German troop and war materiel transports. The harbour had been badly damaged by the retreating Soviet forces, and one of the top priorities was to get the harbour repaired and functioning as soon as possible. In mid-December 1941 the cabinet of the Finnish Navy appointed a new harbour manager to the port of Hanko (Iskanius 2003: 195). The repair work proved much more difficult than anticipated, and by the end of January 1942 Hanko harbour was still just barely suitable for German troop and war materiel transports (Iskanius 2003: 200).

3.3.1.1 The first troop transports from Stettin to Hanko 14 January – 5 February 1942

Ahead of *Transportbewegung Schneehase* (the planned German winter offensive on the northern front) in the first months of 1942, the 5. and 7. Gebirgs-Division and large amounts of war materiel were to be shipped to Finland. The arrival of the two divisions was to take place in Hanko (Visuri 2018: 55). The small harbour town of Hanko was chosen as a more suitable destination than Helsinki for larger German troop transports after brawls between Finnish and German soldiers had occurred in the capital (Visuri 2018: 71). The early months of 1942 were exceptionally cold (Hotakainen 2012: 56). The difficult ice conditions in the Gulf of Finland in January and February immediately started to interfere with the German troop and war materiel transports. Despite these hardships, convoys of German troop carriers started to arrive in Hanko harbour in January 1942.

On 14 January 1942, the first German troop carriers, s/s *Muansa* (3 375 nt. register tons) and s/s *Hans Leonhardt* (3 227 nt. register tons) arrived in Hanko harbour from Stettin. The two ships unloaded 1 102 soldiers from the 7. Gebirgs-Division along with large amounts of war materiel, including 108 cars and 283 horses (the Hanko harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives). Another German cargo ship, m/s *Phoenia* (2 233 nt. register tons), arrived the next day with 240 more soldiers, 55 cars, and 31 horses (Hanko harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives). On 16 January the first train full of soldiers and military equipment set off to the north from Hanko (appendix to the war diary of Hangon ryhmä osasto E 1941–1942 in the the National Archives of Finland).

On 18 January 1941, a convoy consisting of three cargo ships, m/s *Palathia* (3 979 nt. register tons), m/s *Gotha* (3 112 nt. register tons), and s/s *Urundi* (3 567 nt. register tons) arrived safely in Hanko with 853 soldiers, 440 horses, and 335 vehicles (Photos

4–18). The soldiers on board m/s *Palathia* were sent directly to the north on a train, while the soldiers on board m/s *Gotha* and s/s *Urundi* were housed in Lager Harparskog or Lager Skogby (appendix to the war diary of Hangon ryhmä, osasto E 1941–1942 in the National Archives of Finland). On 21 January, s/s *Hindenburg* (4 836 nt. register tons) unloaded 758 soldiers, 216 horses 160 vehicles, and 72 dogs (Hanko harbour archives).

Soon after this the weather got much colder, causing the ice situation in the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland to escalate rapidly. On 26 January 1942, General Erfurth was informed that a German troop carrier (probably s/s *Hindenburg*) was stuck in the ice in Hanko, and that the soldiers on board were in the process of being evacuated from the ship (Visuri 2018: 73). The arrival of the German troop carrier m/s *Ostland* in Hanko harbour, carrying units from Gebirgjäger-Regiment 218, is also mentioned in a rather detailed telegram from 4 February 1942 (NARA archives, T-312, R-1008). Soon after, on 5 February 1942, the German troop and war materiel transports came to a total standstill just a little over a month after the first German ships had arrived in Hanko (Hanko harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives). General Erfurth wrote about the catastrophic situation in his war diary on 6 February and concluded that the cause was that the German cargo ships that were used for the troop transports were simply ill-equipped to travel through ice, and that Germany had no icebreakers (Visuri 2018: 83).

3.3.1.1.1 Four ships in trouble – The sea-journey of m/s Alkaid, m/s Ostland, m/s Neidenfels and m/s Helgoland

The struggle and sea journey of four German troop carriers, m/s *Helgoland*, m/s *Alkaid* (3 280 nt. register tons), m/s *Ostland* (3 125 nt. register tons) and m/s *Neidenfels* (4 844 nt. register tons) from Stettin to Hanko in mid-January 1942 illustrates the hardships felt by both men and animals on board the ships in the freezing winter of 1942. The four large cargo ships started to freeze already in Stettin harbour and the loading of troops and war materiel had to be done in a great hurry. Soon after leaving Stettin the convoy bound for Hanko ran into more trouble when m/s *Helgoland*, transporting soldiers from the 218. Gebirgs-Jäger Regiment, hit a sandbank off the Baltic coast. The three other cargo ships came to her assistance but got stuck in the ice. After the incident, the living conditions and mood of the soldiers on board the ships started to deteriorate rapidly. In a military effort to keep the troops in an active mood, skiing exercises were organized on the ice surrounding the ships (Kaltenegger 1985: 116). The sea journey to Hanko which was expected to take a maximum of three days, was now severely prolonged which meant that food started to run short for the thousands of soldiers on board. But it was not only the men that suffered; the mules also ran out of hay, brayed from hunger, and gnawed on the wooden crates they were transported in. In this difficult situation an order was given to slaughter the mules to supply the soldiers with food for the sea journey (Kaltenegger 1985: 118). The soldiers and horses on board m/s *Helgoland* were eventually evacuated and evenly distributed on the remaining ships, but much of the heavier equipment had to be left on board the ship to be rescued later (Kaltenegger 1985: 116). M/s *Alkaid*, m/s *Ostland*, and m/s *Neidenfels* were able to continue their journey towards Hanko only after having been assisted by Finnish icebreakers (one of which also struck a sandbank). M/s *Ostland* arrived in Hanko harbour on 2 February 1942, followed by m/s *Neidenfels* and m/s *Alkaid* on 5 February but now the ships got stuck in the ice off Hanko (Photo 19; NARA archives, T-312, R-1008; Hanko harbour archives).

From Hanko the journey of the exhausted soldiers on board the bad luck ships continued by train via Turku to Hyrynsalmi, situated some 150 km east of Oulu (Schuler 1957: 81). From there some of the Gebirgsjäger marched and skied while others travelled with trucks over frozen lakes and winter roads to Uhtua in Kiestinki, a walking distance of some 400 km (Kaltenegger 1985: 118; NARA archives, T-312, R-995).

By 17 January 1942 a total of 1 064 German soldiers had arrived in Hanko, and 525 soldiers, 161 horses, and 160 trucks awaited transport in Hanko (appendix to the war diary of Hangon ryhmä, osasto E 1941–1942, the National Archives of Finland). On 4 February 1942 altogether some 3 000 German soldiers were awaiting transportation to the north in

Photos 4–18. The sea-journey of m/s *Gotha* from Stettin to Hanko 13–18 January 1942. Original photos acquired by the author from German eBay.

Photo 19. German Gebirgsjäger embarking from m/s *Alkaid* on the ice off Hanko on 5 February 1942. Original photo acquired by the author from German eBay.

Hanko and Turku (NARA archives, T-312, R-1008). The difficult winter conditions desperately called for warm accommodation for the German soldiers that were awaiting transport from Hanko, but it would take months before the construction of the large transition camp for thousands of soldiers on Cape Tulliniemi could commence. Already on 11 January 1942 the need to arrange accommodation for the German soldiers arriving in Hanko had been discussed in a meeting between Finnish officers and the German captain Wilke, who oversaw the railway transports. During the meeting it was decided that arriving German soldiers that did not board awaiting trains immediately upon arrival would travel on skis to the areas of Harparskog, Leksvall, and Spjutsböle some 20–30 km northeast of Hanko. The soldiers would be housed there in simple barracks that had previously been used by Finnish and Swedish troops during the battles on the Hanko front in 1941. The possibility to house soldiers in the concrete bunkers of the Hanko front and the dynamite factory was also discussed, providing the factory could be repaired soon enough. The barracks in Harparskog were inspected by German officers on 15 January (appendix to the war diary of Hangon ryhmä, osasto E 1941–1942, the National Archives of Finland). General Waldemar Erfurt's diary entry from 22 January 1942 describes the housing conditions for German soldiers in the Hanko–Tammisaari region as rather good (Visuri 2018: 71). So far, no material evidence that can be attributed to German soldiers has been found that could pinpoint the exact location of these early German camps in the terrain.

3.3.1.2 From March to May 1942 – The arrival of the remaining units of the 7. Gebirgs-Division

Because of the very cold weather the remaining units of the 7. Gebirgs-Division stayed in Grafenwöhr in Germany until spring to receive more military training. When the ice sheet finally gave way in May the rest of the division started arriving in Hanko (Photo 20). Because of fear of Soviet mines, the troop carriers sailed to Hanko from the west through Swedish territorial waters passing between Gotland and the Swedish coast to the level of Stockholm and from there crossing over to Hanko. Even though it was already May the journey was assisted by Finnish icebreakers, which kept a narrow path through the ice open for the German ships to pass (Schuler 1957: 81). The sea crossing was undertaken during rather bad weather conditions, and many of the soldiers suffered from seasickness (Kaltenegger 1985: 176). When the ships approached Hanko the skies cleared, and in Hanko the weary soldiers embarked from the ships in sunny and calm weather (Photo 20; Kaltenegger 1985: 176). By now the snow had melted, but although the harbour was subject to intensive repair works by Soviet prisoners of war it could not be used for train traffic. As in January and February many of the arriving soldiers again made their way towards the area of Lager Harparskog to be put on northbound trains further away in Lappvik, about 15 kms northeast of Hanko harbour (Photos 20–29).

3.3.1.3 From May 1942 onwards – The German furlough traffic through Hanko harbour

When the German soldiers started arriving in Hanko again on 9 May 1942, after the very cold winter, only the Swedish word "trupptransport" (troop transport), but no exact numbers of soldiers

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Photos 20–29. German soldiers from the 7. Gebirgs-Division arrive in Hanko in May 1942 and make their way towards Lager Harparskog. Photos SA-kuva and acquired by the author from German eBay (top).

on board can be found in the Hanko harbour books. With the transports of soldiers and war materiel to the North complete on 21 May 1942, there is a three-month long break in all troop transports by sea to Hanko until the third week of August 1942.

No figures exist about exactly how many German soldiers travelled on furlough through Hanko between 1942 and 1944, but the yearly numbers should have been quite substantial. According to one estimate at least 25 000 German soldiers were transported by sea from Turku and Hanko only during June, July, and August of 1942 and 1943 (Karppinen 1966: 233). According to the harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives, German cargo ships arrived in Hanko harbour 766 times between 1942 and 1944 (Figure 18). Most of these arrivals and departures are again simply described as troop transports, and the exact number of soldiers on board are listed only for a couple of months from August to September in 1942. The numbers of registered soldiers on board the troop carriers vary, depending on the size of the cargo ships. The numbers range from around 200 soldiers and war materiel on board the smaller ships like m/s *Palathia* (2 235 nt. register tons) to 1 000 soldiers and war materiel on the largest ones like m/s *Neidenfels* (4 844 nt. register tons).

Already in early May 1942 the first 3 200 German soldiers were transported from Hanko harbour on furlough to Germany, on the troop carriers *Neidenfels*, *Hindenburg*, *Alkaid*, *Ostland*, and *Iller* (NARA archives, T-312, R-1008). To make the growing German furlough transports more efficient, in August the OKW suggested that the furlough traffic between Reval and Hanko would be shifted more towards Helsinki harbour. General Erfurth opposed the idea, however, and referred to the earlier agreement he had made with his Finnish counterparts and ordered the German troop transports to be organized through Hanko (Visuri 2018: 226). The first recorded mentioning in the Hanko harbour books of German soldiers travelling on furlough on ships is from 22 August 1942, when 400 German soldiers boarded the m/s *Iller* (2 579 nt. register tons). She was bound for Reval, a town that was to be one of the main destinations for German soldiers travelling on furlough to Germany from Hanko until July 1944 (Photos 30–31).

From August 1942 to September 1944 German troop carriers arrived and left Hanko harbour on a very regular basis almost every or every second day. For two months, between 22 August 1942 and 21 September 1942, the numbers of soldiers on board these ships are listed in the Hanko harbour books. The numbers usually vary between 400 and 500 soldiers on each transport, with one exception when 1 000 German soldiers boarded m/s *Malgache* (3 504 nt. register tons) on 14 September 1942. With Deutsches Lager Hanko fully operational at that point (although not yet at its largest extent) the maximum number of soldiers on board a ship the size of m/s *Iller* is probably representative of troop transports during that period of the war. From January 1943 until the beginning of May 1943 there is a sudden change in the departure and destination harbours. Instead of heading for Reval, the German troop carriers were now heading from Hanko to the port of Libau (and on a few occasions Danzig). The change of harbour would not, however, be for long and from 13 May 1943 until 10 February 1944 all troop carriers heading for Germany were again travelling on the route Hanko-Reval-Hanko. In August 1943, the Swedish Government stopped German troop and war materiel transports through neutral Sweden (Boëthius 1991: 27– 28). This decision marked the culmination of the troop transports through Hanko. A total of 377 troop transports are registered for that year in the Hanko harbour books, with 261 of these from July to December 1943 (Figure 17).

1944 was a turbulent year for the German army, and this also shows in the harbour books in Hanko. From 9 February 1944 onwards the furlough traffic from Hanko to Reval was directed to Danzig (NARA archives, T-312 R-1059). Instead of a few regular ships, many different ships of very different sizes were now used for the troop transports (Figure 17). From 11 March 1944 onwards a substantial increase in the transport of war materiel can be seen in the registers kept by Hanko harbour. Much like in the early days of 1942, some of the troops were again forced to make the inconvenient sea journey to Hanko in ships packed with more material elements of war such as vehicles and artillery. As longer sea-journeys became


Photos 30–31. The German troop carrier m/s *Iller* in Hanko harbour in August 1942 (left) and a German soldier in Reval harbour (right). Photos acquired by the author from German eBay.

more and more dangerous, even German soldiers stationed in the far north of Norway started travelling on furlong through Hanko.

Private Konrad Maisch who served in Heeres Küsten Batterie 3. 448 in Hamningberg on the shore of the Barents Sea, took his long-awaited furlough trip to visit his elderly father at home in Fürth, near Nürnberg, on 1 April 1944 and spent 12 days on the journey to Hanko, then 7 days in Deutsches Lager Hanko awaiting a safe crossing to Danzig. Maish arrived home on 26 April almost 25 days after his journey started. His father became seriously ill just two days after his arrival and died a month later. Because of his father's illness and death, Maish had his furlough prolonged and embarked from the German troop carrier s/s *Nordenham* in Hanko on 8 June. His journey back to his outpost in the far north from here took him 20 days (Sundve 1989: 61, 63)!

With the Soviet onslaught in June 1944 and the retreat of German and Finnish forces, the situation rapidly changed in Hanko. In the late summer of 1944, all furlough traffic was stopped. The soldiers were ordered to return to the northern frontlines immediately, no matter where they were at the time. The last regular troop transports from Hanko occurred between 25 and 26 July 1944, when the large troop carriers m/s *Wartheland* (5 010 nt. register tons), m/s *Moltkefels* (4 843 nt. register tons), s/s *Regina* (781 nt. register tons), and m/s *Drechtdijk* (5 807 nt. register tons) arrived in Hanko harbour with troops and war materiel and left for Danzig with the last German soldiers from Deutsches Lager Hanko on board. The last German ship, m/s *Iller* left Hanko with troops and mail on 11 September 1944 bound for Danzig, just a few days before Finland signed a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. A few words in the Hanko harbour book states that the ship left without paying the mandatory harbour fee.

3.3.1.4 The troop carriers

The Kriegsmarine used large cargo ships converted to troop carriers for the many furlough transports to and from Hanko. Many of the ships had been requisitioned or seized from France, Norway, and other countries in the beginning of the Second World War, and after that painted in a standard sea camouflage pattern. The soldiers arrived at their ports of departure in trains, and for many of them this was their first time at sea. Prior to the sea journey the soldiers were given a short briefing about how to behave on board during the crossing and were made aware of the constant threat of Soviet submarines and airplanes. Two blows of the ships horn warned of an air attack and meant that everyone should seek cover under the deck. Three blows of the horn warned of a submarine attack and was a signal for everyone to grab a life jacket and get out on deck (Bellschan von Mildenburg 2022: 52).

The sea journey from Hanko to Reval, the nearest port on the Baltic Coast, normally took around 24 hours, and the greater part of it was spent under deck (Imhoff 1994: 36). The soldiers were accommodated in the upper cargo spaces, where simple

sleeping platforms had been constructed right on the steel floor (Photos 32–33). With fumes from the engines making breathing difficult, and with temperatures reaching -20 C outside during wintertime the situation on board was certainly nothing like the men had experienced before.

The sanitary conditions on board were equally horrendous. There were very few toilets, and as a result going to the toilet usually meant taking a trip out on deck, where lavatories consisting of planks with eight holes (so called eight-cylinders) that had been hung outside the gunwale (Photo 34; Kaltenegger 1985: 117). Many of the soldiers suffered from sea sickness during the crossing and were probably very happy when the ship finally reached the destination harbour (Photos 35–37; Bellschan von Mildenburg 2022: 53).

During the final months of WW2 many of the cargo ships met their end during bombing raids, ran into mines or were torpedoed by allied forces, while some were sunk by their own crews. The ships that survived the war were often renamed and changed hands several times before being scrapped in some distant country in another part of the world.

3.3.1.5 The wreck of the s/s Hindenburg

The s/s *Hindenburg* (4 836 nt. register tons) was a large German cargo ship completed in 1921 in Vegesack Germany and confiscated by the Kriegsmarine in 1939. Her war journey as a troop carrier started in 1940. The transport capacity was 1 000 men or 268 horses (Räty & Flinkman 1997: 12). According to detailed information in the Hanko harbour archives, s/s *Hindenburg* was the seventh German troop carrier to arrive in Hanko in January 1942. On 17 November 1942, ten months after arriving in Hanko for the first time, the ship was travelling from Danzig (Gdansk) to the western Finnish town of Jakobstad. This time she did not carry German soldiers, but instead 1 000 Soviet prisoners of war guarded by 181 German soldiers and a crew of 36. The prisoners, who were meant to be used for railway construction work for the Germans in the north, were stowed under the deck and were allowed only short visits on deck during the sea journey. At 18.55 hours south of Utö off the SW Finnish coast, the ship hit a mine laid by the Soviet submarine *L3* (Räty & Flinkman 1997: 13).

Most of the prisoners of war on board were rescued from the sinking ship by Finnish sea rescuers and taken to the town of Turku in western Finland. The bodies of two unknown prisoners were buried on the island of Utö. The ship sank almost exactly two days later after an unsuccessful towing attempt by Finnish ships (Photo 38). After a two-day long imprisonment in Turku, the Soviet prisoners were handed over to the Germans and transported to Ilomantsi in northeastern Finland (Räty & Flinkman 1997: 20).

Sport divers have frequented the wreck since 1965 but the only scientific documentation dives to the wreck were conducted in the late 1970s by Erkki Metsävuori and Raimo Likitalo. Their dive team documented the outside of the wreck itself as well as the interior of the bridge, the cargo the ship was carrying at the time of its demise, and

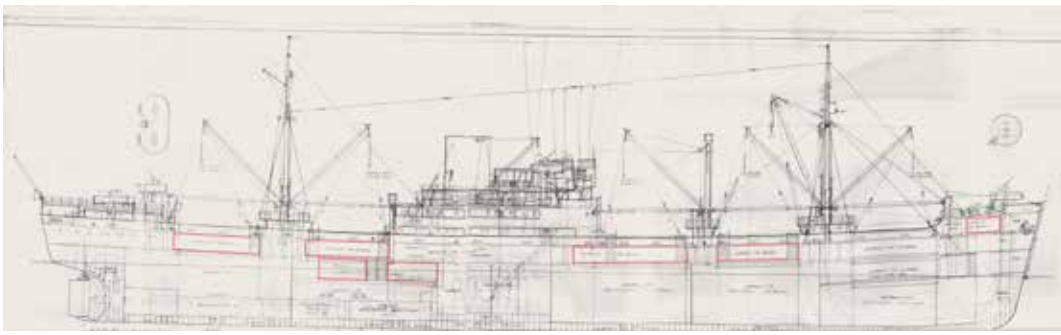

Photo 32. The cargo spaces m/s *Wartheland* used for transports of soldiers marked with red. The cargo space for horses marked with green (original drawing in Nakskov Skibs- og Søfartsmuseum and published in Harder 2022: 5).

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Photos 33–37. German soldiers resting in the cargo space and trying out the so called eight-cylinder latrine of a troop carrier during a sea crossing. Sea sickness was a common occurrence. Original photos acquired by the author from German eBay.

Photo 38. The sinking German troop carrier s/s *Hindenburg*. Original photo acquired by the author from German eBay.

wreck debris on the sea floor. The ship proved to be quite well preserved but had broken in two. The wreck offers an intriguing glimpse into the cargo and construction of a German troop carrier bound for Finland in 1942.

The successful dives came to an end in 1983, when the difficult diving circumstances claimed the life of one diver (Räty & Flinkman 1997: 23). After a pause of ten years, the diving and documentation of the wreck continued in 1993 and 1994. During these dives the wreck was also filmed. The focus of the documentation was on the vehicles stowed on the front and rear upper decks of the ship. Altogether 12 vehicles were found, and eight of them positively identified (Figure 1).

3.3.1.6 The wreck of the m/s Helgoland

The German troop carrier s/s *Helgoland* (3 664 nt. register tons) was built in 1922 and was owned by Norddeutscher Lloyd. The ship was one of the four German troop carriers heading for Hanko in early 1942 and hit a sandbank during the early stages of *Transportbewegung Schneehase* (Chapter 3.3.1.1). The ship met its end just six months later, on 30 June 1942, when it ran aground near the Finnish lighthouse of Bogskär some 50 kilometers south of the Åland Islands in the Baltic Sea. At the time of the accident the ship was carrying war materiels and vehicles for the German war effort in the north. After the accident the crew was rescued, but the ship itself could not be saved (www.wrecksite.eu and www.hylyt.net). The badly damaged s/s *Helgoland* remained shipwrecked for over four months until November 1942, when it sank after a storm pushed it into deeper water. No scientific dives have been performed at this wreck site so far.

3.3.2 German troop and war materiel transports by train in Finland 1940–1944

The network of gravel roads suitable for military transports was very underdeveloped in Finland in the 1940s. Because of this the German military depended on the railroads and required a large enough quantity of locomotives and train carts for troop and war materiel transports to the north. During the Winter War 1939–1940 many trains had been destroyed, and as a result the shortage of cars for both civilian and cargo transports were tangible even before German troop and war materiel transports started in October 1940 (Iskanius 2003: 95). In the months leading up to Operation Barbarossa several negotiations concerning the German military train transports took place, but the question regarding the lack of sufficient capacity of the Finnish railroads and the lack of locomotives and train cars remained unsolved. The situation rapidly escalated when war broke out, and

Identified vehicles:

- One civilian Opel Blitz truck.
- One military Opel Blitz truck.
- One DKW 350 motorcycle.
- One Opel Olympia Cabriolet car.
- Four LATIL TAR tractors.

Unidentified vehicles:

- One small bulldozer.
- Two small German-made trucks.
- One large unidentified truck (possibly a TATRA).

Figure 1. List of identified and unidentified vehicles on the wreck of the s/s *Hindenburg* (Räty & Flinkman 1997: 52).

subsequently led to a transport crisis by September 1941. Another problem with the train transports was the lack of coal, or even wood, to fuel the locomotives. This had been somewhat of a problem for the whole duration of the war but by the end of June 1944 the situation turned from bad to worse as the wood supplies for the locomotives started to run out entirely (Iskanius 2003: 288).

In December 1941 General Erfurth had informed Finnish leaders that Germany would give Finland 100 locomotives and 1 500 railway cars that had been acquired in occupied territories (Iskanius 2003: 179). This promise soon proved to be a bit of an exaggeration, when many of the promised locomotives and carts proved to be irreparable wrecks. By the end of August 1944 some 4 300 railway carts (including parts of cars) and 320 locomotives (73 of which were irreparable) had been shipped over to Finland from Reval. At that point 139 of the donated locomotives were in use, while 108 were still being repaired (Iskanius 2003: 228). Despite this, the German-provided locomotives and cars were crucial for the Finnish-German war effort (Karppinen 1966: 248).

To make matters worse, towards the end of 1941 the Finnish authorities were forced to reduce the number of train cars that had previously been promised to the Germans. Because of fears of the German reaction, the cutdowns were conducted gradually, train by train (Iskanius 2003: 173). The number of train cars that could be used for German transports per day was cut from 260 to 190, and the cars per train from 35 to 30, due to difficult winter conditions (Iskanius 2003: 206). By the arrival of spring in mid-March 1942 the acute transport crisis was finally over (Iskanius 2003: 216).

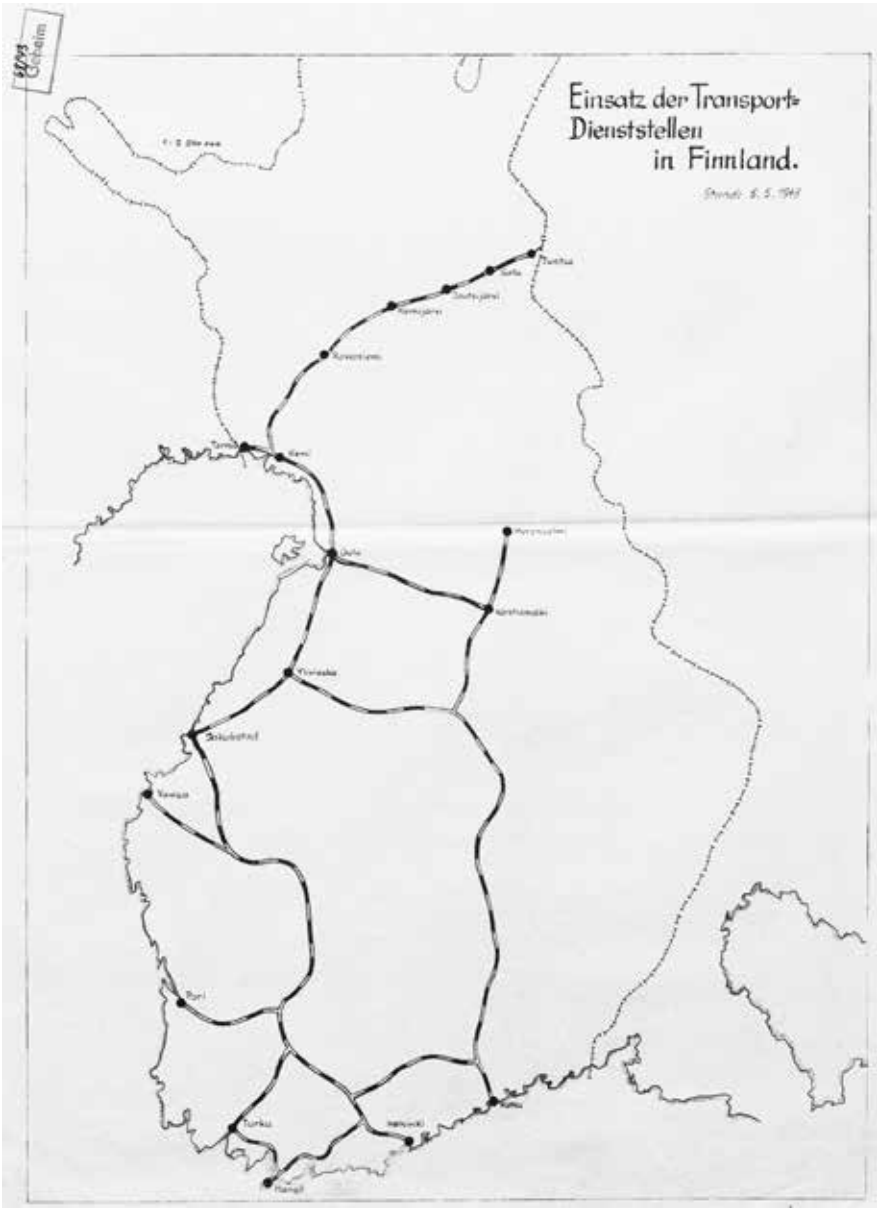
3.3.2.1 The slow two-way train journey on the "Lappland Express"

The railroad network was the bloodline that connected Hanko to the rest of Finland, and to Rovaniemi in the north. The first leg of this railroad from Hanko to Hyvinkää, which had been constructed primarily for freight transit traffic from Hanko harbour, had opened for traffic already in 1873. From Hyvinkää the railroads continued in different directions to different parts of Finland (Map 1). The trains were quite slow, and the trip from Hanko to Rovaniemi normally took around two days. During the journey the soldiers often had to participate in the loading of firewood for the locomotive (Imhoff 1994: 36).

Most of the German soldiers travelled in simple wooden cattle cars. The number of soldiers per car varied between 30 and 40 (Dieckhoff 2015: 82). Based on information in Feldpost letters the furlough trains were often nicknamed "Lappland Express", "Urlaub Express", "Suomi Express" or "Urwald Express" by the German soldiers (Photo 39). The cars were equipped with a layer of straw on the floor, wooden sleeping platforms, and a round barrel-like cast iron stove in the middle. Light inside the cart was provided by a carbide lamp, and a bucket served as a toilet (Photos 40–41). During winter the stove had to be heated day and night to keep the train car warm. Firewood was collected by the soldiers themselves during mandatory stops on sidings, for instance when the train encountered a train travelling in the opposite direction. The stove could also be used to warm food and water during the trip. When heating was not required, the soldiers used the top of the stove to play Skat, a very popular German card game for three players (Bellschan von Mildenburg 2022: 55; Ehrt S. 2017, interview). In a letter home a German soldier wrote about the miserable conditions in the cattle car, where the soldiers were forced to sit almost on top of each other and sleep in wooden bunks without a mattress. "Everyone is disgruntled and depressed", he wrote:

> On the train, one sat on top of the other again, sleeping on wooden planks without any support. You do what you like with the Landser. Everyone is disgruntled and depressed, returning holidaymakers don't say nice things about what is done to the people. I want to save a sip of wine for the journey through Finland.
>
> Letter dated 5 June 1943 from Hanko.

A so-called cold food, ration containing some 700 grams of dark bread, 200 grams of cold meat or cheese, 60 grams of bread spreads, nine grams of coffee or four grams of tea, ten grams of sugar, and six cigarettes was probably issued to the soldiers at the start of the furlough journey (US War



Map 1. Map from 1943 showing the railway network used by German troops in Finland. Map in the archives of the Bundesarchiv (Bundesarchiv Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20RH 20-20308).

department 1945: VI–19). It is also possible that food ration cans and bread were saved by the soldiers for the train journey, even though there are pictures of Finnish Lottas serving German soldiers cooked food at the larger stations such as Tampere or Rovaniemi during the journey (Photos 64–65). Beverages such as lemonade and pilsener were often sold to the soldiers at stations by local boys. According to information in letters sent by German soldiers from Hanko it seems that alcohol was also consumed during the train journey, but that it was not commissioned specially for the trip.

The German officers travelled a bit more comfortably in ordinary railway cars attached to the train just behind the locomotive, but even for them the journey could sometimes be quite unpleasant.

According to a complaint filed by first lieutenant Braunschmidt in January 1943, who travelled on a train from Hanko to Oulu, the car reserved for German officers was cramped, the windows were broken, and the car lacked heating and electricity. According to him the toilet was also scandalously dirty, and therefore impossible to use leading to both ordinary soldiers and officers exiting the trains to perform their "duties" whenever the train stopped (Sundqvist 2013: 34).

3.3.2.2 Accidents and sabotage may happen

The German railway traffic was run according to German timetables that were not always well communicated to the Finnish side. Adding to this, the extensive railway transports resulted in much maintenance work on the rails themselves. The combination of both circumstances led to a serious railway accident in the summer of 1942. In Etseri (Ähtäri), on 5 August 1942, a furlough train packed with approximately 1 000 German soldiers heading for home leave either via Turku, or, more probably, Hanko. On board the train was private Arno Zezeling from Bau-Batallion 409 on his way for his first furlough in over a year. Finnish railway workers were in the process of repairing a part of the railroad that had started to tilt and had just removed a part of the rail when they heard the German train approaching. In the ensuing accident the front part of the train fell off the track, killing 25 German soldiers and leaving at least 78 injured (Photo 42).

Among those in the accident was Arno Zezeling. All of the Finnish workers escaped the unavoidable disaster unharmed by taking refuge in the woods. In the chaos and mayhem that followed the accident, the Germans declined all help offered by a Finnish doctor and Finnish nurses, as they suspected the derailing of the train had been caused by sabotage (Sundqvist 2013: 131–134).

In the north Soviet partisans disrupted the German furlough transports causing delays and casualties. In early July 1943 Soviet partisans attacked a German furlough transport travelling towards Kuusamo in the northeastern part of the Northern Ostrobothnia and killed 20 German soldiers (Imhoff 1994: 36). Also, in the south of Finland, the Finnish communist resistance observed the German trains and had plans to sabotage the transports but did not manage to do so (Suhonen 2016: 262).

3.3.3 Accommodation for German soldiers in Finnish harbour towns

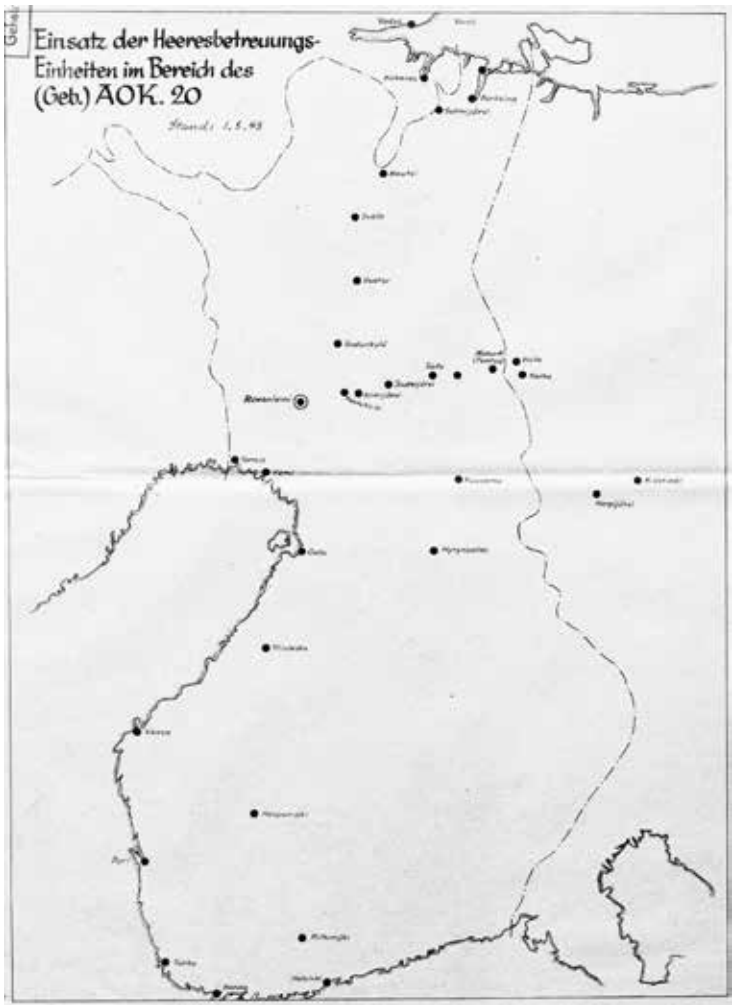
During operation Barbarossa almost all of the larger Finnish harbours were used for German troop and/or war materiel transports. From 1940 to 1942 the most important ports for the German war effort in the north were those of Hanko, Turku, Vasa, and Jakobstad in the southwest and west, and Oulu and Rovaniemi in the north of Finland (Map 2). All of these harbour towns had transition camps of various sizes or other types of temporary accommodation for German soldiers. Of all these camps, the German transition camp in Hanko is the only one where buildings have been preserved and the campgrounds excavated and documented in a multidisciplinary manner. The German Second World War camps in the Rovaniemi area and many of the camps in Oulu in northern Finland that were destroyed during the Lapland War have been extensively documented by the local amateur historian Kalevi Mikkonen, and his work will probably serve as a foundation for future archaeological research in this region.

3.3.3.1 Frontleitstelle 25 – Deutsches Lager Hanko

The first furlough transports through Hanko harbour occurred already in May 1942, before the building of the camp on Cape Tulliniemi had even commenced, as already mentioned (NARA archives, T-312, R-1008, Anlage Nr. 4). From then on, the ever-increasing number of German soldiers in Finland meant that more and more German soldiers had to be transported on furlough to Germany, and the planning and construction of the German transition camp in Hanko got underway. In the spring of 1942, a 160 000 square meter area of Cape Tulliniemi was rented to the Germans for the very low monthly price of 25 Finnish "penni" per square meter (Silvast 2000: 22). The location of the camp was ideal for troop transports as it was connected by a railroad to the rest of Finland and was only a short distance from Hanko har-

Photos 39–41. The "Lappland Express" shown stopped at one of the many railroad stations between Hanko and Rovaniemi. German soldiers huddled together inside a cattle cart. The stove was used for warming or heating food or water during the two-day journey to the north. The wooden platforms (right) provided cramped sleeping or resting space during the journey. Original photos acquired by the author from German eBay.

Photo 42. A railway accident, probably the one in Etseri. Photo acquired by the author from German eBay.



Map 2. Towns and locations providing accommodation or supplying other types of care for German soldiers on the move in Finland in 1943. Map from 1 June 1943 in the archives of the Bundesarchiv (Bundesarchiv Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20RH 20-20308).

bour (Maps 3–4). The area could also be easily cut off from the rest of Hanko if necessary.

The lease agreement allowed the German army to build a necessary number of barracks, stables, car sheds, fire wells, and roads in the area. The Germans were also allowed to build a new stretch of railroad for troop transports inside the camp. It was prohibited to store inflammable materials in the area. The rented area was to be kept clean and tidy, and all garbage and waste was to be immediately removed from the area (Silvast 2000: 22). The last regulation would prove to have major consequences for the archaeological fieldwork on the site 80 years later.

The large number of barracks needed for the camp were manufactured by Finnish companies and paid for by the Germans (Manninen 2023: 280). The construction of the camp was assigned to Bauhalbzug 12 (part of Organisation Todt), and the unit was transferred to Hanko from Lapland. In the beginning, Finnish construction workers were also employed by the Germans to help with the work. The German construction workers lived in Villa Tellina in central Hanko (Silvast 2000: 22). Bauhalbzug 12 returned to the north in December 1942 after having completed its work in Hanko. According to a report by German general Ferdinand Jodl in September 1942, Deutsches Lager Hanko could accommodate 1 500 soldiers and the delousing facilities had a capacity of 1 000 soldiers/day (NARA archives, T-312, R-1034).

An official inspection of the camp was conducted on 24 January 1943. The inspection was led by Major Knapp, the commanding officer of Frontleitstelle 25 Hanko. During the time of the

Maps 3–4. The location of Hanko harbour and "Deutsches Lager Hanko" on Cape Tulliniemi some 3 km to the west. Maps by Marjo Karppanen and Jan Fast.

inspection the capacity of the main part of the camp had grown considerably and could now accommodate over twice the number of soldiers than it did in September 1942. It was estimated that the camp could hold up to 5 720 soldiers when all the planned constructions had been completed. The permanent staff of the camp consisted of seven officers (including the commanding officer), one official, 31 subordinate officers, and 32 soldiers. The support and care of the soldiers in the camp was assigned to the permanent staff of the camp together with 21 women from Heeres-Betreuungs-Abteilung 10. The delousing of the arriving soldiers was taken care of by soldiers from Heeres-Betreeuungs-Kompanie 64 (NARA archives T 312/1040). In January 1943 the barracks for housing the female auxiliaries who ran the Soldatenheim canteen, and the support centre were still under construction, and the women lived temporarily in an ordinary barrack. Neither one of the two delousing facilities had either been completed by the time of the inspection, but the first one was to be taken into use in a couple of days' time (NARA archives T 312/1040).

According to the inspection report, the large canteen was considered to provide exemplary care for the German soldiers in the camp. The overall atmosphere and organization of the camp was considered good, as were the transports of the soldiers going on or returning from furlough day and night. The mood among the soldiers in the camp was described as very good, with only two minor disciplinary actions taken since the start of furlough traffic through the camp. The small number of disciplinary issues compared to the situation in the Deutsches Lager Turku was presumed to be at least partly because the camp in Hanko was situated further away from the town (NARA archives T 312/1040). During the inspection the camp personnel requested that the construction of the rest of the camp be made more quickly and that more subordinate officers would be assigned to the camp to function as barracks elders. They also asked that the camp would be connected to the lighting circuit (NARA archives T 312/1040).

A document dated to 11 June 1943 in the archives of AOK 20 also mentions another inspection by General Eduard Dietl of the transition

camps in Turku and Hanko. The document originally contained an attachment (Anlage 155) that included an inspection report by Dietl, but this has been lost (NARA archives T-312, R-1039). In August 1943 the name of the camp was changed from Deutsches Lager Hangö to Deutsches Lager Hanko (NARA archives, T-312/1043).

By the end of March 1944, the camp had grown into one of the largest transition camps in Finland consisting of over 150 buildings, 51 of which were reserved for the accommodation of soldiers in transit and provided basic sleeping quarters for 3 994 soldiers. In the westernmost part of the camp there was the so-called Ukrainerlager, an area reserved for Ukrainian voluntary helpers (attachment to the original map of the camp Belegungsübersicht Deutsches Lager Hanko den 27 März 1944 in the archives of Hanko Museum). In emergency situations and if buildings like the Soldatenheim canteen, the movie theatre, and the dining halls were taken into accommodation use, the maximum accommodation capacity of the camp was estimated to 5 260 persons at a time (appendix to the original map of the camp Belegungsübersicht Deutsches Lager Hanko den 27 März 1944 in the archives of Hanko Museum).

On 2 September 1944, after Finland had broken off all diplomatic and political relations with Germany, all soldiers in the camp except for a small rear detachment were ordered to move to the north. A total of 120 men were assigned to the army supply camps in the harbour towns of Turku, Vaasa, and Kokkola (NARA archives, T-312 R-1068). Between 1–5 September 1944 the shutting down of Deutsches Lager Hanko was overseen by Hauptmann Krüger (NARA archives, T-312, R- 1069).

3.3.3.2 Frontleitstelle 20 – Deutsches Lager Turku

The local commandants' headquarters in Turku was established in December–January 1941/1942 (BArch RH 23/5 0210). Construction of the German transition camp in Turku commenced in the summer of 1942 after the city of Turku gave permission to use an unused spot of farmland near the harbour for the purpose of building it. The area was not rented but was instead given free of charge to the Germans. The area was highly suitable for its purpose, as it lay very close to the busy Turku harbour and was taken into full use in March 1943 (Mattsson 2019). The official name of the camp was Deutsches Lager Turku, but the area was also called "Pikku-Berliini" (Little Berlin) by the locals like so many other German camps in Finland at the time.

In January 1943 the still half-finished camp was run by the commanding officer of Frontleitstelle 20 captain Dr. Mertinat, together with camp commandant Wiehle and captains Bolt and Hubalek together with seven officers, one clerk, 30 sergeants, and seven non-officers. The care of the soldiers in the camp was assigned to one official, two officers, 10 soldiers, and 10 female auxiliaries from Betreeuungstruppe 9 (NARA archives T 312/1040). Based on information in a German inspection report from January 1943, the camp at the time had 20 barracks for subordinate officers and soldiers, while two barracks were assigned to officers.

By the time the construction of the camp was completed in March 1943 the total number of barracks was already 55 (Raula 2001). According to the memories of Mr. Jorma Mattsson from 2019, the full number of barracks was around 70 by the end of the war. He remembers the barracks being of many different sizes. The six largest ones were 10 x 28 meters in size, and consisted of eight separate rooms that were heated with stoves. The second largest ones were 10 x 21 meters in size, and the smallest ones 10 x 16 meters. The camp had its own bakery and a large canteen that was run by a Finnish staff. There was also a library, a hospital, and quarantine area inside the camp perimeter (Mattsson 2019). The camp could accommodate around 4 900 soldiers at a time (NARA archives T 312/1040)

The barracks were abandoned when the Germans left Turku on 15 September 1944 and saw use by the Finnish defence forces and after that as homes for families. The remains of the camp were demolished the late 1950s and the area was used as a landfill (Peltola 2020). Today, nothing of the camp remains.

3.3.3.3 Vasa (Vaasa)

Vaskiluoto harbour situated some 2 km from the town of Vasa, was a major port for the German

war effort. From 1941 to 1944 the harbour even surpassed the harbour of Oulu when it came to the number of German troop and war materiel transports (Sundqvist 2013: 31). The harbour was first used by the Germans in 1940, according to an agreement between Finland and Germany (Sundqvist 2013: 31). In 1941, during the weeks before the outbreak of Operation Barbarossa, many German units arrived in the port at Vaskiluoto. Among these were large parts of the 169. Infanterie-Division (Sundqvist 2013: 16). The Stab of Infanterie-Regiment 378, along with units such as Bäckerei-Kp 218, and the Signal Bataillon of the Division, was also shipped from Danzig to Vasa during this time, and was soon followed by parts of Infanterie-Regiment 379 on 13 June 1941 (Sundqvist 2013: 32; Airio 2014). When war broke out in June 1941 the sea traffic to the harbour multiplied, and the German transports to Vasa was more than double that of the harbours of Jakobstad and Karleby combined (Sundqvist 2013: 31). In 1942 the sea traffic was about half of that of 1941, with another slight decrease in 1943. In 1944 the German sea-traffic to Vasa decreased even further, despite the very warm winter that allowed the harbour to be used all year round (Sundqvist 2013: 31–33, 35). The town of Vasa had a German office for sea transports, personnel in charge of the troop and war materiel transports and a local commandant's headquarters. The harbour was protected by two air defence units. Storage facilities for war materiels that had been unloaded from the ships or were awaiting transport were built in the harbour.

There was no transition camp in Vasa for the thousands of arriving or departing soldiers, even though the wait for the trains that transported the soldiers to the north could take days. During their mandatory stay in Vasa the German soldiers were mostly housed in large schools such as Vasa Industriskola, which also had a ward for wounded German soldiers. Besides schools, the German soldiers were sometimes housed in tents in parks or along the road leading from the harbour to Vasa town (Laurila 2006). The housing of German soldiers in the central parts of the mainly Swedish speaking town generated many close encounters between young German soldiers and equally young Finnish girls. Near the schools where the German soldiers were housed there was also housing for industry workers, who because of the war were often young women. In an attempt, to protect the youngest girls from the German soldiers, the local police issued a night-time curfew for women under 18 years of age, but the clandestine affairs continued in the town's cafés and cinemas (Laurila 2006).

3.3.3.4 Jakobstad (Pietarsaari)

The harbour town of Jakobstad (Pietarsaari) was very important to the German war effort in the early stage of Operation Barbarossa. The harbour was situated on Alholmen, just a few km to the northwest of the town centre. German transit traffic through Jakobstad began on 9 June 1941 (Sundqvist 2013: 16, 21). At this point the German soldiers who arrived were put on northbound trains almost immediately after arrival, and the influence of foreign soldiers on the town was minimal. Among the first German troops travelling on furlough from the frontlines in late December 1941 were soldiers from 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord". The officers were accommodated in hotels and the men in local schools or in barracks (Sundqvist 2013: 50–51). A document dated to 4 January 1942 states that a commandants' headquarters under the command of SS captain Richard Benner had been established in the town (Sundqvist 2013: 48).

A small German transition camp consisting of at least 10 barracks was situated in a former shooting range, apparently on both sides of the present day Nynäsgatan road about 1,5 km to the SW of the town centre. It has so far not been established when exactly the building of barracks started, but it is clear that they were in use in 1942. Near the Alholmen port, barracks for disinfection purposes were constructed. The capacity of the delousing facility was however only 200 soldiers/day which prevented the use of Jakobstad for larger troop transports (BArch RH 20-20/46 0561). The transit traffic through Jakobstad peaked in August 1942, but the camp lost most of its importance as a transition camp already later that same year.

In 1943 German troop carriers continued to arrive in Jakobstad harbour but not as frequently as during the previous years. The town is not listed on the German map from 1 June 1943 that shows towns

providing care and supplies to German soldiers in Finland (Map 3). By 1944 the harbour had lost its position as one of the major German gateways to the north and only a German Ordnungskompanie remained in Jakobstad (Sundqvist 2013: 25).

3.3.3.5 Oulu – Waffen-SS Finnland Stützpunkt IV and Urlauberlager Laanila

In 1941 the German military activity in Oulu was limited to the area around Toppila harbour. From there Oulu quickly developed to be a major bridgehead for German troop and war materiel transports to Northern Finland. During the busiest days of the Second World War the town housed up to 4 000 German soldiers, probably around half of them from the 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord" (Mikkonen 2017).

The town had two transition camps. One transition camp in Nokkalankangas for regular German troops travelling on furlough and for the Waffen-SS-Finnland Stützpunkt IV, and one situated on a former shooting range near the Tuira railway station for Waffen-SS soldiers serving in 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord" (Hautala 1982: 471). The transition camp in Nokkalankangas consisted of 24 barracks and other buildings. The camp supplied temporary accommodation for up to 600 German soldiers during their furlong journeys (Hautala 1982: 471–472). Construction of the extensive supply and training camp for Waffen-SS troops began in August 1942. This camp consisted of 275 barracks, and the campgrounds covered an area of over 60 hectares (Hautala 1982: 471). The camp in Tuira was the largest German military camp in Finland during the Second World War.

The soldiers arrived at the camps from the frontlines in trains. After a short stay in one of the camps the soldiers were shipped from Toppila harbour to Sweden where they boarded southbound trains travelling through neutral Sweden and occupied Denmark to Germany. In the summer of 1943, the Swedish government stopped allowing German troops to travel within their borders, and the train cars with Waffen-SS and regular troops heading for Germany turned to the southbound ports of Turku and Hanko instead. The barracks in the camps were largely dismantled, and the areas were rebuilt after the war. The only surviving building of the Waffen-SS-Finnland Stützpunkt IV today is the SS officers mess hall building. The building which now goes under the name of "Alppimaja" (Alpen hut), is still used for festivities.

3.3.3.6 Rovaniemi – Durchgangslager Rose, Durchgangslager Edelweiss, and Kolonnenhof Vuotso

The final stop of the "Lappland Express" from Hanko to the north was Rovaniemi. From there the journey of the German soldiers continued either by foot, by bus, or on lorries towards the northernmost frontlines of the shores of the Arctic Ocean. In Rovaniemi there were altogether four German transition camps for regular troops. In addition to these, both the Luftwaffe and Organisation Todt had their own transition camps.

Durchgangslager Rose was situated in Viirinkangas, some 2 km from the Rovaniemi railway station in the vicinity of the Viirinkangas cemeteries. The area was rented to the Germans in April of 1941 for a maximum of five years. In the autumn of 1941 German troops started building their first camp in the woods near the vicary, and at the start of the upcoming winter the building of a large barracks area commenced. The lease contract was renewed in 1943, and the total area of the transition camp was expanded to at least 5,5 hectares by September 1944 (Mikkonen 2021: 19–20).

The construction of Durchgangslager Edelweiss (also in Viirinkangas) began either in the autumn of 1941 or early 1942. Designed to accommodate soldiers for one or two nights before their journey continued, the camp consisted of 76 different-sized barracks, and was of very similar size and overall layout to Deutsches Lager Hanko.

Kolonnenhof Vuotso, situated on both sides of the main supply road to the frontlines in the far north the so-called Eismeerstrasse, was an important and busy rest area. It consisted of some 20 barracks, including a transition camp, depots, a bakery, a movie theatre, car repair shops, a laundry, and other facilities. The camp had a permanent staff of around 400 and could hold thousands of passing soldiers.

4 THE DISPERSED HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIAL OF DEUTSCHES LAGER HANKO

> Mentally, these men were not there. This was not the place where their affections were focused. They were on their way somewhere else, probably had their minds already on where their destination lay. Or they ruminated on what they had left behind.
>
> The camp is not a terminus. Yet, it is a terminal: the end of a trip, a resting place, for a short while. The whole existence of the camp is marked by fleetingness. Yet, this fleeting camp stayed there week after week, month after month, altogether for more than two years. There was no future in the camp. The future was at the frontline or at home. (Lehtinen, T.-K. 2017, presentation in a seminar at the Exhibition Laboratory in Helsinki in September 2017).

In September 2017 I had the opportunity to attend a presentation by Professor of Sociology Turo-Kimmo Lehtinen during a research seminar arranged in connection with the exhibition *Deutsches Lager – Inside and Beside the Camp in Helsinki 18.8.–10.9.2017*. In his presentation Lehtinen reflected on the German soldiers and their experiences in the transition camp in Hanko. His words cited above are important to keep in mind when evaluating the scattered and fragmented information gathered through archive research, interviews, letters and diaries and the material record the soldiers left behind after passing through Deutsches Lager Hanko.

4.1 Archive finds in Finland

4.1.1. Information about the camp in the National Archives of Finland

The National Archives of Finland contained important archival sources, such as war diaries of Finnish army group Hanko 1942–1944 as well as diaries of individual soldiers like SS-Regimental Sergeant Major Olavi Helaseppä, both of which have been used for this dissertation. Regarding the German troops in Hanko, and especially the German transition camp on Cape Tulliniemi itself, the archives however offer only extremely limited information.

Archaeologist Anu Varjo participated in the excavations at Cape Tulliniemi 2016–2019 as an archaeology student at the University of Helsinki. In her BA work, and later in her MA thesis, she surveyed and researched the barracks of the delousing area of the camp. During her research she found out that almost nothing about the barracks in the camp could be found in Finnish archives (Varjo 2019: 34–35). Varjo published the results of her research at the University of Helsinki in 2019 in her Master's thesis *Modernin teollisen puurakennuksen arkeologinen inventointi: Tapaustutkimuksena Hangon Tulliniemen kauttakulkuleiri 1942–1944* (Varjo 2019).

During an interview with an elderly resident in Hanko in 2015 I received a few photocopies of archive cards where detailed information about the barracks in the camp had been meticulously recorded. The cards had been written in 1945 prior to the dismantling and selling of most of the barracks of the camp. Sadly, only some of the cards had been preserved, but those that remained gave quite a good overview of how the barracks were constructed and their condition soon after they had been abandoned by the Germans in September 1944. The archive from which the cards were obtained could not be identified.

Almost all of the archive cards describe the buildings as being in an either poor or very poor condition in 1945, after only a little over two years of use by German troops. Some of the cards shed light on the use of barracks that are not mentioned in the original map.

4.1.2 The original map and its attachment in the Hanko Museum archives

A map of Deutsches Lager Hanko from March 1944 and an attachment to the map was the only clue to the history of the German transition camp in Hanko that could be found when I started my research on the camp in 2014. This piece of evidence remained central to my research throughout the years. The *Lageplan zum Deutschen Lager Hanko* is drawn upon a very thin wax paper type of material (Map 5, see also Map 6). It is not known why or by whom the map was drawn, nor how it survived the war. When looking closely at the map itself it is evident that it was probably drawn in a haste as there are quite a few errors and inconsistencies in the texts.

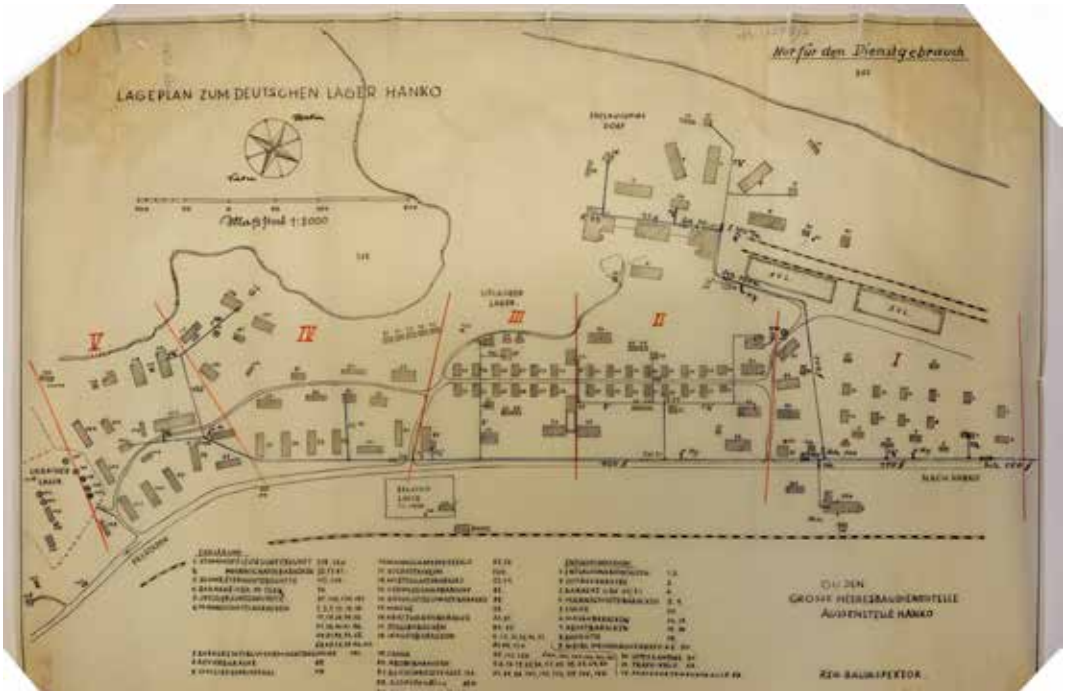
On the map the camp is divided into five sectors, or Bezirke, numbered I, II, III, IV, and V and marked in red. In addition to these, the Entlausungsdorf, the Urlauberlager furlough camp, and the Ukrainerlager for Ukrainian former prisoners of war are marked with text. The map shows 138 different buildings in the Urlauberlager, 22 constructions in the Entlausungsdorf delousing area, and 11 buildings in the Ukrainerlager (Appendix 2). Two large buildings marked AVL for Armeeverpflegungslager were constructed before the war and used by the Germans between 1942 –1944, which brings the total number of constructions in the camp to 171. Each of the buildings except for the AVL buildings have their own numbers on the map. Some of the buildings in the delousing area have the same numbers as buildings in the main camp but are listed separately. In the bottom part of the map the function of each of the buildings is explained but the list is incomplete and contains many spelling and other errors. A text in the upper right corner of the map states that the map is meant only for service-use. Another text in the right-hand corner declares that the map was to be signed by the building inspector of the O.U. Den Grosse Heeresbaudienststelle Aussenstelle Hanko. As there is no signature or official stamp, it is likely that the map was only a draft for the final version. A date on the attachment to the map points to the documents having been completed on 27 March 1944. This means that the map shows the extent of the camp at its largest, just some six months before the Germans left Hanko on the in September 1944.

Even though the map provides a very good starting point for surveys and interpretations of the camp it is only through its attachment, the archive cards describing the barracks in 1945, and air surveillance photos that we can try to understand and interpret its full content. The attachment to the map was found in the Hanko Museum archives in 2014. It is titled Belegungsübersicht Deutsches Lager Hanko and includes valuable information about how many soldiers were housed in each of the barracks in the five different sectors of the camp (I–V) and how many soldiers could live in the barracks in case of emergency accommodation (Photo 43). The paper and the handwriting on the document are very similar to the one on the original map and contains many spelling and other errors. It was probably drawn by the same person as the map.

4.1.3 The harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives

One of the more difficult but important tasks for the research was to try to estimate the numbers of German soldiers who passed through Hanko on a daily, monthly, or yearly basis between 1942 and 1944. During this time-period the harbour officials tried to keep an account of all Finnish and foreign ships that visited the harbour. For my research I sieved out the information regarding German cargo and troop traffic from January 1942 to September 1944 from the numerous documents.

The harbour books of Hanko harbour are kept in the Hanko harbour archives. They contain concise information about all sea traffic to and from Hanko harbour and provided one possibility to address this question by looking into the German ship traffic to and from the port. The entries in the harbour books are often short, and many times only contain the dates when ships arrive or leave and the cargo they unload and load during their short stays. However, in January and February 1942, when the German ships started arriving in the harbour the officials documented the arrivals



Map 5. The original map Lageplan zum Deutschen Lager Hanko from 27 March 1944, in the Hanko Museum archives. Photo Hanko Museum.

Map 6. The redrawn and corrected map of Deutsches Lager Hanko at its largest on 27 May 1944. Map by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 43. The attachment to the original map titled Belegungsübersicht Deutsches Lager Hanko. Photo Hanko Museum.

and departures in a very detailed manner. Sometimes even exact numbers of soldiers, horses, and even dogs can be found in the documents which was of great help for my research.

4.1.4 Research of German documents found in a ventilation shaft in a building in Hanko harbour

Having a large storage- and office building in the harbour was essential to the German war effort in Hanko. The Smörmagasinet storage building in the port of Hanko was built in 1908–1909 for storage of the most important of exported goods at the time, butter (Photo 44). Between 1942–1944 the facility was used as a storage building by the German army.

Today, Smörmagasinet is a lunch restaurant, and it was during a renovation of the restaurant in May 2019 that an electrician noticed a bunch of papers in one of the large wooden ventilation shafts of one of its rooms (Photo 45). He stuck in his hand, retrieved the documents, and after realizing they were from the Second World War handed them over to his superiors, who in turn delivered them to the Hanko Museum. A total of 579 unique documents, most of them neatly grouped in separate folders, were found in the ventilation shaft (Photos 46–47). Most of the documents are associated with six companies of the 1. Kompanie of the 1. Battalion and 6–10. Kompanie of the 3. Battalion of Gebirgsjäger-Regiment 206. The closed find also includes many documents from the Nachkommando II, the Divisions-Kampfschule 82, and the Zahlmesterei of Gebirgsjäger - Regiment 206. The documents are mainly from March–May 1944, with a couple of documents from June 1944. During the research all of the documents were catalogued and photographed for Hanko Museum by the author in 2019–2020 and an overview of the find published in 2021 (Fast et al. 2021).

Gebirgsjäger-Regiment 206 was part of the 7. Gebirgs-Division and was formed in Grafenwöhr Germany on 15 January 1941. After it was formed the Division was split in two. Soldiers from the advance detachment of this unit first set foot in Hanko in February 1942, but the rest of the unit arrived in Hanko harbour in May 1942 after the ice situation had cleared (Fast et al. 2021: 47). The regiment participated in the battles in the far north in August 1942. By that time all the units of the 7. Gebirgs-Division had been brought together

and were stationed on the Kiestinki front. There the frontline gradually stabilized.

Between March and May 1944, with the war in Finland nearing its end, soldiers from Gebirgsjäger Regiment 206 passed through Hanko once again. According to the documents most of them were going on furlough or to receive military training (Fast et al. 2021: 48–49). After their visit to Deutsches Lager Hanko the soldiers in the unit returned to the front in the northeast of Finland, where they held their positions until the Soviet general offensive in the late summer of 1944. During the Lapland War between Finland and Germany, Gebirgsjäger-Regiment 206 retreated towards the Norwegian/Finnish border. In Tornio, in the northwestern part of Finland, it participated in one of the bloodiest battles against the Finnish army (Fast et al. 2021: 48). The 7. Gebirgs-Division capitulated to the British in Lillehammer in Norway in 1945, but the war diaries of Gebirgsjäger-Regiment 206 were lost in the last stages of the war and have never been found.

Photo 44. The Smörmagasinet building in Hanko harbour approximately 1910. Photo Hanko Museum.

Photo 45. The ventilation shaft where the German documents were found. Photo Jan Fast.

Battalion and company level documents associated with the 7. Gebirgs-Division are very rare. The documents found in Smörmagasinet include names of German soldiers in each of the six companies as well as valuable information about punishments, treatment in field hospitals, and interesting details regarding the home-leave journey itself. Many of the documents give information on the feeding of horses (Fast et al. 2021: 49). Stamps like Betreeungs und Verpflegungs-Stelle Deutsches Lager Hanko in the home-leave documents provided much needed information about the name of the German transition camp on Cape Tulliniemi, which at that point was not known. Other documents were stamped Frontleitstelle 25 – Hanko which provided a key to the name of the commandants' headquarters in Hanko in 1944 (Photos 46–47; Fast et al. 2021: 48). The find was published in the media and generated an enormous interest in Deutsches Lager Hanko, which benefitted the research (Björkqvist 2019).

Photo 46. Stamp for B(etreeungs- u(nd). V(erpflegungs)-Stelle Deutsches Lager Hanko on a German home-leave document found in the ventilation shaft of Smörmagasinet in 2019. Photo Jan Fast.

Photo 47. Stamp for Frontleitstelle 25, Hanko on a German home-leave document found in the ventilation shaft of Smörmagasinet in 2019. Photo Jan Fast.

4.2 Archive finds abroad

4.2.1 The Bundesarchiv and the National Archives and Records Administration archives

The German commandant's headquarters in Hanko burned to the ground in 1943, and the Germans destroyed many of their archives during the later stages of the war. For this thesis I searched for all possible documents with clues to the history of Deutsches Lager Hanko in the archives of Armeeoberkommando Lappland, Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20. The archives were captured and microfilmed by the Americans after the Second World War and can now be studied over the Internet using a variety of different search engines. The archives are extremely dispersed and fragmentary in nature and as a result much motivation and persistence are required to find specific data among the very large number of documents. Only very general and small details about the camp in Hanko and the furlough journey in general turned up during the years of research between 2019–2024 in the archives kept by the Bundesarchiv in Germany and the archives of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

4.3 Personal memorabilia

4.3.1 Finds from personal and family archives in Finland and Germany

During my frequent visits to Hanko between 2014–2020, I met many persons who had knowledge about the history of the German camp or owned items related to it. One of the residents of Hanko, Mr. Tomy Karlsson, who has written several books about the history of Hanko, was particularly eager to help me with my research. In the 1980s he had interviewed three former Lotta Svärd members who ran the Lotta Svärd canteen of the camp (Karlsson 1991). In one of his publications was a photo that I presumed was from the camp and interested me. The "Lotta" in the picture, Jun-Maj Dahlqvist, had passed away, but Tomy Karlsson very kindly supplied me with the name of her daughter so I could get hold of the original photo for my research. When I got in contact with her, she showed me a whole photo album with several photos from Deutsches Lager Hanko, together with a memory book from the camp with many entries by German soldiers, female members of the German Red Cross organization, and Finnish Waffen-SS-volunteers.

In 2017 a humble question about a copy of an original colour photograph in the possession of a militaria collector in Finland, supposedly from the German transition camp in Turku, led me to lieutenant Siegfried Ehrt, a German war veteran then living in Breitenbrunn near Münich in Germany. In his possession were many more original colour photos from the furlong journey of a German Gebirgsjäger who passed through the German camp in Hanko in May 1943 (Photos 61–71).

Over the Internet I also got in contact with Mrs. Gerda Smorra, the daughter of a German officer who was killed on the northern front after his last home-leave in August 1943. Through this contact I acquired letters and a pocket diary describing first lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver's experiences in Deutsches Lager Hanko, which he passed through when he travelled back to the front for the last time (Photos 72–79). A while later, historian André Swanström kindly informed me about an entry in the diary of Finnish SS-volunteer SS sergeant Olavi Helaseppä, which helped put some the entries in the memory book of the Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist into perspective.

4.3.1.1 The memory book of Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist

Jun-Maj Dahlqvist's small black memory book covers the time between 24 June 1942 and 27 April 1943. Of the total of 44 pages with writing on them, 26 pages contain one or more short texts by Wehrmacht soldiers, female auxiliaries of the Deutsches Rotes Kreutz, and soldiers in the Waffen-SS. As in every memory book, the texts in Jun-Majs book mostly contain familiar and typical "forget-me-not" verses about love and remembrance. The first 23 pages of the memory book contain verses written in June and July 1942 during the construc-

tion of the camp. The entries are predominantly in Swedish and written on every second page of the memory book. The texts paint a picture of a carefree existence in Cape Tulliniemi before the arrival of the first German troops. The style of many of the entries is typical for the period, and many of the verses are very familiar from other period memory books. Among the early scribblings in the book, two more personal verses stand out. The first one is written by another Lotta Svärd member, Miranda Westerholm, a good friend of Jun-Maj. The text is very romantic in tone in its description of the hopes and dreams of the young Lottas of the camp.

To Jun-Maj!
On the sandy beach of Tulliniemi,
three Lottas can sometimes be seen.
They walk there so silent and dream:
about a husband and children and more.
"Tell me do you believe it will happen"
Thank you, Jun-Maj for good fellowship on
"Tulludden"
Hanko 1/7 1942 Miranda Westerholm

Till Jun-Maj!
På Tulluddens sandiga strand,
där ser man tre lottor ibland.
De går där så stilla och drömmer:
om make och barn med mera
"Säg tror du det lyckas"
Tack Jun-Maj för gott kamradskap på "Tulludden"

Hangö 1/7 1942 Miranda Westerholm

Entry in Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist memory book, p. 11.

The second more personal entry, just four days after the one written by Miranda was probably written by a Finnish soldier or worker and is simply signed "Adjutant". It is very different in tone, and probably meant to be more humorous than it looks at first glance. The text constitutes a warning to all men (including German soldiers) who might try to lay their hands on Jun-Maj.

A beautiful summer evening at Tulliniemi
just visiting. Thanks for everything good.
But this We say!
The one who touches or
harasses this behind
He will be sentenced by the Devil
to sit on the stairs of hell
eating hay or oats
Tulliniemi 5/7 42. Adjutant

En vacker sommarkväll på Tulludden
på visit. Tack för allt gott.
Men det säga Vi!
Den som rörer eller
rackar denna bak.
Han skall bli dömd med Jävulens dom.
att sitta på helvetets trappa
äta hö eller havre
Tulludden 5/7 42. Adjutant

Entry in Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist memory book, p. 15.

The following 26 pages contain a total of 45 entries written by personnel in the Wehrmacht, Deutsches Rotes Kreutz, Finnish volunteers in the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS or German SS men from the 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord" passing through the camp. Surprisingly there are no verses by men from the Luftwaffe, Kriegsmarine or Organisation Todt in the book despite several finds that can be associated with them have been found during the excavations of the camp. One could argue that the entries are quite few considering how many German soldiers passed through the camp between July/August 1942 and April 1943. Although we will never know by which criteria Jun-Maj allowed soldiers to write in her book it is obvious that this was not something she allowed just any passing soldier to do. The earliest date for a German entry can be

found on page 48 when five German Red Cross auxiliaries wrote in the book on 1 July 1942 (Photo 48). Interestingly it is written on the same day (1 July 1942) as the very romantic entry by the Finnish Lotta. The contents of this text can be considered both patriotic and propagandistic.

Hangö on 1.7.1942	Hangö den, 1.7.1942
We came to Finland from the West and from the East	Wir kamen vom Westen und Osten nach Finnland her,
To serve the "Heer" here also	um zu dienen auch hier dem Heer.
Joyful, to do our duty with all our strength Here also we will get the job done	Froh und pflichtgetreu mit unser ganzen Kraft, wird auch hier die Arbeit geschafft.
where you are stationed means nothing,	Wo du hingestellt ist gleich,
how you do your work is crucial.	wie du dastehst ist das Entscheidende.
The German fellow sisters thank the dear Lottas	Den l[ie]b[en]. Lottas danken die Deutschen Kamaradinnen,
for inviting the female "DRK – Helferinnen"	für die Einladung die DRK – Helferinnen:
Hanna S. Anneliese M. Marie S.	Lotti G. Carla L.

Entry of five female auxiliaries of the German Red Cross organization in Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist memory book.

Photo 48. Four German Red Cross auxiliaries probably from Deutsches Lager Hanko with German soldiers in the Hanko Casino area. Text on the back side "Flirt mit Rote Kreutz". Original photograph acquired from German eBay by the author.

Some of the German soldiers wrote their Feldpost number in the memory book (probably in hope of correspondence with Jun-Maj), which makes it possible to trace the soldiers' units during that period. During the research of these Feldpost numbers it was possible to trace the units of three individual soldiers from Nachrichten-Geräte-Lager 550 who wrote their names in the book to Barackenlager Rovaniemi Kittiläntie 71. Entries by soldiers serving in the Waffen-SS are clearly over-

represented in the memory book. Fifteen entries are made by Finnish Waffen-SS volunteers serving in the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS and four by soldiers from 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord". Whether or not this relatively large number of entries by members of the Waffen-SS is by choice, by force, or by accident can of course not be determined.

4.3.1.2 The photo album from the estate of Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist

Lotta Svärd was a Finnish voluntary auxiliary paramilitary organisation for women. Members of the organisation served in hospitals, at air raid warning positions, and other auxiliary tasks in close cooperation with the Finnish army. By the end of the 1930s over 100 000 women had joined the organization (Ollila 1995: 97). Members of Lotta Svärd served in Deutsches Lager Hanko, too.

One of the Lottas of the camp was Jun-Maj Dahlquist. Her photo album was kept by her daughter after her death. Jun-Maj served as a Lotta in the Lotta Svärd canteen of the camp between the summer of 1942 and April 1943 when she was assigned to the Karelian Isthmus. Of a total of 151 mostly civilian and personal photographs in the album, 15 pictures can be associated with Jun-Maj and her fellow Lottas' time in Deutsches Lager Hanko between the summer of 1942 and the spring of 1943 (Photos 49–61). The album also contains a few pictures of German soldiers that cannot with certainty be associated with Hanko. These have been left out of this PhD research. Most of the photographs in the album have no text associated with them. The texts beneath the photos on the album pages have been written with a ball-point ink pen sometime well after the war. The texts are thus probably based on recollections and are therefore likely not entirely accurate. The backsides of the photos do not contain any writing whatsoever. In the photo album there are also photos of at least two other Lottas, Miranda Westerholm and Göta Isaksson, who served at Cape Tulliniemi at the same time as Jun-Maj (Photo 49).

The first five photos in the photo-album are probably from the construction period of Deutsches Lager Hanko in the spring or early summer of 1942. Three of the pictures show men in civilian clothes, possibly local construction workers and lorry drivers The lorry drivers are photographed outside a very large building constructed already before the continuation war, which was to become the Soldatenheim canteen of the camp (Photo 57).

Photo 49. Jun-Maj (left) a German soldier, and two other Lotta Svärd members who ran the Lotta-Kantine Erika of Deutsches Lager Hanko between 1942–1943. Photo from the photo album of Jun-Maj Dahlqvist.

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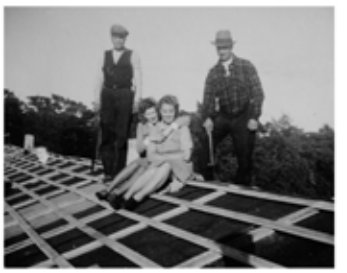

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Photos 50–61. Original photographs taken inside Deutsches Lager Hanko between 1942–1943. Photos from the photo album of Jun-Maj Dahlqvist.

The rest of the pictures show German soldiers and Lotta Svärd members fraternizing inside the German camp. The general atmosphere in the photos is relaxed and happy, with the Lottas interacting with German soldiers in a fashion much like described in the verses in Jun-Maj Dahlquist's memory book. In the photos usually one or more German soldiers can be seen posing with the Lottas. Although the photographs convey a very friendly atmosphere the photos cannot be described as romantic, but rather as caring, carefree, or joyful.

4.3.1.3 The diary of SS-Unterscharführer Olavi Helaseppä

Olavi Helaseppä was one of the youngest Finnish Waffen-SS volunteers and was only 17 when he joined the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS in 1941 (Swanström 2021: 40). Helaseppä was hospitalized in a military hospital in October 1942 and spent some time in Helsinki after having recovered (Swanström 2021: 42). On 23 November 1942 he departed on a troop carrier from Hanko harbour. According to the Hanko harbour archives the ship was the m/s *Gotha.* Aboard the ship he wrote a few lines in his diary about his experiences in Deutsches Lager Hanko the days before.

> 23.XI.1942
> On board a ship in Hanko harbour
>
> It seems to be God's will that this journey will take a long time. After we reported to the Fürsorgeoffizier in Helsinki on the 19th we should of course have left for Hanko on the evening at 18.20. But we had other ideas and spent the evening in Helsinki. Summanen in the home of his girl and me at the opera with Maija, Nape and Mikko.
>
> It wasn't only until the morning at 8.40 when we said our last goodbye and gave the last kiss. And the train left. Neither one of us wanted to go into the cart so we stood in the entrance and watched how the town and its surroundings, those familiar and dear places slid out of view. The last building pointing towards the town was the straight white tower of the Olympic Stadium, like a finger of fate. Then it too vanished, maybe for forever.
>
> Hanko – the camp – The Germans. It felt like we had suddenly been dropped from paradise to misery. And worse, together with the Germans! It was hard for us to keep our calm. Luckily, we found our friend Kainulainen who had arrived the previous evening and lived in the same barrack. The other good thing was the Lotta Svärd canteen although the Lottas hardly spoke any Finnish. We spent hours teasing them and drinking beer.
>
> After having waited for two days it was our turn and we got on the ship. Night on the ship. Departure in the morning. I slept but woke up after a few hours and went on deck, but we were still in Hanko harbour. What was los! Yes, some cable had got stuck in the propeller shaft and that had stopped the journey. Had we stayed in Helsinki for a little longer we would have received blue/red ship cards and would already be in Tallinn (Reval), so now we are very pleased and do not grunt about our fate.
>
> **Text from the private diary of Unterscharführer Olavi Helaseppä. The National Archives of Finland.**

Olavi Helaseppä visited the camp again in June-July 1943 when the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS returned to Finland, but sadly there is no mention of his stay in the camp in his diary. After his return to Finland, Helaseppä fought in the ranks of the Finnish army in the 56. Infantry Regiment. On 24 July 1944, almost exactly one year after his arrival in Hanko, Helaseppä was declared missing after a Finnish counterattack during the heavy battles on the Karelian Isthmus. His body has not been found (sotapolku.fi).

4.3.1.4 The colour photographs of lieutenant Siegfried Ehrt

In the spring of 2017, I was contacted by the director of the Hanko Museum, Laura Lotta Andersson regarding a colour photograph in the possession of a private collector in Finland. The collector wanted to know if the photograph (which also appears on the cover of this thesis) was from the German transition camp in Turku as he had been told, or if it could instead possibly be from Hanko. On first inspection it was clear the area in the photo closely resembled the Urlauberlager section of Deutsches Lager Hanko (Photo 62). Two other pictures from

the same series of photos which showed at least 30 empty railway cars and the pier in the harbour of the German camp with the familiar skyline of Hanko town in the background, finally confirmed that the pictures really were from Deutsches Lager Hanko (Photo 63). After contacting the collector, I managed to find out that the original colour slides were kept by Mr. Siegfried Ehrt, a German war veteran who lived in the small town of Breitenbrunn, some 100 km north of Munich. During the Second World War, from 1941–1944, Ehrt had been stationed in Northern Finland and had passed through Deutsches Lager Hanko at least three times before being captured by Finnish troops in the autumn of 1944 and sent to a prisoner of war camp in the Soviet Union. During a visit to his home for a personal interview with him in the autumn of 2017, several more colour slides from the same home-leave journey in May 1943 surfaced. These included pictures of the long journey from the north to Hanko in the south of Finland, as well as pictures taken aboard a German troop carrier that transported the soldiers from Hanko to Germany (Photos 64–72). During interviews with Mr. Ehrt at his home, a list of texts and a letter with explanations of the photos also emerged.

The texts to the photos confirmed that the colour slides were from early May 1943. The photos were taken by Oberstabsintendent Fritz Heussner, who served in the Stab of Gebirgs-Jäger-Regiment 136. In the first pictures that relate to his home-leave, a group of soldiers can be seen in front of

Photo 62. Original colour slide of the Urlauberlager of Deutsches Lager Hanko in early May 1943 acquired by the author from the personal archives of Mr. Siegfried Ehrt. Hanko Museum.

Photo 63. Combination of two original colour slides taken near the pier of Deutsches Lager Hanko from the personal archives of Mr. Siegfried Ehrt. Hanko Museum.

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Photos 64–72. Original colour slides showing the furlough journey (Kolonnenhof Vuotso-Rovaniemi-Hanko-Danzig) of Oberstabsintendent Fritz Heussner Stab, Gebirgs-Jäger-Regiment 136 in May 1943. Photos acquired by the author from the personal archives of Mr. Siegfried Ehrt. Hanko Museum.

four busses parked in front of a large barracks in Kolonnenhof Vuotso in northern Finland (Photo 64). The next pictures show at least nine Lottas serving food to the soldiers during some stage of the journey, near a building that could possibly be Rovaniemi or Oulu railway station (Photos 65–66). The fourth picture shows the "Lappland Express" train with many cars (Photo 67). Sadly, the picture quality is quite poor, and it is not possible to make out the number of the Finnish locomotive. The picture is probably from Rovaniemi, as the next picture in the roll of slides show hotel Pohjanhovi in Rovaniemi (Photo 68). The following slides are from Deutsches Lager Hanko, and the areas in the photos as well as the skyline of the town of Hanko are easy to recognize (Photos 62, 63, 69). One photo is from the Urlauberlager part of the camp and shows a row of at least eleven of the rather small barracks in this part of the camp (Photo 61). Each of the barracks is marked with a number on the front end to help the soldiers find their way to their own barracks in the monotonous camp. Also visible is a small white notice board type of box on the front end of the first barracks to the right. The 14 German soldiers in the picture are wearing standard German uniforms and overseas caps. The number 75 on the first right hand barracks corresponds with the numbering of Mannschaftsbaracke 75 on the original map. A road sign marked "Sauna" (65 Sauna) on the picture makes it possible to pinpoint the exact location where the photo was taken. The other road signs on the photo are unreadable. In the far background of the photo the front part of a large building can be seen, possibly one of the stables of the camp (Pferdestallbaracke 23).

The three other pictures show a very long row of train cars and the pier in the western part of the camp. In the pictures the cart doors are open on both sides, providing a view of their interiors. On close inspection the round central stove and the sleeping and resting platforms in both ends of some of the cars are clearly visible (Photo 63).

The pictures from the sea journey and the port of destination, which can clearly be recognized as Danzig (Gdansk), were taken on board m/s *Gotenland* (Photos 70–72). It was the only ship destined for Danzig from Hanko in May 1943, and departed from Hanko harbour on 11 May 1943 (Hanko harbour books in the Hanko harbour archives). In late February 1943 some three months before its arrival in Hanko the ship had been used to transport 158 Norwegian Jews (134 adults and 24 children) from Oslo to Stettin (Gdansk).

After arrival the Jews were sent with trains to Berlin, and from there to the Auschwitz Birkenau concentration camp. Only six or seven of them survived the war. After the war m/s *Gotenland* served under many different names until it was finally broken up in Shanghai in 1970.

4.3.1.5 The Feldpost letters and pocket diary of Oberleutnant der Artillerie Gerd Klöver

During what seemed like endless Internet searches with the search words "Feldpost, Hangö, 1943" I stumbled upon a short text from the book *Mein lieber Matz! Briefe, Kalenderaufzeichnungen, Fotos meines unbekannten Vaters von der Eismeerfront 1941–1944. Ach, Papa… Antwortbriefe deiner unbekannten Tochter 2011–2012* by Gerda Smorra (Smorra 2013). After having read the book, it was clear that Gerhard Klöver had passed through Deutsches Lager Hanko in August 1943 and written about it in a letter to his wife. I contacted the author and was able to make a three-day visit to Bremen on 7–10 April 2016. During the visit I interviewed Gerda Smorra and researched and documented the wartime letters and photos that were kept in her home. Although the number of documents, photos, and Feldpost letters was very large only two letters written by Gerd and a few short entries in his pocket diary could be associated with his last home-leave and Deutsches Lager Hanko. Despite this, the information these contain is very important and gives a good overview of the long and winding road of the soldiers travelling on furlong from the northern fronts.

First lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver served in the Gebirgsartillerie of the 6. Gebirgs-Division (Photos 73–74). Before being assigned to Finland he had already fought in France, the Balkans and Greece. In 1942 his unit was shipped from Greece to Germany, from there to the town of Vasa on the west coast of Finland, and finally stationed in

Photos 73–74. First lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver photographed sometime after having been awarded the Iron Cross first class on 26 May 1942. The photo to the right shows Gerd with his wife Marga "Matz" Klöver during his last home-leave in July and August 1943. Photos by courtesy of Mrs. Gerda Smorra.

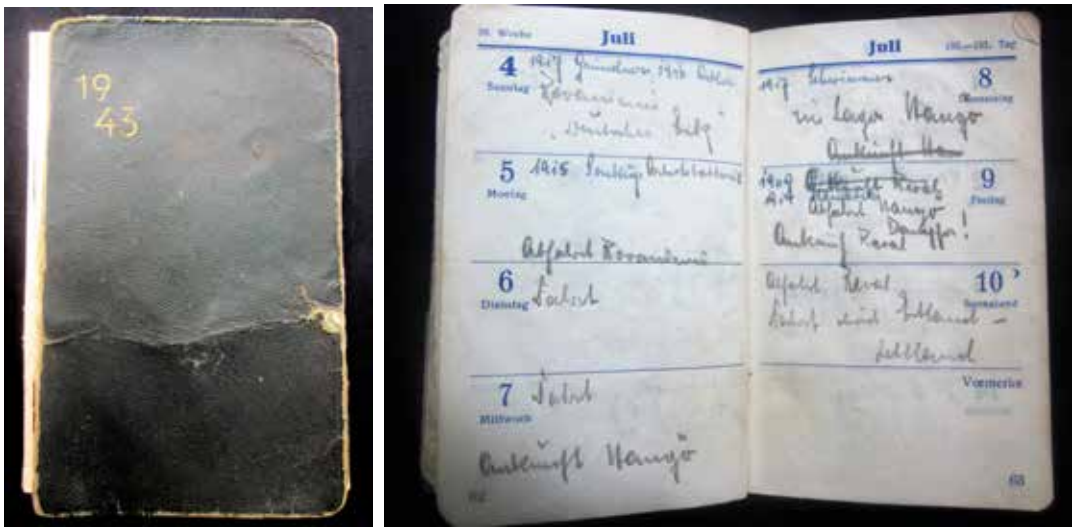
the northernmost part of the Arctic front. Gerhard Klöver was killed in March 1944, just months before the birth of his firstborn daughter Gerda.

"Gerds" story is like the story of many other German soldiers who fought at the northern front and would most likely have gone mostly unnoticed if it had not been for his daughter Gerda Smorra. On her mother's deathbed in 2010 she was told about a chest containing the wartime correspondence between her father and mother. In the attic of her parents' house, she found a box containing over 1 000 Feldpost letters, more than 500 original wartime photos taken by Gerhard Klöver himself, and his pocket calendars from 1941–1944. The artefacts can be considered items of social archaeology deserving a deeper theoretical or anthropological assessment than what is possible within the framework of this thesis.

The first short entry in the pocket diary that relates to the Gerd's home-leave in the small town of Langwedel just to the southeast of Bremen is from 2 July 1943, when he left Svanvik, 40 km south of Kirkenes, and arrived in the German transition camp Kolonnenhof Vuotso that same day. The next morning, on 3 July, he left Vuotso and arrived in Deutscher Hof in Rovaniemi, where he stayed until 5 July when he continued from Rovaniemi by train towards Hanko (Photos 75–76).

The train journey from Rovaniemi to Hanko took the usual two days, and Gerd arrived in Deutsches Lager Hanko on 7 July 1943. He noted his stay in in his pocket calendar with the short entry "im Lager Hangö" on 8 July. On 9 July his ship left for Reval (Tallinn). According to information in the Hanko harbour books he either travelled on board the mid-sized troop carrier m/s *Iller* or s/s *Nordenham*. The sea journey was a swift one, and he reached Reval already on the same day. On the next day Gerd was on his way to Bremen through Estonia and Lithuania. On 13 July, 11 days after leaving Svanvik on the Arctic front, he was back home.

Gerhard Klöver's home-leave lasted for 25 days, until 6 August 1943 and on half-past six that evening, he boarded a train in Bremen. During the trip he had to change trains on several occasions, but finally reached Reval on 9 August. At half past nine the next morning he left Reval aboard s/s *Nordenham*, arriving in Hanko at 2 pm. Gerd stayed in Deutsches Lager Hanko until 12 August, during which time he wrote a letter to his wife



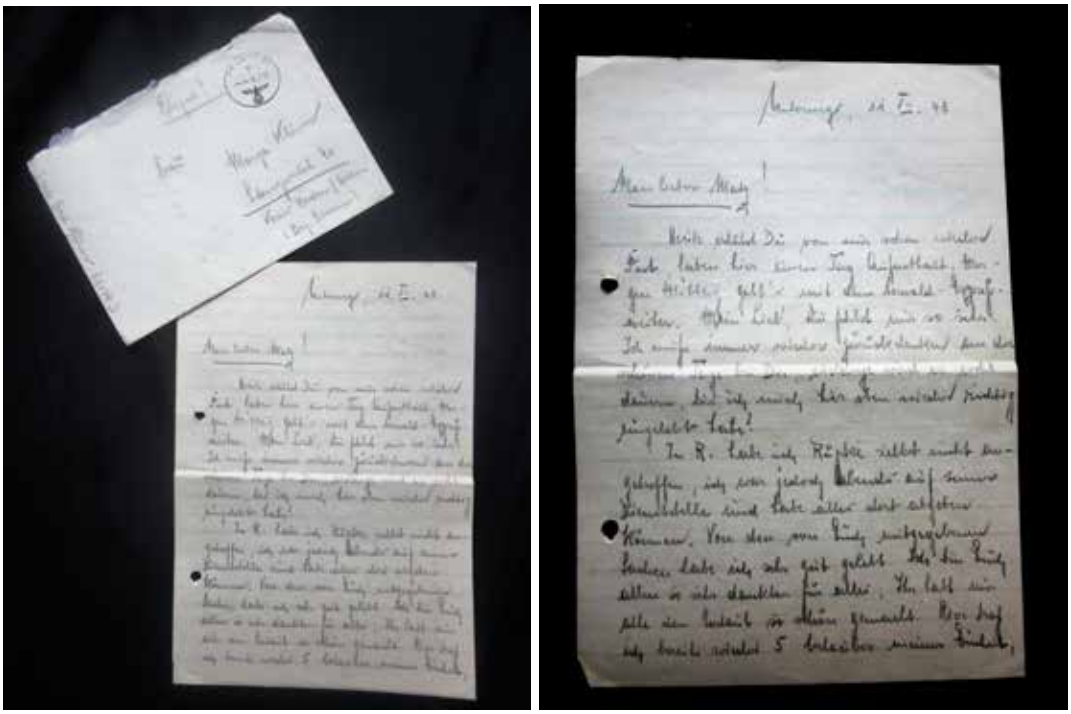
Photos 75–76. First lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klövers' 1943 pocket calendar detailing his home-leave journey from Rovaniemi through Hangö to Reval 4–10 July 1943. Diary in the possession of Mrs. Gerda Smorra. Photos Jan Fast.

Marga from the camp. His letter from the camp is dated to 11 August 1943, and was stamped on 14 August (Photos 77–78). In the letter he vividly describes how much he misses her and thanks people for making his home-leave so wonderful. He also mentions meeting other soldiers from his unit in the camp and complains about the many lice.

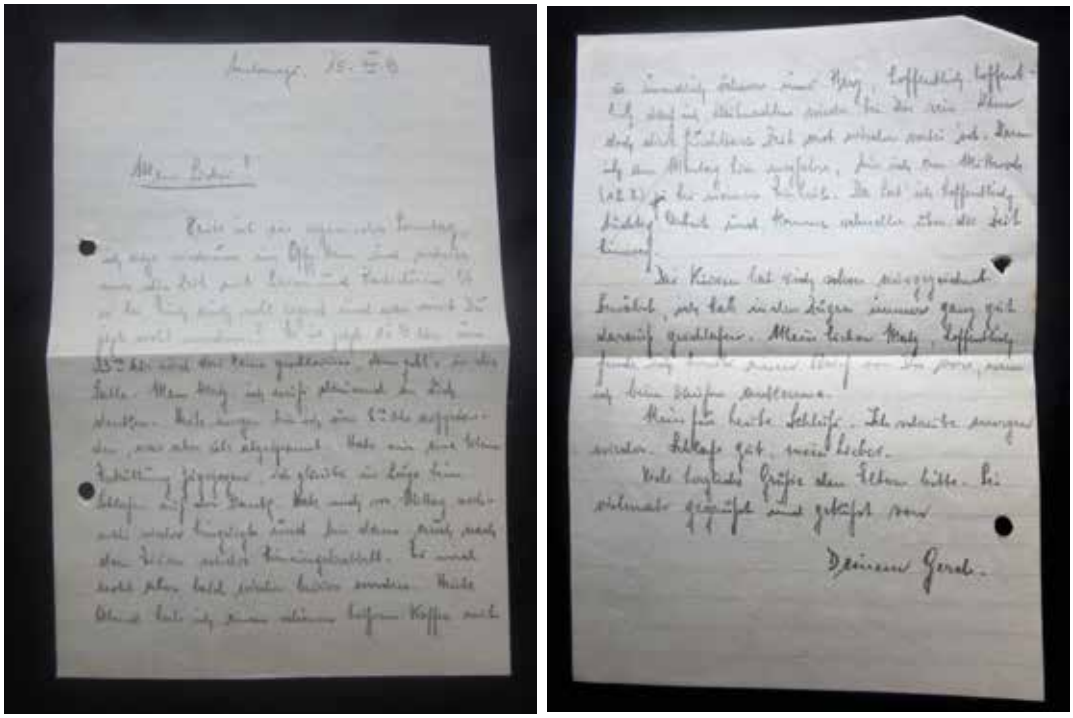
> On the road 11.8.43.
>
> My dear Matz!
>
> You will receive mail from me again today, we have a day's stay here. Tomorrow at noon I'll be travelling on the Urwald Express. My dear, I miss you so much. I keep thinking back to the wonderful days I spent with you...
>
> There are a lot of bugs here, I've had big bites in 4 places since last night and they're very itchy now. The joys are slowly starting again here, maybe that's better, it's much easier to settle back in.

On the 12th of August at half-past two in the afternoon his train left Deutsches Lager Hanko for Rovaniemi. The train journey took two days and he reached Rovaniemi at half-past 7 in the evening of 14 August. During the train journey he found time to write another letter to his beloved wife (Photos 79–80).

> On the road 14.8.43.
>
> My dear!
>
> Now I'm writing on the journey again, please excuse this scribbled writing. The Urwald Express [lit: Jungle Express] wobbles back and forth so much that you'd think it had hexagonal wheels. We left our last stopover on the 12th. We reach the terminus tonight at around 7.00 pm. I want to stay there until Monday. Monday inclusive, as I can't do anything at the army clothing office tomorrow, Sunday. I had given up writing on the railway and am now sitting here in a very nice officers' quarter.
>
> My dear, I must always remember you at home, my dear Matz. My heart hurts so much now and in my thoughts, I can still see you standing at the railway station in Bremen. Our hearts are so infinitely heavy, hopefully, hopefully I can be with you again at Christmas. When this terrible time is over again. When I leave here on Monday, I'll be at my unit on Wednesday (18 August). Hopefully I'll have plenty of work then and get through the time more quickly.
>
> The pillow has already proved to be excellent, I've always slept quite well on it on the trains. My dear Matz, hopefully I'll find a letter from you when I arrive at the pile.
>
> That's all for today. I'll write again tomorrow. Sleep well my dear.
>
> Many warm greetings to your parents, please.
>
> Many greetings and kisses from your Gerd.



Photos 77–78. Letter written on 11 August 1943 by first lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver to his wife Marga "Matz" Klöver from Deutsches Lager Hanko. Original letter in the possession of Mrs. Gerda Smorra. Photos Jan Fast.



Photos 79–80. Letter dated 14 August 1943 from first lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver written to his wife Marga "Matz" Klöver on a train from Hanko to Rovaniemi. Letter in the possession of Mrs. Gerda Smorra. Photos Jan Fast.

After staying one day in Rovaniemi he left for Ivalo on 16 August, and from there to Salmijärvi, where he stayed for four days from 18 to 21 August, watching a different movie every day. In the evening of 22 August Gerhard Klöver started his final march towards Svanvik. His last home-leave was over.

4.3.2 Finds from auction - and other sites on the Internet

As already stated earlier, in the beginning of my research I was in the situation that all I really had was the map of the former German transition camp. The Hanko Museum and National Archives of Finland did not have a single artefact that could be related to the German presence in Hanko, nor did they have photos or any other archive material of use for my research. The SA-Kuva archives contained some photos showing German troops and troop carriers in Hanko, but the texts and dates on the photos quickly proved insufficient, misleading, or wrong. As a result, I decided to try my luck on the Internet, and between 2014 and 2024 I made daily searches for photographs, letters, or other artefacts that were related to Deutsches Lager Hanko, the town of Hanko between 1942 and 1944, and the furlough journey of German soldiers or troop transports between Finland and Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Gradually the hard work started to pay off and bits and pieces of the puzzle such as photographs and letters started to pop up, mostly on German eBay but also on several other Internet auction and other sites. The items found on the Internet can be considered material culture, just like the artefacts found in the ground and studied in different ways. In Great Britain, Professor Elizabeth Edwards has studied the relationships between photography, anthropology, and history for many decades (see for instance Edwards & Hart 2004) In Finland, PhD Tuuli Matila has written her doctoral thesis about photographs illustrating the German war effort in Finnish Lapland during the Second World War (Matila 2022; see also Seitsonen et al. 2019b).

In this thesis the pictures, letters, and other items were mainly used to illustrate the German presence in Hanko, to better understand the furlough journeys and life in Deutsches Lager Hanko in general.

4.3.2.1 Original period photographs from Deutsches Lager Hanko

Realizing that vast numbers of German soldiers had passed through the camp over the period of two and a half years of war, I expected there would have been lots of photographs around on the Internet. This was, however, not the case; on the contrary pictures taken by German soldiers in Hanko proved very difficult to find indeed. The reasons for this are probably extremely varied. First, the camp was not very photogenic. The soldiers were on the move, and with their goals and minds set on other things than the photographing the mundane barracks. Most of the soldiers did not set foot in the beautiful seaside town of Hanko but were confined to lengthy periods waiting in the camp, either for a train or for a ship to take them away (Photos 81–96). Instead of photographing the monotonous camp the precious film was saved for the scenic sea-crossing from Hanko to Reval and back. The sea journey must have been a thrilling experience for many of the young German soldiers, and as a result pictures of German soldiers on board the German troop carriers dominate the photographic source material. The pictures are nice and of high quality but are usually of little use for actual research on the furlough journey. On two separate occasions, though, more photographs than usual were taken within the camp perimeter. Both occurred in 1943, first when soldiers in the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS stayed in the camp after their return to Finland in June and July 1943, and later in December 1943 when soldiers born in Ingermanlandia (a cultural region in the western part of the Leningrad region) fighting in Ost-Bataillon 664 changed from German to Finnish uniforms in the camp.

The Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS returned to Finland via Hanko on 1 June 1943. After leaving the troop carrier s/s *Warthe* the soldiers marched to Deutsches Lager Hanko, where they slept and prepared for the upcoming muster and parade in Hanko the next morning (Kyösti & From 2016: 187). The small parade was arranged on the road that passed Hanko Casino, and the muster was in the local sports ground nearby. After a night in the camp the sol-

diers continued to Tampere by train. There, on the 3 June a larger parade was organized. After the parade in Tampere the men returned to the camp in Hanko and waited there for the decision of whether they would continue fighting for Germany in SS uniforms or in the ranks of the Finnish army and in Finnish uniforms (Photos 81, 94–96; Tiilikainen 2022: 197–201). On 11 July the Bataillon was dissolved, and the men changed into Finnish uniforms inside the camp (Photo 94). Many of the more ideologically motivated men were disappointed, and felt betrayed (Tiilikainen 2022: 199; Swanström 2018: 367). Many of the pictures of Finnish SS men in Hanko were dispersed into several private collections after the war, and only a few of them have been published previously. The pictures that show the soldiers in the town of Hanko are from their day of arrival and from the parade and muster on the sports ground in Hanko. Some of the Finnish SS-volunteers likely had a negative attitude towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland (Tiilikainen 2022: 8). According to hearsay at least some of the soldiers of the Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS misbehaved in the town of Hanko, but there are no photographs that support these stories. A few of the pictures of the SS soldiers taken inside the camp appear to show them in different stages of drunkenness. The question about to what extent the drunken behaviour of the soldiers was allowed to take place inside or outside the camp is a difficult one to assess. It is possible that the soldiers who had Finnish nationality and were in their own home country were not hindered by the same strict regulations as the German soldiers, allowing them free access to visit the town of Hanko, with some of them sparking out of control and lashing out at the Swedish-speaking population in the small town.

The second occasion when very many photos were taken inside the camp was when some 600 soldiers from the Ost-Bataillon 664 arrived in Hanko from Reval between 9–13 December 1943. The soldiers marched straight to Deutsches Lager Hanko after their arrival in Hanko harbour (Mutanen 1999: 113). During the following four days, each of them underwent a medical examination and changed from German to Finnish uniforms in the camp. The entire event was documented by Finnish cameramen (Photos 97–111). On 18 December the unit formally came under Finnish command and was housed elsewhere in Hanko. Military training commenced on 20 December (Mutanen 1999: 117). The unit finally left Hanko by train for the front on the Karelian Isthmus on 7 January 1944.

4.3.2.2 Feldpost letters and pocket diary entries from Deutsches Lager Hanko

During my research I was able to obtain a few letters and a pocket diary containing short texts written by German soldiers during their short stays in Deutsches Lager Hanko, from Internet auctions on German eBay and the Finnish internet auction site huuto.net. Adding to these, I was also able to find a couple of previously published letters and a few unpublished ones in private collections. The letters that can be associated with the German camp in Hanko cover almost the whole existence of the German camp from September 1942 to August 1944.

Usually, the soldiers sent one letter before boarding the ship in Danzig (Gdansk) or Reval (Tallinn) and another one during the one to two-day stay in the transition camp. These were usually followed by a letter upon arrival in the soldiers' unit in the north. The texts in the letters are mostly very short, and usually contain just basic information about the sea and train journey and the soldiers' time in Hanko. Despite this they offer an intriguing view of the mindset and activities of the German soldiers during this leg of the long home-leave journey.

The entries in the pocket diaries are of course much shorter than those in the letters. Usually, the entries only contain a few words about arriving in the camp as well as the departure by ship or by train, like the one below by private Eberhard Glade in the 6. Gebirgs-Division.

81 82 83 84

85 86 87

88 89 90

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Photos 81–96. German soldiers and Finnish Waffen-SS volunteers inside Deutsches Lager Hanko. Original photos of the German soldiers acquired by the author from German eBay; the photos of Finnish SS men are from private collections.

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Photo 97–111. Soldiers from the Ost-Bataillon 664, German soldiers and Finnish officers in Deutsches Lager Hanko in December 1943. Photos SA-kuva archives.

25 Monday: Left Libau by ship in the morning.

26 Tuesday: In the morning the best sea journey so far. Landed in Hangö in the afternoon.

30 Saturday: From Hangö by train to Rovaniemi. It was Sunday.

2 Tuesday: Arrived in Rovaniemi at night to the Edelweiss camp.

Short entries in private Eberhard Glade's (6. Gebirgs-Division) pocket diary regarding the crossing from Libau (Liepaja) to Hanko and the departure by train from Deutsches Lager Hanko to Rovaniemi. Pocket diary acquired by the author from German eBay.

The first letter that mentions Hanko is dated to 27 September 1942. In the letter, private Walter Hartmann, serving in the 324 Grenadier Regiment of the 169. Infanterie-Division, writes a few lines about his five-day long, tiresome train journey from Hangö (Hanko) to Alakurtti and complains about the lack of drinking water during the long train journey. He writes that he is happy to be in his bunker again.

Russia, 27.9.42. Dear Ingemaus!

After 10 days I have finally landed safely back with my troop. Nothing happened on the way. The journey through Finland really wore me out. We left Hangö on Wednesday 23rd September and were in Alakurtti (Salla Front) on 27th September at 1/2 2 o'clock. We spent 5 full days on the goods train. We had so little to drink on the way. I am glad to be back in my bunker....

Feldpost letter from private Walter Hartmann serving in the 324 Grenadier Regiment (169. Infanterie-Division) to his fiancée dated 27 September 1942. Letter acquired by the author from German eBay. Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer.

In a letter dated to 5 April 1943 and sent to his parents in Berlin, staff sergeant Walter Holzschuh, serving in the Heeres-Verpflegungs-Dienststelle 691 in northern Finland, writes that his sea journey from Reval to Hanko took four days because of the fear of hitting Soviet mines. He also writes that his work duty has just ended, that the weather has improved, and that the days are getting longer with sunrise at 2 am and sunset at 8 pm He tells his parents that he is well and in a happy mood (Photos 112–113).

Dear parents!

Your dear letter no. 1 has arrived today. It has taken a long time and as I have not received any further mail since 20/3, I will answer this one first. One sentence was unclear to me about the dangerous place. Of course I meant the 4-day crossing. Because of the mines, it's a convoy to Hangö. Otherwise, dear parents, there is little news here; Friedchen will tell you a lot about me. The work has now ceased and the weather is also becoming more pleasant. The day dawns at 2 o'clock at night and it gets dark at 8 in the evening. Otherwise Walter is still healthy and cheerful and hopes the same for you.

I will stop for today, as I am sure I will receive a letter from you in the next few days and then I will write more again. Until then, best wishes from your son Walter.

Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer

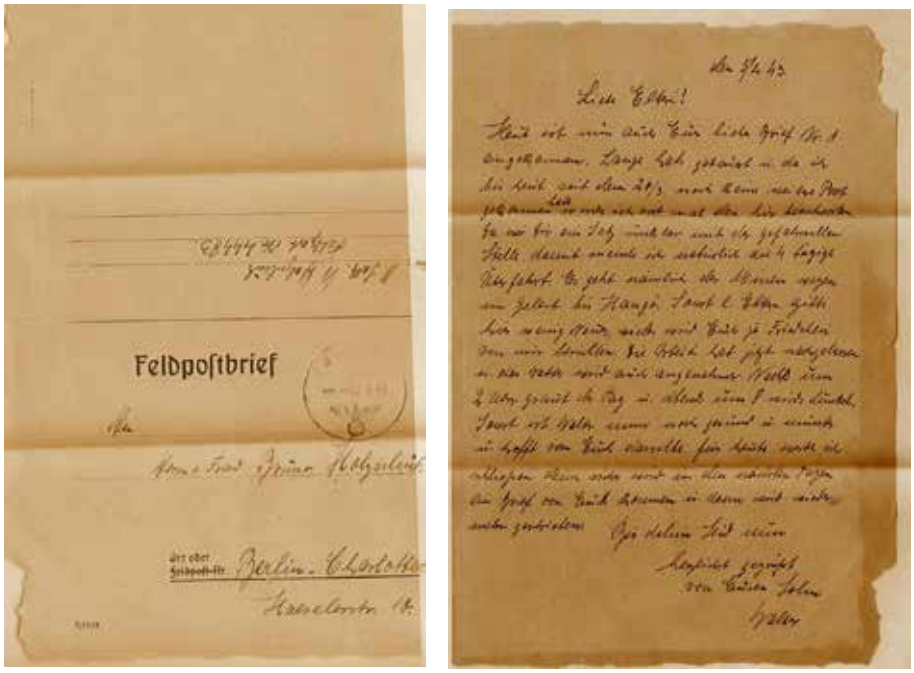
Staff sergeant Peter Krebs passed through Deutsches Lager Hanko in August 1943 after what was to be his last home-leave. His brief description of his arrival and time in the camp is short and concise, as are most of the letters written by German soldiers in the camp (Photos 114–116). In a letter to his wife, he writes that the sea crossing went well in good weather. He writes that the home-leave went by too fast, and dreams about the day when they both can stay at home forever. Peter was killed in action in the Halbe pocket near Frankfurt sometime after 20 April 1945.

Unspecified, 10 August 43

My dear wife!

I want to write you a few lines today with these words. Above all, I am writing to say that we made it safely across the Baltic Sea. We'll be lying here in Hangö for a day or two until we get back on the train. The crossing was very nice, [especially] the weather was good. Now we're on Finnish soil. Gradually we have to get used to the soldiers again.

Dear Hilde: The holiday days are over very quickly. I think it was just a dream. A dear wife and order at home will be with us for a long time to come. Hopefully the time will soon come when we can stay at home forever. Because these few days have made us realize what



Photos 112–113. Feldpost letter from staff sergeant Walter Holzschuh, serving in Heeres-Verpflegungs- Dienststelle 691, to his parents from Deutsches Lager Hanko dated 5 April 1943. Letter in private collection in the United States.

a home and a lovely wife are worth. Once we are all to ourselves, everything will be even better. All the best for today and many warm greetings and kisses. Kisses from your husband.

Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer.

Private Heinz Leyer, serving in the 169. Infanterie-Division, visited Hanko on 6 September 1943 after his home-leave on his way to the battles of the Salla front in northeastern Finland (Photos 117–118). He describes how the sits on the beach and lets the warm sun burn his back. He plans to visit the movie theatre of the camp to see a movie in the afternoon and enjoys the last tasty slices of a small loaf cake that he has brought with him from home.

Dear parents!

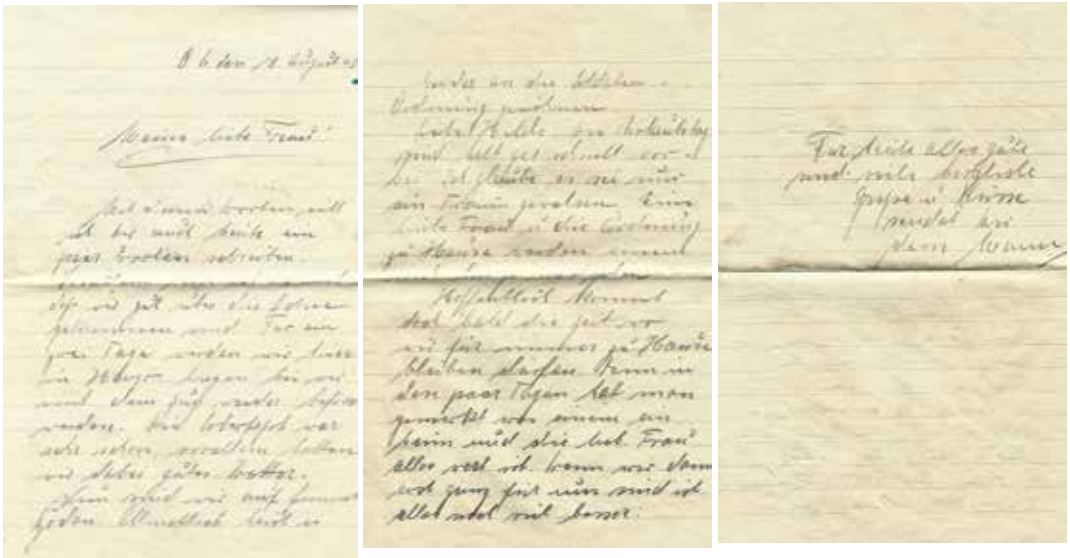
Today I want to write you another short letter. You have probably already received my letter from yesterday.

I'm sitting here on the beach and letting the sun burn down on my back. The weather has been marvelous for a few days now. It's just a shame that it had to rain during my holiday. We'll probably be travelling on tomorrow or the day after. While we're at it, I'll put away some food vouchers that I'd kept back but didn't need.

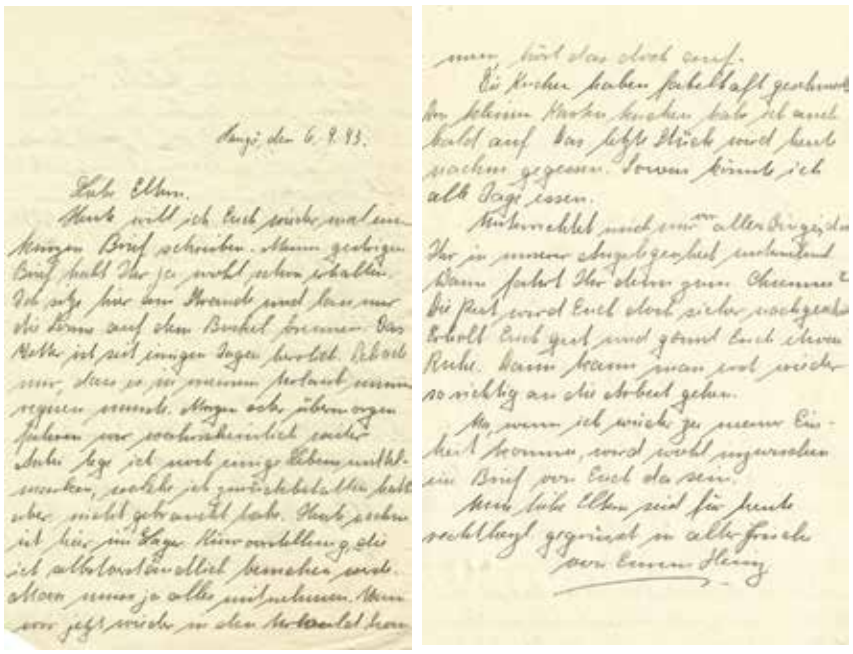
This afternoon there's a cinema performance here in the camp, which I'll of course go to. You must take part in everything. If we go back to the jungle now, that will stop.

The cakes tasted marvelous. I'll soon finish the small box cake too. The last piece will be eaten this afternoon. I could eat something like this every day. Just let me know about all the things you're doing in our affair ---.
When are you travelling to Chiemsee? The post will surely be forwarded to you. Have a good rest and treat yourself to some peace and quiet. Then you can really get back to work.

Well, when I get back to my unit, there will probably be a letter from you by now. Now, dear parents, best wishes in the old vigour from your Heinz.
Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer.



Photos 114–116. Feldpost letter from staff sergeant Peter Krebs serving in the 379. Regiment, III Bataillons Stab of the 169. Infanterie-Division, to his parents from Deutsches Lager Hanko dated 10 August 1943. Letter acquired by the author from German eBay.



Photos 117–118. Feldpost letter from private Heinz Leyer serving in the 169. Infanterie-Division to his parents from Deutsches Lager Hanko dated 9 September 1943. Letter acquired by the author from German eBay.

As already mentioned, German soldiers from 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord" also passed through Deutsches Lager Hanko, especially after the Swedish decision to ban all transit traffic from the north through its borders in the summer of 1943. In a letter home SS corporal Hans Grieben complains about his time in the camp, the most boring leg of the home-leave journey, where they are not allowed to go out and where there was nothing else to do than to take a walk on the beach, to read, write, sleep, or participate in mandatory work duty. Hans Grieben was killed in action in Germany on 23 February 1945.

Hangö 7.10.43

My Dears!

We have been on Finnish soil since yesterday afternoon. The weather was cold, rainy, and stormy during the crossing. Today it is better. The night before yesterday I went to the cinema in Reval. Rolf arrived at the same time. Pukkho, watch booklet, and an octavo booklet have hopefully already been sent. Gretchen, have you taken the film from 12.9. away yet? – No? – Well, then please! Make sure I get the pictures by about 1 December. You won't show them to Gerda, will you?

Here, in Hangö, the most boring stage of the holiday trip, we'll probably have to stay until the day after tomorrow (9th). We're not allowed to go out, so apart from doing some work, we read, write, talk, walk by the sea or sleep. It's boring in the long run, but 'it's all about the war'. Especially when our 'war' (for the time being) is anything but boring! Mum, how are you? How is Hänschen? Is he still such a whiner?

Sincerely! Your Hans

11.10.43

My dears!

I have now completed 4 of the 5 stages of my journey. Now I only need to drive 400 km by lorry – and I'm in the place that I hope won't become my second home. But it will be a few more days before we leave here. Some have already been here for 8 days and are waiting to be transported onwards; and we only arrived this morning. So, it could still be very boring.

This afternoon I was lucky enough to be assigned to go to the cinema. The film was called 'Der kleine Grenzverkehr'. It was very nice (Willy Fritsch, Herta Feiler). Plus, the new newsreel. Now it's only 6.00 pm. I don't feel like going out at all, so I'm writing and reading. The temperature is already wintery, but there's no snow yet. The journey here from Hangö on the 'Suomi Express' (32 men in a goods wagon) took exactly 44 hours!

By the way: the sausage and jam are still alive. But whether I can get them to their final destination unchallenged is questionable. Best regards and warmest kisses to you.

Your Hans

Feldpost letters from SS corporal Hans Grieben, serving in 6. SS-Gebirgs-Division "Nord" and dated Hangö 7 October and Oulu 10 October 1943 (Dieckhoff 2015: 99–100). Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer.

A very different type of letter was written on 7 August 1944 from Hanko by private Eduard Daubitz, serving in Artillerie-Regiment 122. of the 122. Infanterie Division "Greif" to his friend Viktor Stephany somewhere on the frontlines in Finland (2 Kpk. 6267). In the letter Eduard writes that he has been waiting off Hanko for six days and that more days of waiting lay ahead before the ship will take them to Reval. He wishes that the Division would forget them in Hanko because he has had enough of Estonia. In the letter, Viktor also brags about having had sexual intercourse with female Soviet prisoners of war from the nearby prisoner of war camp, but this information is difficult to verify (Photos 119–120).

Hangö, 7.8.44

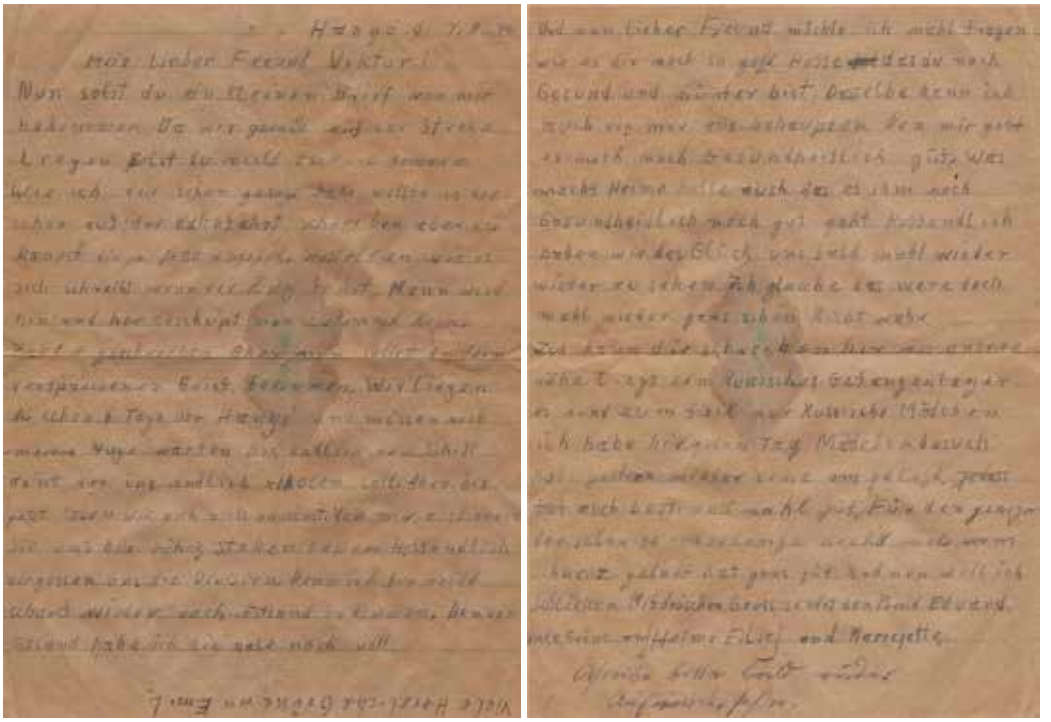
My dear friend Viktor:

Now you should receive a little letter from me. As we are currently on the road, you should not miss out. As I've already told you, I wanted to write to you from the train journey, but you can imagine what it's like to write when the train is travelling. You're shunted back and forth; you don't get a line written. But now you shall receive the promised letter. We have already been off Hangö for six days and must wait several more days until a ship finally arrives to pick us up. But so far, we haven't shipped anything. They can leave us here for all I care. Hopefully the division will [forget] about us. Because I'm not keen to come back to Estonia, because I've

had enough of Estonia. Many warm greetings from Emil.

And now, dear friend, I'd like to ask how you're still doing. I hope you are still alive and well. I can say the same for myself. I'm also still in good health. How's Heimo? I also hope that his health is still good. Hopefully we'll be lucky enough to see each other again soon. I think that would be nice again, wouldn't it? I can write to you, there's a Russian prison camp near us, some of them are just Russian girls. I have a visit from girls here every day, I put another one down yesterday, which is certainly good for me. It's good for someone who hasn't had anything in front of his cock for so long. And now I will close. German greetings from your friend Eduard. Many greetings to Heimo, Aili and Marjoriitta. Please write again soon. Goodbye.

Translation from German by the author and Robin Schäfer.



Photos 119–120. Feldpost letter from private Eduard Daubitz to Viktor Stephany from Hanko, dated 7 August 1944. Letter acquired by the author from the Finnish web auction site huuto.net.

4.4 The fading memories of the Second World War: Attempts to record eye-witness accounts through interviews

4.4.1 Interviews with civilians from Hanko by Tomy Karlsson 1987–1989

Before the start of work on this thesis, interviews with former residents of the town of Hanko had been recorded and published by amateur historian Mr. Tomy Karlsson in his book *Vi minns Hangö del III* (Karlsson 1991). The original recordings were saved on C-cassettes but could not be found anymore in 2021. All of the interviewed individuals, who were of ages 15–30 during the war, have since passed away.

Harry Sandberg (b. 1909), a former sapper in the Finnish Infantry Regiment 55, told Tomy Karlsson that German soldiers started arriving in the port of Hanko in January and February 1942. The town was at that point still a military area, and very few or no civilians were there to observe their arrival. He mentions that upon arrival the German soldiers managed to cause two fires, one in a building where paint was stored and another in an area were textiles had been gathered. Putting out the fires was extremely difficult in the very cold weather, and Soviet prisoners of war were used for the difficult task. The prisoners desperately tried to put out the fires with snow, and at least one Soviet prisoner of war froze to death during this assignment (Karlsson 1991: 65).

Tor Sandvall (b. 1928), who was 14–16 years old during the time, told Karlsson that listening to shortwave radio broadcasts was one way to find out what was happening in the war. His father had acquired the first ever radio for his family. Sandvall remembers how they tuned in to the German Reichsrundfunk and radio broadcasts from London by the BBC. The propagandistic German radio broadcasts were often listened to at normal volume, while the broadcasts by the BBC were in English and were listened to at a low volume and in secrecy (Karlsson 1991: 108). After a three- year long break due to the evacuation of Hanko in the spring of 1940, schools started again in Hanko in February 1943. Many of the older schoolchildren found different ways of making money, for instance by trading Soviet war memorabilia that could be collected almost everywhere to passing German soldiers (Karlsson 1991: 134). Tor specialized in selling letter paper and envelopes to the German soldiers. He usually added a stamp to the envelopes in advance, preferably a red cross stamp to make them more collectible. Some of the German soldiers realized he was making a considerable profit, and this earned him the rather ominous nickname *Weisse Jude* (Karlsson 1991: 110). "Everything could be traded but with money one could get nothing in Hanko", Sandvall recalled. Empty German food ration cans were sold to a local entrepreneur to be re-made into mugs. Empty bottles could also be collected and sold for a fair amount. On one occasion Sandvall also sold around 150 copies of the local newspaper *Hangötidningen* to German soldiers in railway cars on their way to Deutsches Lager Hanko and managed to make a substantial profit. According to him some residents in Hanko also sold non-alcoholic pilsner made by local breweries to the Germans (Karlsson 1991: 110).

Birger Mattsson (b. 1912), the local cinematographer, said that German soldiers who worked in administrative duties in the town of Hanko or in the camp on Cape Tulliniemi visited the local cinema Rialto. The visits were normally made in groups, and the soldiers marched to the cinema along the road from the camp. Mattsson recalled that there were two daily three-hour long uncensored movies for the soldiers every day except on Sundays, and that the movies usually ran from nine in the morning until midnight for one week at a time. Later, a large Soldatenkino movie theatre for the German soldiers was built inside Deutsches Lager Hanko. According to Mattsson this building could house up to 500 soldiers at a time. After the war he tried to purchase it and move it closer to the town centre but was not successful in his attempt (Karlsson 1991: 248).

According to some of the persons interviewed by Karlsson, soldiers from different branches of the German military behaved better than others when they visited the town of Hanko (Photo 121).

The Gebirgsjäger, for instance, were generally considered friendly and in a good mood while soldiers in the Finnish Waffen-SS were considered unfriendly and disrespectful towards the local population (Karlsson 1991: 111). One Finnish soldier, Kurt Widbom (b. 1920), remembered that he felt irritated when he saw groups of German soldiers urinate by the road outside of the cinema in full view of women and children when the movie was over (Karlsson 1991: 50).

4.4.2 Interviews with civilians from Hanko by the author 2015–2019

In 2015 another opportunity to interview elderly residents of Hanko about the German presence in the town between 1942 and 1944 occurred. This happened after a request during a presentation visited by over 100 people in the Hanko town hall for anyone with memories about the German presence in Hanko between 1942 and 1944 to step forward. The people willing to submit their stories were interviewed and recorded by the author between 2015–2019. The persons interviewed by me were with two exceptions mostly children or teenagers during the Second World War, and represent the last generation with personal memories of the German presence in Hanko 1942– 1944. The interviews were all conducted in a very basic manner and recorded with an electronic audio recorder. The idea was to let the interviewed persons tell their stories with as little interference by the interviewer as possible. All the names are fictitious to protect the anonymity of those interviewed. The original recordings are kept in the archives of Hanko Museum.

4.4.2.1 Interview with "Leila" (b. 1917)

Leila lived with her parents in the town of Turku in an area called Korppolaismäki and worked in the Fischer & Berger sausage factory in the town centre when war started in 1941. Both owners of the factory, which was founded in 1925, had roots in Germany (Salonen & Schalin 2012: 16–17). In the summer of 1942 Leila was involved in the start of a privately owned Finnische Kantine in Hanko, together with her husband. There German soldiers could buy gifts and souvenirs to bring back home. Leila returned to Turku from Hanko prior to the birth of her daughter in November 1943.

The Finnische Kantine of Deutsches Lager Hanko was built in 1942 by Finnish construction workers and was probably financed by Georg Fischer, who was one of the owners of the sausage factory in Turku. Finnish construction workers were also employed by the Germans for construction work on the barracks of the camp but were also in high demand in the rebuilding of Hanko, and at some stage they were prohibited to work in the

Photo 121. German soldier in Hanko town centre in 1943 or 1944. Original photo acquired by the author from German eBay.

German camp. At its busiest the canteen employed some ten girls from Hanko along with a couple of people from Turku. According to Leila they mainly sold silk stockings, envelopes, letter paper, and pens, and the German soldiers bought everything they had to sell. The Berners tried to sell sausages that were brought to Hanko from the factory in Turku to the well-fed German soldiers, but apparently with little success. Payment in foreign currency was allowed, and she remembers that many of the German soldiers paid with Norwegian kroner. During her time in Hanko, she lived with her husband in a rented house on Gunnarstrandsvägen.

> There was a place called Gunnarstrand in Hanko and on the road that went to Cape Tulliniemi groups of soldiers marched and the train passed right beside it. There was a lot of traffic to Hanko, Norway was occupied and the men from the north went on furlough through Hanko and then from there over to Estonia.
>
> We managed to rent a house there, and I had at least one man and one woman with me. The girls who worked in the canteen where from Hanko. There were ten of them when business was at its busiest. Pentti Honkasalo was, kind of, the boss. Our house was situated right by the road, and we shared a double room in it. The trains went right past the house and all the soldiers too. I remember well how the soldiers walked there. The train went right past us and there were as many cars as it was possible to have on a train. They were in a hurry to get home and then back.
>
> In the canteen we sold silk stockings, it was of course a depression, but S. could somehow get silk stockings delivered to us. They were probably from Germany, and I remember that they were expensive. They cost 17 Fmk and my female friends had bought them. And I used to say that I'd rather get a square meter of land from Hirvensalo (near Turku). We also sold envelopes and letter paper and pens and there it was mostly. Everything got sold, they had cigarettes and toiletries of their own. They bought the silk stockings for their fiancées. Norwegian currency was used a lot, I remember that my husband exchanged Norwegian kroner.

Like so many others she too remembers how locals helped carry the German soldiers' luggage on push carts and wheelbarrows on the road leading towards the harbour (Photo 122). According to her the locals were paid well in silk stockings and other commodities by the Germans.

> They had very heavy packs and the local women went out to help them with carts, they got stockings and whatever from them.

At one point Pentti Honkasalo arranged a party at Hanko Casino, where German Officers also used to hang out. During the evening an orchestra from Turku performed and girls from the sports association Turun Pyrkivä also participated. After the party had ended the people gathered at their house to enjoy sausages and Pilsner.

Photo 122. German soldiers having their luggage transported by locals on the road that led from the harbour to Deutsches Lager Hanko. Photo acquired by the author from German eBay.

> Then there was a man named Pentti Honkasalo who was a notable person in Turku at the time. He arranged a party at the Hanko Casino. An orchestra from Turku played and girls from the female sports association Turun Pyrkivä performed. When the program stopped all of them came to our house. My husband had reserved a lot of sausages and Pilsner and they came to continue the party at our place.

During one occasion the women went for a swim at the nearby long and sandy Tullstranden beach on the south side of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Here they met German soldiers who had permission to swim there. She does not however mention having had any other contacts with German soldiers outside of her work in Hanko. In the end of the interview, she briefly mentions the delousing area of the camp where the soldiers' clothes were deloused.

> Then we visited the beach there, the sandy beach lay quite close and there we went, and German soldiers arrived. They had permission to swim there. I remember that there was a so-called delousing sauna in Hanko. The soldiers' clothes were taken there.

On the original map of the camp from 1944 the building marked Finn. Kantine (priv.), probably the Bergers' Finnisches Kantine is placed inside the perimeter of Deutsches Lager Hanko. This could explain why Leila remembers the delousing facility situated only a stone's throw away from the canteen. After the war the privately owned building was dismantled, and the boards and nails transported to Turku where they were to form part of the family's new summer home.

4.4.2.2 Interview with "Gudrun" (b. 1935)

Gudrun returned to Hanko after evacuation in 1942 when she was 7 years old. From 1942 to 1944 she lived by the road to Cape Tulliniemi (Tulluddsvägen) with her uncle. Her grandparents lived in a small fisherman's cottage on Uddskatan, the westernmost point of the cape. Their house was accessible by the road through the German camp or by boat, and she used to visit them frequently on Sundays when she was not at school. A license was required to pass the guard house and the boom barrier over the road to the camp (Photos 123–124).

> My grandparents lived in the red house on Cape Tulliniemi, it still stands. It is the one that is the furthest out on the Cape (Uddskatan). There they lived and I was always there on Sundays when I was not at school. I went there on bicycle or with a rowing boat over the bay. We had a certificate because the camp was closed off with boom barriers by gula huset (the yellow building), I mean the Radiopejlingen building, we always used to call it the yellow house, by the railroad crossing near the storage buildings. Before that crossing there was a boom barrier and a guard's hut. There you had to show your certificate. The one I used was my aunt's.

Gudrun said she had almost no memories of the barracks themselves, but during the interview she said she remembered the hospital inside the camp. According to her it was situated by the road soon after the movie theatre building. Outside the hospital there were sofas (benches), chairs, and tables made from tree branches. The bandaged soldiers used to sit and sunbathe on them during sunny weather. The horses that were kept in the nearby stables sometimes used to escape, and she was terribly frightened of them.

> I have no memory of the barracks but a bit further up the road there was a hospital close the road. It was quite close to the movie theatre. And they had made sofas, chairs, and tables out of branches placed outside. Often, they sat outside when the weather was sunny and beautiful with their bandages and other stuff yes, yes. The horses used to escape every now and then and I used to be dead scared of them.

She also recalled that Soviet prisoners of war worked in the camp, and remembered the round plywood tents, possibly with earthen floors, of the Ukrainerlager area of the camp. Her opinion was that the excavation finds from the dumps in this part of the camp must have belonged to the Ukrainian inmates. The Ukrainerlager was run by a German sergeant named Kittenberg (Calle Sundkvist 2015, personal communication).

> The area was totally clear of trees where the round tents were, I remember them well. They were quite large, and the cupolas were round.

Photo 123–124. The license used by Gudrun to enter Deutsches Lager Hanko during her visits to her grandparents, who lived on the westernmost point of Cape Tulliniemi 1942–1944. Original item in the possession of the family.

> They said they had earthen floors, but I was never inside of them.

The Soviet prisoners of war where sometimes escorted by an armed German guard when they came walking up to Gudrun's grandparents' house. The prisoners used to dig in the slash pile for potato peelings and other things to eat, but her grandmother always gave them salted herring and potatoes, which made them very happy.

> Those Russians often came walking to my grandparents' house. Sometimes they just came there without a guard, and sometimes they had a (German) guard armed with a rifle. Always when they came, they would start digging in the slash pile for potato peelings or whatever they could find there. My grandmother always gave them salted herrings and potatoes, and for that they were very happy.

She describes the Soviet prisoners wearing grey clothing with black stripes, and with a black or whited chalked letter V on their backs. She describes their caps as being grey "beret-like" with a brim. The description might not be entirely correct but could refer to the varying outfits of the Soviet prisoners of war at the time.

> They were dressed in grey, those people, with black stripes on their clothes, those prisoners I mean. All of those who were there had grey, like our military grey, with black stripes. And then they had a V on their back, in black or sometimes white like it had been drawn with chalk. And then they wore those kinds of caps with a brim, like a beret with a brim, and they were grey with black.

Gudrun remembers that she saw Soviet prisoners of war building the water pipe to the German camp outside her uncle's house on Tulluddsvägen. According to her some of the Germans treated the prisoners brutally, and that the German man who supervised the work was always drunk and swore and kicked the prisoners.

> Sometimes they dug that waterpipe when we lived in my uncle's house further on Tulluddsvägen. Here in front of the house the Soviet prisoners worked, and the sweat was pouring from their bodies. Their German boss was always drunk. He shouted and cursed and kicked the prisoners. Not all of them were like that, but from what we saw the prisoners were there for quite a while. It took a while to dig that stretch and to put in the wooden pipes, they were there outside our house for quite a long time.

While living on Tulluddsvägen Gudrun also witnessed German soldiers marching regularly on the road from Hanko harbour and over the railroad by the lumberyard towards the camp. She remembers standing by the road and begging them for *bon-bons*, and sometimes even getting

some candies and German bread. She looked at the Germans with a mixture of fear and suspense.

> Always when such contingents arrived with the large ships they came through the harbour and what we used to call Skituviken (Dirt Bay), its name is Tallbersskogen. And then they came over the railroad between the lumber yard, or the saw as it was called then, they came up by a private house and then there was one more house and after that the house we lived in. And they had backpacks and everything, I used to be out by the road begging for "bon-bons". Sometimes one got loaves of bread that we used to call Rysslimpa (Russian bread) but they were of course German. Those marches came with regular intervals. Sometimes one was scared and sometimes a little suspenseful about it maybe.
>
> On one occasion when the camp was full, another load (of soldiers) arrived, and they sat down by Pallboberget where one goes to the beach. The entire forest was full of soldiers. They didn't have room to delouse them and take them there (to the camp) and they had to change beforehand. And then as usual we were standing by the railroad track watching them. And there was at least one who flashed his penis behind a tree. We got terribly scared, I had never seen or even heard about such things before. The year must have been 1944 or 1943.

Because of her very young age she only very rarely visited Hanko town centre. As a result, she did not have much information about what went on there between 1942–1944.

> I was only very seldom to the centre of Hanko. On one occasion I was visiting a house where one could get food. So, one time I remember being there and there were some generals standing on the steps who were watching the whole thing.

When the Germans were preparing to leave Hanko in the autumn of 1944 Gudrun's aunt and her grandfather were given two large landscape paintings and two antler or bone Edelweiss broches painted in green and yellow as thanks for their help during the war.

> And then when they moved from here both Gunhild and grandpa got a large painting each and both also had a small Edelweiss brooch made of bone or antler or something and painted with green and some yellow buds.

After the Germans left Hanko, she had the opportunity to visit the abandoned German Soldatenkino movie theatre where she hung on the drapes made of fine green velvet that somebody later cut down and stole. She remembers that there was a theatre-like stage in the building.

> Well listen, I have been hanging on the drapes there, they were velvet drapes that were there at the time and in I used to hang on them until somebody cut them down and stole them. The drapes were made from beautiful green cloth. It had a scene like in a theatre, but how they used to show the movies I don't know. It was only afterwards when they had left that we were there, we were not there when the Germans were there. Those older than me, there aren't many of them left anymore, have told me that they too were inside that cinema.

A few female residents from Hanko worked in the kitchens of the camp, but almost nothing is known about their experiences there. Gudrun's aunts Svea and Gunhild worked in the kitchen of the officers dining hall close to the large German Soldatenheim canteen (Photos 125–126). Gunhild also used to bring the aprons of the German female auxiliaries that they used in the hospital to be washed and starched by her grandmother.

> Behind that Soldatenheim was the dining room of the officers and kitchen, this is where my grandma's sisters worked. My other aunt Svea lived on Cape Tulliniemi and worked just here in the officers' kitchen and dining room. It was my aunt who brought the aprons and other huckles they used in the hospital, those Schwestern. And my grandmother washed and starched them there on Cape Tulliniemi.

Gudrun had no contact with German soldiers during the years after the war, but during a bus trip to Travemünde some twenty years ago an interesting thing occurred. While she and her aunt were waiting for the bus to be unloaded from the ferry, they were approached by an elderly German man who had overheard them speaking Swedish and asked where they were from. When he heard that they were from Hanko and saw Gunhild he almost broke out in tears.

We were on our way to Europe with a so-called pensioners association with my aunt Gunhild. In Travemünde our bus embarked from the ferry and there these people and this man was also waiting. And they heard that we were speaking Swedish. and then the elderly gentleman approached and asked where we were from. And when he saw Gunhild he almost started to cry. He had been here in Hanko during the war. It is small episodes like this that one thinks that could never happen.

4.4.2.3 Interview with "Lena" (b. 1922)

Lena came back to Hanko in September 1943. From 1943 to 1944 she lived with her sister in a house in the westernmost end of Långgatan close to the German camp at Cape Tulliniemi. From their balcony she and her sister had a good view of the German soldiers that passed by their house. She worked in the Finnish military hospital Villa Thalatta in the town centre and at Restaurant Central on the Boulevard. She did not speak any German so her conversations with the German soldiers were very limited. According to her there were not that many Germans to be seen in Hanko town at the time.

> At that time, I worked in a restaurant, Restaurant Central there in the middle of the town, on Bulevarden And there was only, but maybe there were more, but I think there was only one who had permission for a night leave. To be able to come to the town wasn't allowed for Germans, no. Maybe some officer, there were some of them in our restaurant, German officers used to come there to eat.

Like many other young women from Hanko, she too participated in the transport of backpacks and other luggage of the German soldiers from Hanko harbour to Deutsches Lager Hanko on the road that led past her and her sister's house. The six or seven women used to wait for the German soldiers on the corner of Långgatan and Hangöbyvägen. The luggage of the soldiers was transported to the camp with wheelbarrows and carts, and they were paid by the Germans with cigarettes and bread. Cigarettes were rationed in wartime Finland and therefore in high demand.

Photos 125–126. Gudrun's aunt (2nd from right) and a German soldier photographed outside the Soldatenheim canteen of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Notice the tomato plants by the wall. Photos in a family archive.

We transported their luggage, their packages, and suitcases, from the ship down to Cape Tulliniemi. Yes, I was there. I lived with my sister on the far end of Långgatan and they came from the harbour right by Långgatan and went towards Cape Tulliniemi that way. It wasn't only us but six to seven women who were there to help them carry their luggage with wheelbarrows or carts and there I stood too. We got cigarettes, and I used to smoke back then, a young girl 21 years of age, and I liked getting cigarettes as they were rationed in Finland. And then we got loaves of bread, of which there was also a shortage. So, I was happy to be there and help transport their stuff over there, to the train.

We used to wait for the Germans right at the corner of Hangöbyvägen and Långgatan, exactly there on the corner we used to stand. Most of the German soldiers carried their belongings themselves, we only helped. I would walk to the camp along Tulluddsvägen which at the time was a gravel road until there was a boom barrier or a railway car standing in the way, I don't quite remember. I think there stood a railway cart in the way where the boom barrier should have been. Yes, we got that far. There were quite a few of soldiers, it was the ships Bremerhaven, yes there were a lot. I couldn't speak so much with them, I have never spoken any German, so I don't remember talking to them very much.

In 2017 Lena looked back at her wartime experiences with a sense of happiness and longing and thought that the war years were the best years of her life. A time of dancing, listening to music on gramophones, and dating boys. After all the years she said she was still wondering why it was at the time considered so wrong to date a German soldier, while it was perfectly ok to go out with an Estonian, as the Finns considered themselves to be friends with both during the Second World War.

My best years, the years of my youth, were the war years because I was twenty-one and there were many boys and girls like that when they are out and about. And it was lovely to listen to music and dance in secrecy, anything that you could do at that time in the evenings. Listening to music on the gramophone and dance, it was so much fun, it was wartime, you weren't allowed to do that, but I used to do all this in secrecy and that was fun. So, the wartime years were the happiest days of my youth.

The Germans, you weren't allowed to get acquainted with them, or else your reputation would be gone. So that you wouldn't dare. But it was different with Estonians, with them you were free to go out. No, those girls that were with Estonians, they were not considered, were not treated, the same way as the girls that went out with Germans. Finns were supposed to be friends with both, how on earth was there such a difference?

4.4.2.4 Interview with "Lars" (b. 1930)

Lars was twelve years old when he and his mother returned to Hanko in 1942, where they lived on Bulevarden 9. Her mother worked in the nearby German bakery, and he helped her with carrying firewood for the fire stove and cleaning the pavement outside the house. The bakery supplied Deutsches Lager Hanko with bread. Through his mother's work in the bakery, he got to taste marzipan for the first time in his life. The marzipan was made by an Austrian pastry chef who worked in the bakery for the German Christmas celebrations in Hanko, and Lars ate until his stomach refused to have any more.

Back then in '42, '43, '44 we lived on Bulevarden 9. My mother was the caretaker there, and there was a restaurant called Central and the German bakery. My mother heated the ovens in the bakery, and I helped her as much as I could. I was twelve, thirteen, and I cleaned the street and helped her with wood to the oven. The bakery is still there, it is kind of between Bulevarden 9 and Bulevarden 7. The wall towards Bulevarden 7 was made from stone and there was a door and a window to the street, and we lived there, wall to wall to the bakery. They mostly baked loaves, but they also knew how to bake other things, because the baker was all the way from Austria. I don't remember his name anymore. It was only the Germans who baked there, I really don't know how it all started.

The lorry driver, Staneller, reversed the car towards the pavement and the bread was, you know, thrown out through the door two and two and loaded onto the truck like firewood. Sometimes when someone used to pass, they could get a loaf of bread that was still warm… They were tasty. For Christmas, I don't remember which year it was, they would make Marzipan. And there was a one-and-a-half-meter

high platform, like a terrace made from concrete. On it they baked the marzipan, like a thick sausage, they had it laid out on the concrete with grain sacks underneath. And I remember that I got a long piece of it, and I ate until I got sick, you know my stomach wasn't used to that kind of stuff.

A rather serious incident in the bakery occurred when there was an explosion in the baking oven that caused an abrupt stop in the deliveries of bread from the bakery. The Germans suspected sabotage, and both Lars and his mother were interrogated by the Germans. The reason for the explosion was never confirmed, but he thinks it is possible that it was caused by an unexploded grenade that had got into the oven together with the large one-meter-long pieces of firewood used to heat it.

There was also an incident there on Bulevarden 9 regarding the bakery and the baking oven that my mother heated. I don't remember when it was, but one day quite suddenly an explosion was heard and when we went to see what had happened, we saw that everything had been thrown out of that, the oven door made of iron had flown into the wall by the door and left deep marks in it, and everything was broken and firewood, you know, was burning out in the yard.

Well naturally there was something like a two weeklong break in the baking. The damage wasn't very substantial, so they got things fixed. But it was seen as sabotage of course. So, Gestapo came and interrogated my mother and even me … Well, we couldn't say (what caused the explosion), we heated it, and he heated it and suddenly it just exploded. But I don't think somebody was there, but it could have been among the firewood. But anyway, it was taken seriously, and we were interrogated, but it came to nothing. It was rather sad all that, the oven was heated with one-meter-long pieces of firewood, anything could get into the oven together with the wood.

Lars had learned a little German at school and got acquainted with a couple of Germans who were stationed in Hanko. One of them was a lorry driver named Staneller who transported the bread to the German camp, and the other was Georg Schneider, who was a member of the military police and worked in the German commandant's headquarters on Högbergsgatan. On occasions he used to ride with Schneider and Staneller to Deutsches Lager Hanko. He remembers a canteen in the camp where a friend of his used to work. He also got Swiss chocolate, an orange, or other goodies from Schneider. Schneider also gave him his Finnish-made skis when the Germans left Hanko in 1944.

But the driver who drove the truck from the bakery to the German camp, his name was Staneller. He was very humorous and easy to remember because of that. I was with him a couple of times to the camp, you couldn't go there by yourself, but this way I got in there.

And then I had another German acquaintance, he was stationed permanently here in Hanko, he was part of the German military police, and his name was George Schneider. When the Germans had to leave here in 1944, they were in a hurry and then I got his skis, and I still have them in my woodshed. They are Finnish Karhu skis. And this Schneider, he worked in the commandant's headquarters. Me and my friend Knut were many times invited to eat there you know. Times were rather hard back then for civilians. I got to ride to the German camp with Schneider. There was a canteen there where a guy from my school used to work. He was from Hanko; I think his first name was Kurt. So, sometimes you could get things like an orange, you couldn't buy those (in stores), and Swiss chocolate, he always gave us something. He was a very friendly and pleasant man this Schneider.

He recalls that the German camp was very tidy, with raked paths and stones on the sides. The paths and roads had names too. On one occasion Stig visited the movie theatre of the camp, where he saw a German propaganda film about Stuka dive bombers.

And it was very tidy you know, raked sandy paths with stones laid out on the sides. The roads they had names you know. You see the Germans they have order around them, nice and tidy they all had it there. I was also invited to the Soldatenkino movie theatre and saw a movie, it was a movie, you know mostly propaganda movie about "Stukas" and all that.

The German commandants' headquarters where Schneider worked burned to the ground in 1943 and Lindström thinks it was because the

German Zahlmeister, possibly of the rank of a Major lit it on fire to conceal that he had embezzled money during his work there. He drowned himself at the Märssan beach afterwards.

> The commandant's headquarters was there by Högbergsgatan, but it burnt down so there is only forest there now… The fire was caused by, was he a major or something. He had apparently been embezzling and wanted to kind of somehow cover up his crime with the fire, but he later killed himself there on Märssan (Lillmärssan beach in Hanko). It was rather tragic this.

In 1943 and 1944 Lars worked as a messenger in the armour and guns office situated in the Bellevue building in Hanko. The bureau was busy with collecting discarded war materiel that had been left by the retreating Soviets in 1941. His work mostly consisted of running different types of civilian and military errands for the staff in the office under the supervision of an NCO by the last name of Kojo.

Lars invented a way of making money by selling flounders that he and his friends caught in his father's cotton nets off Cape Tulliniemi to the German soldiers in Deutsches Lager Hanko. The boys used to land by Pallboberget and the German soldiers could come there to buy fish. The sales he says where rather good, but the currency, Deutsche Reichsmark, caused some difficulties. The soldiers could however also pay for the fish with goods like cigarettes and other stuff.

> … With my father's old cotton nets, me and a friend netted for flounders here outside of Tullstranden (the S. beach of Cape Tulliniemi), and they very much liked to buy fish you know. There on Tullstranden, there by Pallboberget that it is called, there we came ashore, and they could come down there to buy. We sold quite a lot, but it was a little difficult with the money. They had German "Reichsmarks", but one could (pay), you know with goods like cigarettes and such. I didn't smoke myself, but sent cigarettes to my brothers (at the front).

He too remembers how the Organisation Todt who were housed in Villa Tellina used Soviet prisoners of war to build the water pipes to the German camp out of pipes made of wood. In the westernmost part of the road leading to the German camp lived a man by the name of Sundström. He was not at all happy with the construction of the water pipe which he thought damaged the roots of the lilacs he had planted by the road near his yard.

On one occasion a large German Ardenner horse appeared in his yard and snatched a mouthful of tulips. This made Sundström explode in rage, and he began shouting in Swedish at the German soldiers, who watched him in awe, not understanding a single word.

> They were digging a waterpipe, it ran along Tullvägen, along the northern side of the road. And it was this Organistation Todt who lived there in (Villa) Tellina. And it was them who built it out of wooden pipes, it was dug down, and it worked although it leaked at first.
>
> It was near the beginning of very close to the modern-day crossing and the road to Tullstranden. So, there was a house, and the man who lived in it had the name of Sundström, and was called "Krykeln" because he was an invalid you know, and he had a walking cane. Despite being handicapped he was very active, and he fished and sold fish despite his difficulties.
>
> And he was angry about the waterpipe, because he had planted a row of lilacs there by the road and they came digging and damaged the roots, and this he was angry of. And then he got really fired up you know, there were these large Ardenner horses you know. And one of those got into 'Krykeln's' yard and left with a mouthful of tulips you know. This really made him explode and leash out at the Germans swearing and cursing at them. The Germans didn't understand a single word he was yelling at them, but then he remembered the Swedish word huligan (hooligan), which is almost the same in every language, and shouted *Jävla Hitlers huliganer* (damned Hitler's hooligans) at the soldiers and this they understood and just laughed.

Soviet prisoners of war were used to clean the German railway cars between the transports. Lars remembers an incident that happened one time when the cars were cleaned. Wearing Edelweiss cap badges, he and his friends had been assigned to remove grass that was growing between the railroad tracks when they saw a Soviet prisoner of war step out from one of the cars holding two German stick hand grenades in his hands. The prisoner had apparently found them inside the car and

did not know what to do with them. A Finnish soldier who was standing guard raised his rifle at the prisoner who immediately put down the hand grenades, heads down on the rail. The guard then approached the prisoner and started hitting him with the butt of his rifle.

> I was a boy around fourteen, thirteen years, so I couldn't understand it was anything dangerous, it was exciting, and one should be around and see what was happening. So, during the summer when there was no school there, we were me and my friend Knut, and we even had an "Edelweiss". I didn't have a rifle but Knut did and guarded Soviet prisoners.
>
> And they cleaned the train cars that were used for the troop transports. Yes, they came down here to the train yard, the empty ones I mean, cattle cars, and the Soviet prisoners of war cleaned them. And we were there by the railroad to earn a little money by removing grass that grew near the rails. And then there were Soviet prisoners who swept and cleaned the cars. There was also a guard there. And it was a long, long column of cars right from where the bridge is now all the way down to the Russian cemetery (near the harbour).
>
> And then it was one of the prisoners, we were around fifty meters from the spot, who jumped out from one of the cars and had two hand grenades with him, he had found them you know. And the guard he took his rifle and loaded it, so me and Sven thought, and he said, "May he not shoot now". But the Russian put down the grenades on the rail with the handles pointing upwards. This made the guard a little braver and you know he hit the prisoner with his rifle butt you know. A cowardly thing to do, he had not meant to do anything bad, he just happened to find those (grenades).

He remembers that the cattle cars were equipped with resting or sleeping platforms at both ends and a round cast iron stove in the middle. The German soldiers put their backpacks and luggage under the platforms. The line of cars was extremely long and could reach all the way from the railway stop at Hangö Norra to the railway crossing in Gunnarstrand.

> There was a platform in the cars. Listen, there were platforms at both ends of the cars and from what we understood when the German soldiers left here, they would store their backpacks underneath and lay on the platforms themselves, and there was a stove in the middle. A round stove. And what would I say, maybe a platoon or so could fit into one such car. The stove was made from cast iron and with such rings on the top. The trains could be so long that they were all the way from the railway crossing at Hangö Norra all the way to the crossing by the present-day bridge. There the train was cut, and from there it continued to the railway crossing here in Gunnarstrand.

In the late summer of 1944, Lars and a Finnish staff officer named Ruusuvaara witnessed the arrival of the German 122. Infanterie-Division "Greif" in Hanko and attended the arrival of the German troop carriers that transported the Division from Hanko to Reval. The loading of tanks and horses on the ships made a huge impression on him.

> … he was on his way down to the harbour, the Eastern Harbour, because the Narva battalion was to be met there, the one that came here then (122. Infanterie-Division). But the harbour was armed with anti-aircraft guns, and they were afraid that the Russians would come but nothing happened. But those ships, we stood on the jetty.
>
> I carried the binoculars for him, and he looked for the ships with the binoculars. And when they were approaching Ruusuvara said, do you want to see? Yes, said I, and took the binoculars, but I didn't see a damned thing, I didn't dare to touch anything so I just handed them back to him. But then he said that when he saw the ships that they were very large ships that waited.
>
> There were tanks and horses and there was God knows what, and all of it was loaded in the hurry from the harbour area.

The 122. Infanterie-Division arrived in Hanko directly from the battle of Tali-Ihantala between 25 June and 9 July 1944, and the battle of Vyborg Bay between 30 June and 10 July 1944. After a one-week-long stay in Hanko, it was shipped over to Estonia. Later, the Division fought in the battle of Narva (hence it was later called the Narva division by the people of Hanko), after which it was caught up in the so-called Kurland Kessel, where it remained until the end of the war. The arrival of the battle-hardened German soldiers could be felt all over Hanko.

They were all the way up to the Casino Park. They had lots of horses, and they were so malnourished those horses that they gnawed the bark of the pine trees in the park. They didn't have enough fodder for the horses but they got some from over here. But there were a lot of them here.

4.4.2.5 Interview with "Ruth" (b. 1930)

In 1943 Ruth was 13 years old and lived with her parents in a house called Korsika at Hangöbyvägen 5 on the corner of Esplanaden and Hangöbyvägen, some 1,5 km north-northeast of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Her parents ran a bakery in their house and transported bread to shops in Hanko with a cart with rubber tires. The cart was put to good use when she and some others started transporting the luggage of German soldiers from the harbour to the camp on Cape Tulliniemi.

And how that all started I don't know. But it was when those transports of German soldiers to the Freeport began that we came up with the idea to transport their luggage. And we earned a little money, but gradually also older people started participating, even with wheelbarrows ... But I was privileged in the way that my father had a bakery in the corner of the Esplanade and Hangöbyvägen. Hangöbyvägen 5 was the address, and the place was called Corsica, the place where we used to live. And then you had some advantages among other things the carts with rubber tires that were used to transport bread.

Already early in the morning her mother used to bring down the cart to the place by the old Russian cemetery near the harbour where the women waited for the German soldiers. Because of this she was almost always the first in line. The German ships used to signal for a pilot to bring the ship into the harbour, and that signal served as a wakeup call for Ruth, who drank her surrogate coffee and headed out to the meeting point. She was not in a hurry, because it always took a while for the soldiers to get out from the ship and walk from there around the bay by the harbour to the meeting point.

My mother who worked in the bakery, she always brought down the cart and put it in the queue for me. I was number one (in queue) almost every time. It was there where Hangö Maskin later was, and the Russian cemetery was to the left, depending on how you look. And there you would put the cart because they always signaled for a pilot and at that point I would wake up and drink my surrogate (coffee) and then get down there because it took a while for them to get off the ships and around "Skitit" (Skitoviken bay) as we used to call it.

When she saw the Germans coming, she used to call out "Gepäck hier, bitte". On one occasion the burden of the luggage became too much for her and she was not able to push the cart up the slope of Gunnarstrandsvägen. A German soldier helped her push the cart to the boom barrier of the camp where he, to the amusement of his fellow soldiers, was forced to pay for the transport like the others.

And so, when they arrived one would shout "Gepäck hier", and "bitte" one would also say. One time it happened that I got so much "Gepäck" that when I came to Gunnarstrandsvägen and there is a small upwards slope and there I didn't have the strength to push the cart and then one of the Germans helped me push the cart and when we arrived at the gate he paid like the others. His friends where of course very amused.

Upon arrival from the harbour, they were paid with loaves of German bread or cookies. As her family had a bakery, she did not need the bread but instead sold it. On one occasion she also remembers she got a box of cookies. When the German soldiers left for the ships, they paid for the luggage transport with Finnish currency, eager to get rid of the Finnish money that they had in their pockets (Photo 127).

One often used to get loaves of bread. I sold all my bread as we had a bakery and I didn't need them. But bread was very much in demand because we had food ration coupons. On one occasion I even got a box of biscuits … One could get some Finnish money that they had possibly saved. We used to wait (by the gate) for those who were going to the ship. Exactly like the ones that went into the camp, these too came out in a group. Because they were on their way home with that same ship. Yes, then we took them

Photo 127. Finnish 20-mark banknote with the text "N-Finnland, November 1943. Rovaniemi, Hangö". Item obtained from private collection.

> (their luggage) and then we would be paid with money, then we got Finnish money because they wanted to empty their pockets before they went home …

Later, in 1943, the profitable business of transporting the luggage of the Germans was forbidden by the police, as announced in the local newspaper *Hangötidningen*. Ruth and other people from Hanko, however, soon invented other ways to make money by trading with the German soldiers.

> And then the thing with the transport of their luggage, I remember that it said in *Hangötidningen* that it was forbidden and then it was forbidden. It was during times when you didn't want to have so much to do with the police.

Ruth remembered how she and an 18-year-old local boy used to get a couple of crates of pilsner from the local merchant in Gunnarstrand, and with a permission from her father head out to the boom barrier of Deutsches Lager Hanko to sell it to the Germans, using the slogan "Wollen Sie Bier kaufen?". The lucrative business by the entrance to the camp was good for a while, until it was stopped by the Lotta Svärd organization.

> There was a second business with the Germans, because the transport of their luggage was forbidden.
>
> Hans had a food store in Gunnarstrand. One couldn't get Pilsener or beer as they called it, but when he got a delivery, he used to always save four crates. I had a male friend … he was born 1926 so he was four years older than myself ... My father let me go with him down to the gate of the camp and sell beer, as we called it. And then we learned "Wollen Sie Bier kaufen". Then one time when I arrived there with my "Bier" a Finnish boy approached who had volunteered to join the German army. And he wanted to have his collar tabs sewn on to his uniform with black thread and all. And he said that if I would sew on the collar tabs, he would sell my "Bier" and then he took my bicycle and drove into the camp, and I sat down on a rock and sewed on the collar tabs. He spoke Finnish. And so, this went on for a while, but I think the Kantine (Lotta-Kantine Erika) somehow put a stop to it.

This did not however, stop the business, which only changed location from the camp gate to a nearby shrubbery, and soon evolved into also selling other items than "Bier", including Cosmos pens, letter and cigarette paper, and envelopes. The sales were good but there was nothing to buy in Hanko with the money they earned. The selling of pilsner gradually stopped when the weather got colder.

But then there was a small shrubbery there somewhere and we stood there. Suddenly, I don't remember if there was one or eight there but suddenly, they started to ask for letter Papiere, and then they asked for Zigarett Papiere, and they wanted envelopes but they didn't need stamps... and then I also sold what we called Kosmos pens. The writing turned lilac when the text got wet and couldn't be erased after that. And I remember that one day when I came home with my earnings my father said, "My dear girl you have made more money in one day than I have made in a whole week". So, we made a lot of money, but probably it stopped when the weather got too cold... to drive there by bicycle. We must have been cheaper (than the Lottas') because we almost always had a queue. We competed with them and that is why they got rid of us... I was just thinking of all the money we earned. There was nothing to buy with the money.

Sometimes trains with cattle cars passed by, and Ruth could see hands of German soldiers waving goodbye through the small portholes in the otherwise windowless cars.

And then the ones that left after they had been on their home leave, they left in trains for the front. They left in covered carts but the must have been a small porthole in the cart because there was always a hand waving through it. It was there near Gunnarstrand... When the train came there was always some hands waving if you happened to be standing there.

Ruth remembers how Soviet prisoners of war built the waterpipe that ran beside their house on Hangöbyvägen 5 to the German camp. She remembers it being hard work, but contrary to the recollections of Gudrun she says that the older German soldiers who supervised the work behaved well and acted in a friendly way towards the Soviet prisoners. On one occasion a Soviet prisoner of war even comforted a German soldier who had lost his son in the war.

And then another thing that was interesting is that they tried to build a waterpipe to the camp. So, behind our bakery there were older German soldiers, who had Soviet prisoners with them. And they dug with shovels, what else did they have, they put down pipes of wood. And they didn't get many meters dug (per day). Our bakery, after that there was one more house and after that only forest (to the camp), no houses, no plots. It was free to dig there.

The Germans were very friendly with their prisoners... There was an older German soldier, he had a son named Peter, he showed me a rather large picture of him where he stood with an accordion and wearing a uniform. Sometime after that he was told that his son had been killed, and this Soviet prisoner comforted him and tapped him on the back. There were many episodes like this. Somehow when you are as young as I was at the time, you take things like that to be natural. It was assumed to be natural to have those prisoners with a letter V on their backs, who would bring stuff to the bakery and the other ones built a waterpipe there outside.

She says she clearly remembers how the German soldiers marched in groups towards the cinemas Rialto and Olympia in Hanko. The Rialto was situated near the present-day railway bridge. The soldiers used to sing on the way towards Hanko town, and she and others used to go out and admire them when they heard the singing approach. The group of German soldiers filled the whole movie theatre. She says that the German soldiers were not allowed to visit shops in Hanko.

Many German movies were shown in Hanko. When they went (to see a movie) they filled the whole movie theatre. They were singing as they went to town "Edelweiss" and other marching songs. Now I don't know how regular the visits were, I wasn't always there to watch but now and then you could hear them sing you would go out and saw them march by.

We had this old "Rialto" which used to be where the bridge is now and then we also had the new one that still remains "Olympia". Which one they went to I don't know. But they were not allowed to visit shops, that I know for sure. One German soldier wanted squirrel skins that they had for sale in one of the shops, so he sent me to buy the skins, and it was the same with "Zigarett Papiere".

Ruth got along well with the passing German soldiers. On one occasion in late 1943, when the sea had frozen in the bay near Hanko harbour and she was out skating on the ice, a group of German soldiers passed on the nearby shore on their way from the port to the camp. Suddenly she heard a voice from the road shouting "Ruth, bitte, bitte

komm hier". It was one of the German soldiers that she had helped with the transport of luggage to the harbour weeks earlier who wanted to give her candies. She walked with him to the road all the way up to Hangöbyvägen where their paths separated.

> When the ice froze on Skitoviken (near Hanko harbour) as we called it. So, I was there ice skating and there came a group of Germans, but we weren't allowed to carry their Gepäck anymore. Suddenly I heard a voice call out "Ruth, bitte, bitte komm hier". And it was one of the soldiers whose luggage I had helped carry, who had some candies for me. And I walked up the road to Hangöbyvägen (with him). Yes, we were good friends.

But all was not always happy and well. Ruth witnessed the brutal treatment of Germans towards their fellow soldiers and remembered how her father almost lashed out at the Germans.

> One thing we experienced as terrible was an incident where my father too was involved, we almost had to hold him back, was when they came with deserters or whatever they were. My God how mean they were towards them. One of them hardly had the strength to walk, he was struggling to walk up Gunnarstrandsgatan, and he was bayonetted. They were taken to Cape Tulliniemi too, but they were so that they hardly could walk... My father along with others that were not at the front, we almost had to hold on to them physically so that they wouldn't rush there and interfere with things. Things would have got bad with them.

4.4.2.6 Interview with "Agnes" (b. 1930)

Agnes was thirteen at the time and served as a Junior Lotta in Hanko. In 1943 and 1944 she used to help the Lottas of the camp. She and her friend used to tease German soldiers and Finnish girls as they came walking in pairs on the road from the camp. They used to hide in the woods and call out things like "Would you like to have company?" or how "How much do you pay?". When the lovers came closer, they hid in the Soviet trenches in the woods.

> Of course, you could see them, not during daytime but in the evenings, they came out on leave from Cape Tulliniemi. They often came in pairs of two and two and in the company of girls from Hanko. Where they disappeared, I don't know, because during that time I was forbidden to move around much outside after dark and even during bright summer nights I had definite hours that I had to be back home.
>
> I don't recall much other than that while sitting there every day one could see them walk towards the movie theatre towards the centre, they went… If you heard something, you would let it go in through one ear and out through the other... When you were thirteen you didn't really know what they were talking about. So, I don't know much more about what went on except for what I saw and perceived when sneaking around in the trenches and such. We played some dirty tricks on them, asking if they wanted to have company, or "how much will you pay" and such things. When they got closer, we would run and hide in the trenches and have fun.

She mentioned that there are still children of German soldiers and Finnish women living in Hanko. Some other children were born outside of the marriages of Finnish couples.

> But I know that some children of German soldiers are still here, some of them in the golden age of seventy or something. Six children I know of. Then there was at least one occasion where the man had been away for five to six months and found a new-born when he came home.

According to Agnes, two neighbouring girls who were born in the 1920s left Hanko with the retreating Germans in 1944. Both remained abroad after the war, one in the Netherlands and one in Sweden, but kept visiting Hanko during the summers.

> There were two girls in our neighborhood, I don't want to say their names, that left Hanko with the Germans. One of them remained in the Netherlands after the war but kept visiting Hanko during the summers. I would say they were born around 1920 or something so they probably were around 23 or something … The other one went to Sweden and got married but she too would keep coming home during the summers.

In Hanko, as in many other Finnish towns, wild rumors circulated about what had happened to the Finnish girls who left with the Germans in 1944. One of the more common rumours in Finland at the time was that before arrival in Ger-

many the girls had been thrown overboard by the Germans.

> There were wild rumors here that one would have thrown them overboard when the ship approached Germany. This I find hard to believe because I know of these two girls that used to come home every summer. I don't know about the one who had a German officer, probably she found Germany so devastated and terrible compared to wartime Finland.

Like Ruth, she too witnessed the transport and bayonetting of one of the German military convicts on Gunnarstrandsvägen near the old graveyard and remembers how angry her father and the other men were at the behaviour of the German soldiers. The place where the event occurred was very public, with houses and quite a lot of people standing by the road. She says she felt the whole thing very surprising as the Germans were considered good people and their allies. The imprisoned German soldiers looked very miserable and weary, and two of them tried to help carry the bayonetted soldier towards the camp.

> We were standing there by Gunnarstrandsvägen, and there was also my father and other older men and my father had probably had his small *Jaloviina* schnapps on Saturday and he necessarily wanted to get involved in what was happening. It was one of those Germans who ran his bayonet in the backs of his fellow Germans when they staggered towards Cape Tulliniemi. Two of the other prisoners tried to drag him with them. That was very tragic. They were like happy, good fellow human beings, we didn't have anything against them and they were our allies, but this, we thought, was very bad.
>
> Only once I saw it, it could of course have been more. The place was rather central. There were quite a few people standing by the road and there were houses. The came from the direction of the town and were walking towards the camp. It was approximately by the old graveyard, over there by the slope and the curve and the fire department. They looked so weary and miserable, and probably experienced something afterwards, whether there was a police officer too one doesn't of course know.

4.4.3 An eyewitness account of train and ship transports of German convicted soldiers

Frans Uusilehto worked as a diver in Hanko harbour in December 1942. During his work he encountered prisoners from three different countries. Finnish military convicts in Finnish uniforms but without belts, Soviet prisoners of war, and German convicts. According to him the Finnish military convicts worked very hard and took part in the loading of the ships no matter what the weather was. They told him that they were badly fed and that their living accommodations were very poor, as was their clothing, which included thin summer caps that subjected their heads to freezing. The reason why they had been sentenced to do forced labour did not become clear to him. The Soviet prisoners of war were allowed to move quite freely and had a bonfire on the pier to keep them warm. They were dressed in what seemed to be quite warm winter clothing and had felt boots on their feet. They were hungry and tried to exchange pieces of soap for bread (Työväen arkisto, Muistietokokoelmat 183: 266).

During his work Uusilehto witnessed a German transport of their own convicts by train to Hanko harbour presumably from Northern Finland. The convicts were even more badly clothed than the Finnish and travelled in locked unheated cattle cars. The prisoners seemed very cold and hungry upon arrival. He decided to try to approach the railway car to give them a small piece of bread through the hatch in the upper part of the cart. As he approached the car a guard raised his rifle and Uusilehto thought it better not to attempt this at the risk of being shot (Työväen arkisto/Muistietokokoelmat 183: 266).

After a while the doors to the cattle car were opened and the prisoners were moved to an empty storage room, where they were kept until it was time to board the cargo ship. One of the convicts had caught diarrhea during the train journey and was very badly soiled. The guards forced the very sick German soldier to take off his clothes on the icy, cold, and windy pier. According to Uusilehto the weather was so cold that even he was freezing in his heavy diving gear. The guards had the

convict stand there almost naked and cleaned his back and behind with an icy board. He found this brutal treatment pitiful to watch and believed the sick man had no chance of surviving the treatment especially as a freezing wind from the east was blowing. Is this how the Germans are treating their own, he asked himself (Työväen arkisto, Muistietokokoelmat 183: 266).

4.4.4 Interviews with German war veterans

Over 80 years had passed since the first German soldiers inhabited the barracks of Deutsches Lager Hanko when I conducted my interviews for the dissertation in 2015–2019. During my research I managed to find only one German war veteran, lieutenant Siegfried Ehrt, who was willing to share his memories about his time in Finland during the Second World War. He was interviewed by me in Breitenbrunn in Southern Germany in March 2017. The interview was recorded with an audio recorder and later transcribed and translated from German to English. The idea was to let him speak freely, in his own words, without interruption. After so many years, Ehrt's memories were quite vague. An interview by another German soldier named Wilhelm Hertzele, which had been recorded in 2010 as part of an Austrian history project, was found on the Internet and transcribed and translated.

Many specific topics of interest for my PhD in 2022 were mundane everyday events for the German soldiers during the Second World War that left few, if any, memories. When assessing the scientific value of their stories it is important to keep in mind that the memories of German soldiers like Ehrt and Hertzele, like the recollections of the civilians described in the previous chapter, do not offer an objective or exact view of their wartime experiences. Instead, much of their words and stories should be considered as memory fragments that have been subject to constant change over decades, as well as other specific contributing factors during that time (Goltermann 2009: 11). Despite this, and whether their memories describe exactly what happened or not, the interviews convey eyewitness accounts of the experiences of the two soldiers that would have otherwise been lost forever after they passed away and are as such worthy of documentation and publication.

4.4.4.1 Interview with Gebirgsjäger Wilhelm Herzele (b. 1923)

One of the many German soldiers who travelled to the northern front through Deutsches Lager Hanko was Gebirgsjäger Wilhelm Herzele. He was interviewed about his war experiences in 2010 by Österreichische Mediathek as part of a history project named *Menschenleben* (Österreichische Mediathek 2010). In the lengthy interview, Herzele also speaks shortly about his time in Hanko and the train journey to the far north in the summer of 1943.

Wilhelm Herzele was born in Klagenfürt, in the southern part of Austria, on 17 September 1923. He was an active member of the Hitler Jugend but by his own words only because of the athletics not the ideology. While part of the organization he received many shooting awards, which later led him to join the Wehrmacht on 23 July 1942. After having received basic military training, he was sent assigned for frontline duty to the Arctic front in 1943.

The long journey to Finland started when Hertzele, along with 8–10 other Gebirgsjäger, travelled by train to Vienna and from there over Eastern Prussia to Insterburg in Northern Prussia where they were subjected to mandatory delousing. He had never seen lice in his life, but after the delousing he says he did, so the delousing process was not very successful. He arrived in Reval on 4 or 6 June 1943, where he was equipped with a lifejacket and boarded a mid-sized ship bound for Hanko.

While in Hanko Hertzele and his fellow soldiers spent a couple of summer days in the German transition camp, mostly sunbathing and swimming (Photo 128). During the sunbathing and swimming, they burnt their behinds to a point that they had difficulties sitting down. Tragedy almost struck when a fellow soldier managed to find an unexploded artillery grenade on the beach and nearly caused a deadly accident by mishandling it. On one occasion he and some of his comrades managed to sneak out to a secluded beach outside the camp boundaries.

As they were living in a military transition camp, they were not allowed to do much else than "wait, wait, and wait" for the next train transport. According to Hertzele the train that took the soldiers to the north consisted of about 50 cattle carts and some regular railway cars. The train moved comfortably and slowly through the Finnish landscape. The journey to the north was rather boring for the young soldiers. During the slow journey he and his comrades looked for excitement by running from one railway car to the other until they reached the locomotive, where they turned around and gradually returned to their own car. The train stopped quite often, and "in the land of a thousand lakes" the soldiers had ample opportunities to take short swims during the otherwise rather warm journey. When the train slowly started to move again the soldiers hurried back to their cars. At the end station in Rovaniemi the soldiers were put on lorries that carried them to the Edelweiss Lager. Here he joined the 8. Kompanie of the 41. Regiment of the 6. Gebirgs-Division. Wilhelm Hertzele survived the war and died from natural causes in 2016.

4.4.4.2 Interview with Gebirgsjäger Lieutenant Siegfried Ehrt (b. 1922)

Siegfried Ehrt was born in 1922 in a small-town south of Dresden. In October 1940 he volunteered for service in the Wehrmacht where he received Gebirgsjäger training. Ehrt first arrived in northern Finland from Narvik in northern Norway in 1941, eight days prior to the start of hostilities between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

He participated in the first German offensives of the Arctic Front from June to November 1941. When the front came to a standstill at the Litza river, Ehrt returned to Germany and spent three months in a military school in Potsdam studying military tactics and unit management. With Hanko still in Soviet hands at that point, the journey back to Germany was made on board a German troop carrier from Kirkenes to Trondheim, Oslo, and finally Denmark. During the long and perilous sea journey the ship was attacked with torpedoes by a British submarine but narrowly escaped. From Denmark, Ehrt travelled by train to Hamburg and from there to his home in Klagenfurt.

In February 1942, Ehrt was promoted to lieutenant and returned to the Arctic Front as platoon and later company leader in Gebirgs-Jäger-Regiment 139 of the 3. Gebirgs Division. The ice situation was bad, and Ehrt travelled back to Finland first by train to Berlin and Reval and from there by airplane to Helsinki, where he stayed a night at Hotel Torni. The journey from Helsinki to Rovaniemi was made by train. From Rovaniemi, Ehrt travelled to Salla and Alakurtti and the Kiestinki front. He was wounded

Photo 128. German soldier having a swim at the southern beach of Cape Tulliniemi. Hanko harbour can be seen to the left in the picture. Original photo acquired from German eBay by the author.

in a mine explosion almost immediately and sent to recover in Oulu.

A four-week-long home-leave once a year was generally allowed for the soldiers fighting on the Arctic Front. According to Ehrt he visited Deutsches Lager Hanko two times in 1943 and one time in 1944. At the start of his furlough Ehrt walked from the frontlines to the small town of Parkkina on foot. From Parkkina he then travelled 600 km by truck to Rovaniemi and from there by train to Hanko. After a short stay in the camp, he boarded a ship to Germany and after that continued home by train. The one-way trip home took at least one-and-a-half weeks, meaning that for three weeks of vacation the soldier was away from the front for a total of almost two months.

Ehrt's first visit to Hanko lasted from 16 September to 17 September 1943. His memories of Hanko were rather vague, but he vividly recalled spending two days in the wonderful barracks, which were equipped with bunk beds and with barracks for washing close by. He also remembered the "gassing" of lice in the delousing facility before boarding a troop carrier on 18 September bound for Reval (Tallin). His return journey a few weeks later took him back through Hanko again. After staying a few nights in Deutsches Lager Hanko he boarded a train to Oulu, where he stayed the night in Hotel Tervahovi before continuing to Rovaniemi.

In 1944 Ehrt was given three weeks of home leave and set off on his journey from the frontlines in July or August. When he reached Hanko, he received the message that the Russians had broken through at Kiestinki and that everyone immediately had to return to the front. For him this was the end of his much-awaited yearly home-leave in 1944 which was also to be his last. Ehrts unit Gebirgs-Jäger-Regiment 139 continued to fight the Soviet Union until the Soviet-Finnish armistice in 1944. He commanded his company until October 1944, when he was taken prisoner by Finnish troops during the battle for Kemi. Siegfried Ehrt survived the war and died of COVID-19 in 2021.

4.4.5 Interviews with members of the Lotta Svärd organization by Tomy Karlsson 1989–1990

Altogether six members of the Lotta Svärd organization worked in the Lotta Svärd canteen of Deutsches Lager Hanko between 1942–1944. None of the older Lottas who worked in the camp were alive to be interviewed when I started my research in 2015. Thankfully, two of the Lottas who worked in the canteen, Miranda Westerholm, and Margareta von Julin were interviewed by Mr. Tomy Karlsson in 1989 and 1990, and in 1989 Lotta Svärd member Inger Kullberg-Aminoff wrote down her recollections from her time in the German camp. All of their stories were published in 1991 in the book *Vi minns Hangö del III* (Karlsson 1991). Lotta Svärd member Jun-Maj Dahlqvist was also interviewed for a local magazine in 2002 (Svanbäck 2002). Of the four interviewed Lottas, Miranda Westerholm and Jun-Maj Dahlqvist worked in the camp between 1942–1943, and the two others Lottas Margareta von Julin and Inger Kullberg-Aminoff between 1943–1944 when traffic through the camp was at its busiest.

4.4.5.1 Interviews with Lottas Miranda Westerholm (b. 1921) and Jun-Maj Dahlqvist (b. 1924)

The interviews about the work and wartime experiences of Lotta Svärd members Miranda Westerholm and Jun-Maj Dahlqvist during 1942–1943, provide a background to the memory book and photographs in the photo album of Jun-Maj Dahlqvist that has been discussed earlier (Chapters 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2).

Miranda Westerholm was twenty years old when she joined the Lotta Svärd organization in another small seaside town, Dalsbruk (Taalintehdas), in southwestern Finland in 1941. She was born in Hanko and returned to the war-ridden town on 16 February 1942 (Karlsson 1991: 76). In late spring that same year Miranda was assigned to Cape Tulliniemi, where the construction work of the German transition camp had just commenced (Karlsson 1991: 77). She worked in the camp until

July of 1943 when she was discharged (Karlsson 1991: 80).

In June 1942 her work consisted of cooking food for the construction workers together with Jun-Maj Dahlqvist and Göta Isaksson. During the summer of 1942, when German soldiers started arriving in the newly built transition camp, she began working in the Lotta-Kantine Erika, a work that she later described as "interesting". Despite some girls in Hanko having romantic affairs with German soldiers, she describes her relationship with the German soldiers simply as "good friendship", not romantic, and stated that she could never have even considered "taking a walk on the town" with a German soldier (Karlsson 1991: 78).

She describes the order in the camp as very good, and that no problems whatsoever occurred with the Germans during her time there. "We were Lottas and they were Germans", she said. Her attitude towards the Finnish Waffen-SS volunteers who passed through the camp was, however, totally different. In an interview in the 1980 s Miranda Westerholm describes her feelings towards them very clearly:

> The ones who were not so nice were the Finnish units who had received military training in Germany. They were part of the SS and were supposed to lead us after the war. They behaved badly and were very pretentious. They didn't like us who spoke Swedish… At one time I told one of them that we were all working for Finland, irrespective of which language we spoke. Then they asked for forgiveness.
>
> We had packages that we were supposed to hand out to all Finnish soldiers who were on home leave. The Finnish soldiers in the SS troops were also supposed to receive these packages. The packages also contained sweets, but we took away them from the packages we gave to the SS soldiers, and instead added them to the packages of ordinary Finnish soldiers. This is how bad we felt about the German-trained Finns. They treated us so badly we thought. (Karlsson 1991: 78)

Miranda Westerholm recalled that the best-selling article of the canteen was a light drink the Germans called "Bier". The pilsner-like beverage was ordered from the local brewing company Ekenäs Öl och Porter Fabrik (Wall M. 1994, p. 42). When a shipment arrived, it was often sold to the Germans by the crate. The German soldiers would normally buy a crate, just sit down around it, and start drinking. The Lottas collected the bottles afterwards. Other articles for sale included writing utensils such as letter paper, postcards, pens, and a variety of Finnish memorabilia. The prices were high, and the canteen made a very substantial amount of profit each day (Karlsson 1991: 80). The total sales in 1943 were an astonishing 136 857 Finnish marks, of which about half was handed over to the Finnish army (Wall 1994: 42).

But Miranda knew that they were not the only ones who were making a profit. As previously described, elderly women and young girls who lived in the vicinity of the German camp on Cape Tulliniemi often helped the German soldiers by transporting their luggage on wheelbarrows or carts to Hanko harbour or back to the camp. On the return journey the German soldiers where well equipped with food, cigarettes, and some even carried tiny piglets in their backpacks. The soldiers paid for the help with foodstuffs that were in high demand in Hanko during the war (Karlsson 1991: 78).

According to Miranda, Soviet prisoners of war worked within the German camp. Finnish guards would collect the prisoners to work in the morning from the Finnish run prisoner of war camp in Hanko town center and later return them in the evening. German soldiers guarded the prisoners during their work in the camp (Karlsson 1991: 86). During one occasion the Lottas saw a Soviet prisoner of war looking for food in the trash heap nearby their canteen. They told the prisoner not to continue this and gave him a few pieces of bread instead (Karlsson 1991: 80). At some point between the summer of 1942–1943 the entire camp was put in quarantine and the residents of the camp, including the Lottas were forbidden to leave the campgrounds. Everybody had to undergo a medical examination after the quarantine finally was lifted (Karlsson 1991: 80).

Jun-Maj Dahlqvist started work in Deutsches Lager Hanko around 24 June 1942. The camp was at that time under construction and the Lottas lived in one of the completed barracks. Jun-Maj's main task in the beginning was the same as Miranda's, to cook food for the construction workers (Svanbäck 2002: 8). When the camp was complet-

ed and German soldiers started to arrive, the Lottas moved to the radar building at the outer perimeter of the camp, where they lived on the second floor. Downstairs there was a kitchen and a dining room (Photos 129–132). She remembers that the German soldiers were very interested in the Lottas. The women had to cover up the windows to their upstairs living quarters during the nights, otherwise the German soldiers would climb the ladders to reach the windows (Svanbäck 2002: 8).

The Lottas used to ride with German soldiers on lorries to the town centre and Jun-Maj admits that there was at least some "flirting and kissing" going on, but nothing more serious, between German soldiers and them during her time in the camp. On one occasion a German soldier demanded a kiss in exchange for a watch he wanted to sell:

> The German soldier wanted to have a kiss from Miranda on the purchase. But Miranda was engaged to be married so I kissed him, and Miranda got to buy the watch. (Svanbäck 2002: 9).

Jun-Maj was very happy with her work at Cape Tulliniemi and considered the German soldiers "friendly and kind". In 1943 she was assigned to front duty on the Karelian Isthmus, and left Deutsches Lager Hanko in December 1943.

Photos 129–132. The exterior (top) and the kitchen (bottom left) and dining room (bottom right) of the radar building photographed in 2015 before its demolition later that year. Photos Jan Fast.

4.4.5.2 Interviews with Lottas Margareta von Julin-Gripenberg (b. 1923) and Inger Kullberg (b. 1926)

In 1943 new Lottas were assigned to the Lotta Svärd canteen of the camp. Two of them were interviewed by Tomy Karlsson, while the third one remains unknown. Margareta von Julin (later von Julin-Gripenberg) spoke fluent German and was assigned to the Lotta Svärd canteen of the camp in September 1943. She too mentions the sales being extraordinarily good, and that the canteen sold almost anything including guest books with covers of birch and leather (Karlsson 1991: 83). During their work in the canteen the Lottas wore traditional grey Lotta Svärd costumes with a white apron and a head scarf. The head scarf was grey during kitchen duty and white if the Lotta was serving (Karlsson 1991: 84). Dancing or consuming alcohol was strictly forbidden, but wine was included in the German food rations and the Lottas gladly took their part of this luxury (Karlsson 1991: 83). Margareta von Julin mentions that the canteen was housed in a barracks, and that after the war it was moved to the nearby village of Fiskars where it was rebuilt and used as a sauna (Karlsson 1991: 83–84). The abandoned structure with its original windows still intact was rediscovered during a field survey in Fiskars in 2014, but it was in very bad condition (Photos 133–134). Lotta Svärd member Inger Kullberg (later Kullberg-Aminoff) was only 17 years old when she worked in the canteen, together with two slightly older Lottas. She had studied German at school and was assigned to Deutsches Lager Hanko from September 1943 to March 1944 when she turned 18 (Karlsson 1991: 85).

Work in the canteen was done in shifts, night and day. She remembers that the building was located close to a barbed wire fence, with a hatch towards the fence through which soldiers that had not yet been deloused could purchase beverages and other items. After delousing the soldiers could use the door to enter the building. In her written memoirs she also mentions that other Lottas worked in a hospital inside the German transition camp, but this could be a misunderstanding (Karlsson 1991: 85–86). Kullberg mentions that the Lottas were "paid" with cognac, wine, and cigarettes by the Germans monthly. An older, approximately 45-year-old soldier called "Onkel Erich", who worked in the camp, made her feel safe and secure during night-time work in the canteen. He also used to give her a loaf of bread and cigarettes every now and then. She used to sell the cigarettes she got and take the bread home to her mother (Karlsson 1991: 86).

Photos 133–134. The partly rebuilt Lotta Kantine Erika in Grönstrand, Fiskars, SW Finland in 2015. Photos Jan Fast.

According to Kullberg, many young girls in Hanko, including herself, felt attracted to the German soldiers who marched through the streets in their good-looking uniforms and sang in harmony. According to her this was understandable, as their own boys were away, and they were so young. The German soldiers were also thought to be there to help Finland. Being close with the German soldiers, however, was not something that was appreciated in certain circles, and she also got her share of contempt and hatred from people in Hanko (Karlsson 1991: 86). Except for Inger Kullberg's account, there is no direct evidence of romantic feelings between the Lottas and German soldiers in Hanko. By 1943 the total number of Lottas in Finland had reached a staggering 172 755 women (https://www.lottasvard.fi/). The number is very large, and relationships between young German soldiers and the equally young Lottas must have occurred in at least some areas in Finland where they were stationed.

5 MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH OF A GERMAN TRANSITION CAMP

> "The *Poetic Archaeology* research project both resembles archaeology and is archaeology.
>
> It effectively excavates history both physically – objects and texts, and visually – photographs and moving images."
>
> (Professor Jan Kaila about the *Poetic Archaeology* project in 2017)

From theoretical standpoint, battlefield and other military sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko can be considered archaeological sites due to their institutionalized architecture, equipment, and patterns of artifact deposition (Scott 2011: 121). One of the most intriguing parts of the modern conflict archaeology research of the German transition camp, however, was being able to bring together traditional archaeological research, photographic art research, and pedagogic community archaeology in the *Poetic Archaeology* project. The multidisciplinary co-operation with photographers Jan Kaila and Japo Knuutila added much to the research and made me see both my work as an archaeologist as well as the artefacts and the site itself in a different light (Kaila & Knuutila 2017). The co-operation with Hangö Sommaruni and local schools that now forms such a large part of my daily work as an archaeologist also started with the conflict archaeology field schools arranged on the cape on a yearly basis since 2014.

5.1 Background to the research

5.1.1 Research history

In 2011, after an over 20-year-long career in field archaeology and the research of prehistoric sites in Finland, I decided to pursue the field of conflict and battlefield archaeology. As previously described, it was my family background in Hanko that led me to investigate the Second World War remains in this area. In 2013, after having attended some lectures about recent research on the Second World War history of Finland, I started to draw up a plan for the conflict archaeology research of the battles of the Hanko Front in 1941.

In the spring of 2014, I presented my research plan to representatives of the Hanko Museum and the Raseborg Museum. The plan was met with great enthusiasm from both parties. During the meeting several different ideas about where to conduct conflict archaeology excavations came up, but it soon became clear that one of the proposed areas of research was more urgent than the others. The director of the Hanko Museum voiced her concerns about the demolition of the Second World War German barracks on Cape Tulliniemi that was scheduled to start in a couple of days.

During my first visits to Cape Tulliniemi in the days and weeks after the meeting I surveyed and photographed the area on my own to get a better understanding about the remaining structures and the desolate, but at the same time beautiful, rugged seaside landscape of the southernmost point of Finland. I also immediately started to plan the logistics and archaeological fieldwork that was needed to conduct conflict archaeology research of the site over an estimated five-year long period.

From the beginning the plan was to include both community and pedagogic archaeology excavations as well as photographic art research in the project. A book about the archaeology and history of the German camp and an exhibition in Hanko would round out the research a few years later.

The research plan was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Hanko Museum and attracted the interest of photographers Professor Jan Kaila and Japo Knuutila. The co-operation with them between 2014–2017 in the photographic art research project called *Poetic Archaeology* was to be of fundamental importance, especially for the documentation of the barracks of the delousing

area of the camp (Kaila & Knuutila 2017: 66–77). The co-operation also gave the research more depth and a new and much broader audience than what would have been achieved by traditional conflict archaeology research alone.

5.1.2 The planned demolition of the barracks of the Entlausungsdorf area

The extraordinary seascape of Cape Tulliniemi and Uddskatan had been almost entirely closed off to civilians since the construction of the Freeport of Hanko after the Second World War. Finally, in 2014 after decades of intense debate and arguments, an agreement was reached to allow public access to the cape. A nature trail leading to Uddskatan, the southernmost point of Finland, had been laid out to protect the very sensitive vegetation of the cape, which for the main part was considered a very valuable nature reserve area. The footpath followed the northern beach of Cape Tulliniemi until it reached the remaining barracks of the Entlausungsdorf delousing area of Deutsches Lager Hanko and passed right through the western part of it. From there the nature trail continued through the former officers' barracks area and the barracks areas of the female auxiliaries working in the camp before turning towards the southernmost part of the cape near the northern edge of the Ukrainerlager area. The crumbling barracks in the delousing area and a few later buildings related to the penal colony founded in the area after the war were seen as serious safety hazards. As a result, a decision to demolish all the standing structures before the opening of the nature trail had been made. However, the demolition work had been delayed because of economic reasons, and in the spring of 2014 just months before the opening of the trail, the buildings were still standing. Realizing that time was running out, my first work on-site consisted of photographic documentation of the site and private discussions with representatives of the town of Hanko not to demolish any of the buildings before conflict archaeology research and documentation of them had been completed.

5.2 Research strategy, aims and priorities

5.2.1 General research strategy and funding

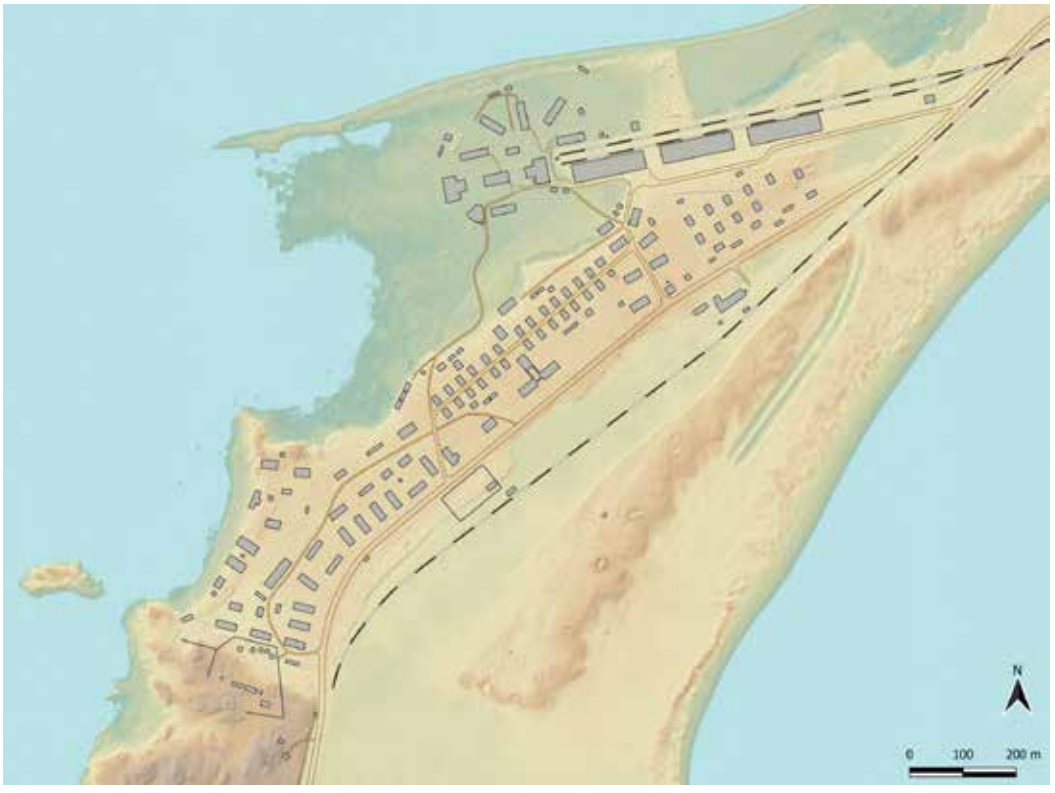
The archaeological research of the German transition camp started with a series of archaeological field surveys, like on any other archaeological site. The purpose of these was twofold. First to assess the overall research potential of the site, and secondly to evaluate which areas were the most valuable for the research of the history and materiality of the camp. At first the focus was on the surviving structures, which urgently needed to be documented because of the threat of being demolished or collapsing in the immediate future. In the summer of 2014, an agreement between the town of Hanko and myself secured the main part of the barracks in the delousing area and the barracks were thereafter fenced off for security reasons and research purposes. Two of the barracks that were situated right by the footpath were in a very poor state of preservation and were torn down after documentation in 2015. The conflict archaeology surveys were followed by trial excavations to locate areas with closed finds from the 1942–1944 period. This work proved much more difficult than expected. Despite being closed off to the public, parts of the area had been used for different activities over the years by the Finnish Defence Forces, and modern waste littered the barracks area. After many months of hard work, several untouched German dumpsites were found a bit further away from the barracks of the Entlausungsdorf area. These were followed by finds of similar closed dump sites around the barracks of the female auxiliaries and the Ukrainerlager areas in the northwestern and western parts of the camp. After the untouched dump sites were found, a series of archaeological excavations over a period of five years were carried out on the sites. Funding for the excavations in 2015–2019 was granted by Sparbanksstiftelsen i Hangö and Hangö sommaruni (Hanko Summer University, a local community college). The scientific photographic art research project *Poetic Archaeology* 2014–2017 was financed by Vetenskapsrådet in Sweden and coordinated by the University of the Arts Helsinki.

5.2.2 Work with maps and aerial photographs

The original map of the camp was of great help during the start of the research in 2014. That same year, with the help of PhD Oula Seitsonen, the original map was superimposed on a modern map of the Freeport area for the first time. This gave a rough first general idea of which areas of the camp had been preserved, despite that there were no signs of buildings or other constructions visible above ground. During the conflict archaeology research of the camp between 2014–2023 the entire area of the former camp was extensively surveyed and mapped using a total station, and the data was compared with air surveillance photos and the original map. This made it possible to produce the first detailed map of the area and of the original layout of the former camp (Map 7).

Aerial photographs from 1934–2013 helped plan the archaeological fieldwork and to locate areas of special interest in the terrain. By studying air surveillance photos taken before, during, and after the Second World War it was possible to track many features on the original map and to pinpoint features that were not included in the map. These include trash pits, footpaths, and possible defensive structures built by the Germans in 1944.

The first aerial photograph of the future camp area is from 1934 and shows the area as it was before the Second World War. The area is covered with a dense pine forest and there are only a few buildings. These include the radar building, four large rectangular storage buildings, and a small cottage near the harbour on the westernmost part of the cape. The main roads are approximately the same as ten years later (Photo 135). The Soviet presence in Hanko 1940–1941 littered the landscape of Cape Tulliniemi with defensive fortifications. The Soviets also constructed a large barracks on the cape, which would later serve as the Soldatenheim canteen of the German camp. The construction of the first part of the German transition camp started in the summer of 1942, and an air



Map 7. The general architecture of the camp as presented on the original map from 1944 superimposed on a modern Lidar map of the area. Map by Jan Fast and Marjo Karppanen.

surveillance photo from July 1942 shows the rapid buildup of the camp (Photo 136). The horse stables and main part of the barracks of the Urlauberlager had already been completed. Soviet bombing raids in the 1939–1940 Winter War and artillery bombardment in 1941 had damaged two of the storage buildings near the railroad. The camp continued to interest the Germans also after the troops left Hanko in September 1944. A rare air surveillance photo taken during the winter of 1944/1945 shows the abandoned camp area (Photo 137). In the late 1950s a growing interest in the commercial use of the cape gradually brought new buildings to the area (Photo 138). The area was leased to function as a storage area in the spring of 1960. The use of the area for the storage of imported automobiles gradually increased, and by 1963 already 1 000 cars at a time were being stored on Cape Tulliniemi (Photo 139). The Freeport of Finland was founded in 1965 (Keynäs et al. 1993: 34). Soon after that almost the entire former camp area was subjected to massive changes and was gradually wiped away with the exceptions of parts of the delousing area, the Ukrainerlager, and the barracks area of the female auxiliary helpers and officers. Today most of the area of the former camp has been wiped out or hidden under layers of gravel and asphalt of the Freeport of Finland (Photo 140).

5.2.3 Photographic documentation of the research

Because of the threat of demolition of the remaining structures, photographic documentation of the remains was undertaken immediately from the start of the project in 2014. All of the remaining structures were photographed by photographers Japo Knuutila and Jan Kaila using advanced pho-

Photo 135. Aerial photo of Cape Tulliniemi taken in 1934. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 136. Finnish air surveillance photo of Deutsches Lager Hanko in July 1942. Part of the Urlauberlager (furlough camp) and a few other barracks have already been built. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

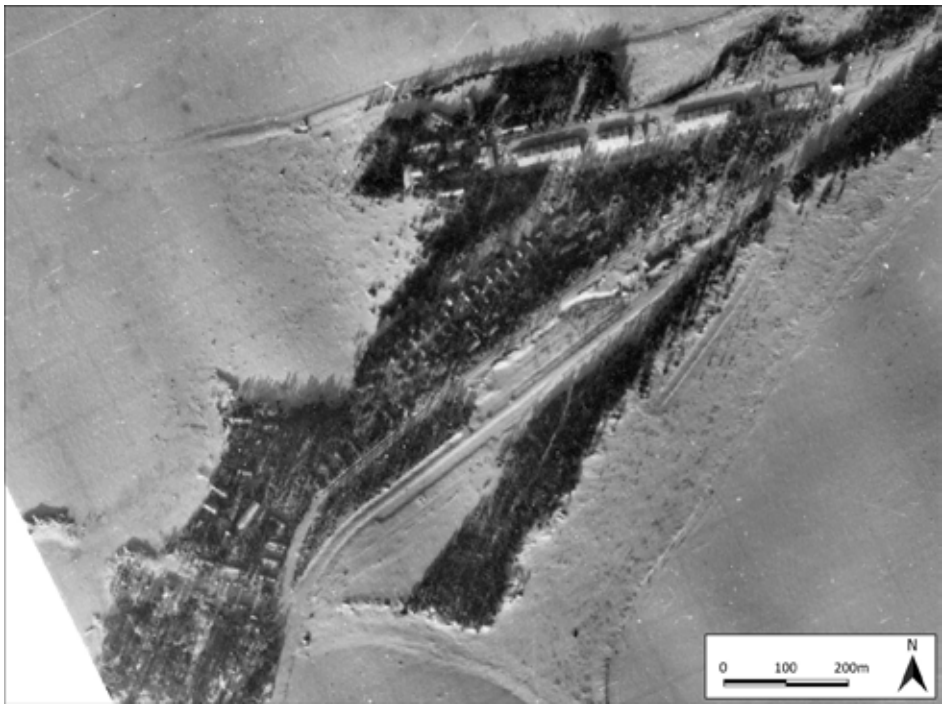


Photo 137. German air surveillance photo of Deutsches Lager Hanko taken during the winter of 1944/1945. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 138. Aerial photo of the area of Deutsches Lager Hanko taken on 27 May 1950. Most of the buildings of the camp have been dismantled. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 139. Aerial photo of Cape Tulliniemi taken in 1965. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 140. Aerial photo of Cape Tulliniemi taken in 2013. Original photo edited by Marjo Karppanen.

to equipment and methods, which enabled, for instance, combining hundreds of individual pictures of a single barracks into one picture. In this way the best-preserved barracks could be observed in a unique way that would not have been possible on-site because of the trees and shrubbery prevented a full view of the remains. Drone documentation was used to gain a bird's eye perspective of the structures. In addition to this, 360-degree documentation was used to document the interiors of buildings like the Washbaracke in the delousing area and the "Radiopejlingen" radar building where the Lottas of the camp were housed, before their demolition or collapse. Because of safety reasons some of the rooms of the crumbling buildings where not accessible during the research.

The archaeological fieldwork on-site was documented by Jan Fast and photographers Japo Knuutila and Jan Kaila. The photographic documentation was not only directed towards the excavation areas and find layers but also to the work process itself. Permission to photograph the persons participating in the excavations was granted by all the participants in the excavation. The photographic documentation was stored on external hard drives and different cloud services after the research was complete and are now kept in the archives of the Hanko Museum.

5.3 Community archaeology, photographic art research, and pedagogic excavations

5.3.1 Involving the public – Community archaeology excavations of the German transition camp

For almost my entire career as an archaeologist in Finland I have relied on community archaeology as a way of researching the past. When it comes to the archaeology of recent times, and modern conflict archaeology in general, community archaeology offers an excellent tool for communicating the archaeolog-

ical research process to the public. The participation of locals and people from abroad in the excavations of Deutsches Lager Hanko generated discussions about the finds and thoughts about the Second World War and its heritage on a very personal level.

A series of three-week community archaeology excavations of the German transition camp on Cape Tulliniemi were conducted between 2015–2019. The yearly community archaeology excavations were arranged as conflict archaeology field schools and were supervised by me and assisted by archaeology students Teemu Väisänen (2016–2019), Fanny Fagerholm (2016–2019), Toni Tossavainen (2017–2018), Anu Varjo (2015–2018), Jenna Savolainen (2016–2017) and Jasmin Gray (2016–2017). Some 300 people of all ages participated in the conflict archaeology field schools and excavations financed and organized by Hangö sommaruni between 2014–2019 and 2024.

5.3.2 Involving local schools – Pedagogy, informal learning and conflict archaeology

Because of my background in science education at Heureka, the Finnish Science Centre, between 1990–1997 and 2014–2025, I was eager to involve schoolchildren from Hanko and other towns in this research of the camp. With funding from Sparbanksstiftelsen i Hangö it was possible to engage students and schoolchildren from local schools like Hankoniemen lukio and Hangö gymnasium already in the first excavations of the site. Before the actual fieldwork the students were told about the Second World War history of Hanko and the German transition camp in a series of lectures in the classroom. The lectures served to both motivate and inform the students about the work on site. Special care was taken to inform the students about possible safety hazards during the actual fieldwork. This included infections from contaminated soil in the area as well as how to look out for possible unexploded ordnance. The pedagogic excavation work with local schools on site started in 2015 with trial excavations in the Entlausungsdorf area and the Lotta Svärd canteen area of the camp. In 2015 a course in metal detecting was arranged and was followed by an excavation of the first located dumpsite in the delousing area in 2016. In 2017 the students participated in excavations of a large dumpsite in the Ukrainerlager area of the camp. In 2018 and 2019, organized field trips were organized to the area together with students from schools in Helsinki. The pedagogic conflict archaeology excavations of the camp will continue yearly from 2024 onwards.

5.3.3 Involving the arts – The Poetic Archaeology project 2015–2017

In 2014 after having spent a couple of weeks surveying the former German camp, I was contacted by photographer and professor Jan Kaila from the University of Arts Helsinki. In 2014 during a walk to Cape Tulliniemi, both he and photographer Japo Knuutila had been overwhelmed by the eerie almost totally collapsed Second World War barracks on the cape and decided to include them in their newly founded photographic art project called Poetic Archaeology (Kaila et al. 2017: 6). After their visit to Cape Tulliniemi, Kaila and Knuutila contacted people that they knew in Hanko and found out about the scientific modern conflict archaeology research of the camp that had already started. At the time Kaila worked as an advisor in the Vetenskapsrådet (the Swedish Research Council) and had received funding for a new multidisciplinary photographic art research project. A strong believer in multidisciplinary research, Kaila saw the opportunity of co-operating with me in the research of the German transition camp. After a series of meetings in 2014 the three of us realized the huge potential of us working together. From my strictly scientific point of view the co-operation would give me the opportunity to work together with talented photographers to document the crumbling barracks and the archaeological fieldwork itself. The artists, on the other hand saw me as working as a kind of subcontractor providing them with material for their photographic art research (Kaila & Knuutila 2017: 6).

In his artistic work, Jan Kaila was influenced by the French photographer, film maker, painter, and sculptor Christian Boltanski (1944–2021). Boltanski was probably best known for his altar-like photography installations, many of which include the use of

photographs of mundane everyday artefacts and portrait photos (see for instance Boltanski 1974). The relationship between archaeology and art had been discussed by Colin Renfrew in his book *Figuring It Out* (Renfrew 2003). But already in 1999, Renfrew had contributed a piece to a book by artist Matt Dion (Dion 1999). Dion is best known for exploring the relationship between contemporary art and natural history in his art. According to Kaila, Renfrew was not capable of showing the difference between Dion's pseudo-archaeological digs by the Thames and ordinary archaeology, and this theoretical dilemma greatly interested and motivated him (Kaila & Knuutila 2017: 8).

The co-operation with the *Poetic Archaeology* project started in the spring of 2015 and continued until the autumn of 2017. During this time the photographers visited the campsite and documented the remaining barracks and archaeological fieldwork meticulously during different times of the year and during varying weather and light conditions. The results of this work provided me with both a different view of the barracks themselves and the associated finds, and of conflict and community archaeology in general (Photos 141–149; Kaila & Knuutila 2017: 7).

During archaeological excavations and research in Finland, it is usually the leading archaeologist who takes the photos during the excavation of a site. The main purpose of these photos is to document the excavation and research for the excavation report, in other words for other archaeologists. Hence the documentation is often strictly scientific and objective in nature, leaving out much of the uniqueness and historical and artistic nature of the archaeological research, the site, and the finds themselves. Photographic art enables a different kind of view of the conflict archaeology excavations and the research process itself. Excavations can in fact be considered unique, unrepeatable performances, and as such a part of the history of the site and also worth documenting by others than archaeologists. Projects like *Poetic Archaeology* serve as a reminder that archaeology is much more than just "archaeology for archaeologists". Involving the arts in archaeological research and exhibition building can open up new opportunities and reach new audiences far beyond the traditional.

5.4 Practical archaeological fieldwork on site

5.4.1 The excavation and survey areas of Deutsches Lager Hanko

Due to the demolition of most of the barracks and the construction of the Freeport of Hanko in the 1960s most of the former German transition camp was long gone before the archaeological research commenced in 2014 (Map 7; Photo 138). The areas that were still relatively untouched were the former barracks areas situated in the northwestern, western, and southwestern parts of the camp. These

Photos 141–144. Excavation finds. *Poetic Archaeology* project 2015–2017. Photos Japo Knuutila.

Photo 145. *Poetic Archaeology* project. Excavation finds from Deutsches Lager Hanko 2015–2017. Photo Japo Knuutila.

Photos 146–147. Entlausungsdorf, Barack interiors. *Poetic Archaeology* project 2015–2017. Photos Japo Knuutila.

Photos 148–149. Entlausungsdorf, Barack interiors. *Poetic Archaeology* project 2015–2017. Photos Japo Knuutila

areas included the delousing area, the barracks area of the female auxiliary helpers, the officers' barracks area, and the Ukrainerlager area. The only area where barracks were still standing after tens of years of decay was the delousing area. In the other areas only very faint traces of the former German transition camp could be observed above ground. These included rainwater wells, sauna and stove foundations in the officers' dining hall in the officers' barracks area, and part of the foundation of the barracks for female auxiliary helpers of the German Red Cross organization DRK. Only a single item, a stove made for the civil and military engineering organization Organisation Todt, was visible on the ground surface in the Ukrainerlager area; inside one of the preserved washing barracks of the delousing area a small plywood sign with the simple text "Kein" was also discovered.

5.4.2 Methodology

Almost directly from the start it was evident that the archaeological work on site would be more difficult than anticipated. The main question was, where to dig? The area was vast, and the stray finds that could hint at dumpsites or other places of interest were, as mentioned, non-existent. The logical starting point for the archaeological research was around the surviving barracks in the delousing area, but there the waste from especially the mid-1970s onwards was abundant, making it very difficult to separate Second World War finds from the more recent history of the area. The southwestern outskirts of the camp, the Ukrainerlager area with the surface find of the Volkswagen-made stove at first seemed very interesting, but here too the modern finds confused the overall picture.

In 2015 a combination of a series of small-scale trial excavations based on observations made during tens of metal detecting surveys finally started to pay off. Scattered German small finds were found here and there but areas with finds exclusively from the 1942–1944 period remained scarce. Finally, only one period dumpsite in the Ukrainerlager area was located, partly excavated, and documented. Finding this first closed, period dumpsite pointed the research towards looking for dumpsites further away from the area of the barracks, and in 2016–2019 several new potential excavation areas were located by metal detectorist Lasse Nyman in the western part and northeastern parts of the delousing area. The results clearly showed that the only way to locate closed find areas like undisturbed pit dumpsites and other potential excavation areas in Deutsches Lager Hanko was through coordinated and carefully planned metal detecting surveys based on the study of maps and Second World War aerial photographs.

Already at the start of the research the decision was made not to throw away any of the finds no matter how insignificant they seemed at the time, and temporary storage of the very large amounts of excavation finds in the storerooms at the Hanko Museum and the Hanko Front Museum was agreed upon. From there the finds were transported to a rented workspace in Helsinki where they were cleaned and sorted. After the research was finished, all of the finds were stored in the Hanko Front Museum to be catalogued and kept as part of the museum collection. Some of the finds that were too far gone, like rusty iron food ration cans, and could not be saved for posterity were to be placed in the fenced-off delousing area to be shown during guided tours.

5.4.2.1 Metal detecting

Metal detecting a complex multiperiod site like Deutsches Lager Hanko is not easy to undertake. To succeed it demands careful planning and experience in interpreting the preliminary results. The first metal detecting surveys were conducted in 2014–2015 in the delousing area. The surveys aimed at salvaging possible Second World War period finds in the area prior to the demolition of two of the barracks and locating areas that needed to be urgently excavated. From there the metal detecting surveys were gradually expanded to cover the entire remaining camp area, including the northern beach area, before the area could attract illicit diggers and nighthawk detectorists. Aerial surveillance photographs and the original map of the camp was used when planning the survey trips, and special areas of interest were plotted on maps in advance. The fieldwork on-site was supervised by me and conducted by experienced and trustworthy Finnish metal detectorists Lasse Nyman and Mika Albertsson, and Hans von Mit-

zlaff from Germany. The purpose of the surveys was just to locate areas with period finds, plot the areas on maps, put the finds back in the ground, and then fill in the dug pits. All of the located areas with concentrations of German Second World War finds were subjected to archaeological excavations between 2016 and 2019. In the last stage of the research of the site the entire research area was detected one more final time to make sure no dumpsites had gone unnoticed.

In the last stage of the research the entire research area, including the southern beach area as well as the surviving patches of the former Urlauberlager inside the Freeport area, were carefully surveyed and metal detected, but no German finds whatsoever that might indicate locations of dumpsites, barracks, or other structures could be found.

5.4.2.2 Excavation and documentation methods

The archaeological research on Deutsches Lager Hanko can be categorized as a sort of archaeology of garbage, a term first minted in the book *Rubbish! The archaeology of garbage* by William Rathje and Cullen Murphy in 1992 (Rathje & Murphy 2001). As the book so vividly explains:

> To understand garbage, you have to touch it, to feel it, to sort it and to smell it… To understand garbage, you need thick gloves and a mask and some booster shots. But the yield in knowledge – about people and their behavior as well as garbage itself – offsets the grim working conditions. (Rathje & Murphy 2001: 9–10)

The excavation of the different features, trash heaps, and dumpsites of the camp required flexibility in the use of traditional archaeological excavation methods. To recover and preserve the vast amount of finds and to better understand the complex materiality of life in the Second World War camp, excavation and documentation methods had to be adapted to the different areas under investigation. The excavations were mostly conducted in a nature reserve area, and special care also had to be taken not to damage the protected vegetation or birdlife. All of the excavation areas were carefully refilled after the excavation and restored to their pre-excavation state.

A traditional grid system with one-meter squares was laid out before the excavation, after which the topsoil was removed by hand or with shovels. The grid system helped to keep track of the excavation process and facilitated the documentation of the excavation layers in the refuse pits. In the areas where waste had been spread out directly on the ground surface the finds were mixed with the topsoil and excavation in layers was not possible. Still, there too the grid system helped keep the excavation process in order. The dumpsites below the ground surface and areas with concentrations of discarded waste from the 1942–1944 period were all excavated and treated as closed finds. During the excavation all finds except for small fragments of iron food ration cans, nails, and window glass fragments were carefully recovered. The wearing of protective gloves was mandatory, and special attention was paid to possible harmful materials and unexploded ordonnance in the ground to prevent accidents, infected wounds, or exposure to possibly harmful chemicals.

All excavation work in the find layer was done manually with trowels, and the excavated soil was sieved through a 4 mm net. During the sieving process special care was taken to prevent possible contaminated dust from spreading in the excavation area and being inhaled by the participants. The windy weather conditions on the cape helped a lot. Due to the wind, it was preferable to sometimes shift the location of the sieving site thus preventing the dust cloud from moving in the direction of the dig site and instead away from the sieves. The excavations were mostly documented by taking photographs of the excavation layers and concentrations of finds. The excavation levels were also documented manually by drawing maps of the excavation levels. Attempts to document the excavations using drone photography was also made but proved extremely difficult due to the vegetation and windy conditions on the cape. All of the excavated areas were mapped using a GPS and a total station.

5.4.2.3 Sorting, cleaning, and classification of the excavation finds

The finds were coarsely sorted and classified and then put in acid free plastic bags already during

the excavation. This process included packaging and separating broken glass fragments and rusty food ration cans from other more fragile artefacts.

The finds were stored in cardboard boxes at the Hanko Museum post-excavation. More prominent and fragile items such as newspaper fragments or cigarette packages were photographed immediately after they were found. Special care was taken when collecting and storing rare and fragile textile fragments. These were packed separately and kept in a freezer after excavation until they could be examined in the workspace in Helsinki.

After the excavations the finds were transported to the project workspace in Helsinki, where work with the finds continued. All of the finds were cleaned in water to prevent potentially harmful dust particles from spreading in the workspace and being inhaled during the work. Plastic protective gloves were also used when cleaning the artifacts. To make sure that even the smallest of items were collected, the water used for cleaning the finds was sieved through a 2 mm net before being transferred to a waste bucket, where the wet sand and murky water was left to evaporate. After only wet sand remained the sand was collected in plastic bags and disposed of as hazardous waste. Making sense of the large number of finds was a challenge and it was necessary to look at previous excavations of sites similar to Deutsches Lager Hanko in other parts of the world to get guidance. Here the pioneering work done by Adrian Myers in his PhD thesis was especially helpful (Myers 2013). In his thesis, he compares and classifies the contents of the five excavated dump sites in a German prisoner of war camp in Canada (Myers 2013: 116–138). A slightly different approach was used, however, to classify the finds from Cape Tulliniemi; the items found in the different dumpsites and finds areas were sorted into eight different subcategories depending on their use. For instance, uniform-related finds in one category, hygiene-related finds in another and food-related items in a separate category. The classification of the finds made it easier to get an overview of the entire assemblage and compare the huge amounts of individual finds from different areas of the camp.

5.4.2.4 Macrofossil analysis

To be able to investigate possible plant remains in the soil of the dumpsite macrofossil analysis was performed on soil samples taken from dumpsite 1 A in the Ukrainerlager part of the camp. The analysis was done by PhD Mia Lempiäinen-Avci at the Biodiversity Laboratory of the University of Turku in November 2023. In total, seven litres of soil were analysed.

Before processing, the size of the soil samples was measured. The soil samples contained many charcoal, bone, and inorganic artefacts. For this reason, the samples were first sieved dry using a 4 mm and 2 mm strainer set. At the bottom of the strainers there was a fixed container, where all material smaller than 2 mm was recovered. The materials left on the strainers, such as large pieces of coal, bones, and small artefacts, were picked up and placed in plastic bags.

The material still left after sieving (material less than 2 mm) was treated with the flotation method. The soil sample bag was emptied into a bucket filled with water and the mass was mixed with a wooden spatula; the organic matter then rose to the surface of the water and the sand settled to the bottom of the container. The water was poured slowly through a series of sieves (top 1 mm, middle 0.5 mm, bottom 0.25 mm) and the organic matter was transported with the water to the sieve, while the sand remained in bottom of the container. At the end of the flotation process, the substance left in the strainers was rinsed with a water jet and transferred onto flat glass plates. In the end about 380 ml of organic matter remained from the flotated and strained sample to be analysed for plant remains. The material was examined under an Olympus SZX 9 microscope using 7.5x and 112.5x magnification but only very few and rather insignificant plant remains were found.

5.4.2.5 Osteological analysis

Burnt and unburnt animal bones were found in several of the dumpsites during the excavations between 2014–2019. Most of the bones were found during sieving of the excavated soil through a 4 mm metal sieving net. The osteological analysis

of the bone finds was conducted by osteologist PhD Katariina Nurminen. During the analysis the bones were identified as accurately as possible to the species level, or if that was not possible, to the genus, by comparative morphology using the bone collections of the University of Helsinki and the Zoological collections of the Finnish Museum of Natural History (LUOMUS). The bones that were identified during the osteological analysis were plentiful, extremely varied and important for the research of the history of the camp.

5.4.2.6 Conservation and storage of the excavation finds

After cleaning most of the Second World War finds were in quite surprisingly good condition after having spent some 80 years in the ground. Part of the reason for this probably has to do with the sandy and dry soil on the Cape. Artefacts of iron like the food ration cans however were in a very poor state of conservation because of the salty sea air. The conservation of these hundreds of cans would have been impossible and after careful consideration a decision was made only to count, photograph, and measure the cans for this PhD research and then return them to the area of the camp to be used in an installation open to guided tours of the delousing area. Most of the excavation finds were in no need of conservation, and as a result only a few items, for instance the Iron "SA Sportabzeichen" found in dumpsite 1 B, were conserved. After documentation, cataloguing and research for this dissertation, the finds were transported to the Hanko Front Museum to be archived and kept for posterity.

5.4.2.7 Presenting the results of the research to the public through exhibitions

In 2017 and 2018 two separate exhibitions were arranged to show the research and finds from the research of Deutsches Lager Hanko to the public. The two exhibitions were different in nature, reaching very different audiences, and aimed at looking at the research from equally different viewpoints.

The photographic art research exhibition named *Deutsches Lager – Inside and Beside the Camp* was arranged in the Exhibition Laboratory Helsinki between 18 August and 10 September 2017 (Photo 150). The multi-layered exhibition presented the results of the work of the *Poetic Archaeology* project through installations of the modern conflict archaeology finds, soundscapes, video installations, and photographs from the research of the camp 2015–2017. The exhibition was planned and built by me, Jan Kaila, and Japo Knuutila. An exhibition book *Inside and Beside the Camp* presenting the *Poetic Archaeology* project was published to supplement the exhibition (Kaila & Knuutila 2017).

Another exhibition, *Durchgangslager Hanko 1942–1944*, lasting from 19 May 2018 to the 31 March 2019 in the Hanko Museum presented the modern conflict archaeology research of the camp, mostly through excavation finds and finds from the Internet (Photo 151). In the centre of the exhibition were items borrowed from the daughter of first lieutenant Gerhard "Gerd" Klöver, who was killed in action on the Arctic Front just months after passing through the camp in August 1943 (Chapter 4.3.1.5). Gerd's story was used to illustrate the fate of many of the German soldiers who passed through Hanko between 1942–1944. Photographs and a video from the 2017 photographic art exhibition in Helsinki added depth to the otherwise traditional "museum style" exhibition. The exhibition was planned by me and built by me with the help of museum staff from the Hanko Museum.

Both exhibitions were well received by the public. The exhibition in Hanko was met with enthusiasm and gratitude, especially by local visitors from Hanko and the surrounding area. This exhibition was also used in connection with the teaching of history in local schools.

5.4.2.8 Presenting the research on Deutsches Lager Hanko in traditional and social media

Already from the start it was clear that the research on the German transition camp would generate a lot of interest from the media. To coordinate the media coverage of the research, a series of interviews and articles about the project was published in leading Finnish and international media outlets between 2014–2019. It was hoped that the media

Photo 150. General view of the exhibition *Deutsches Lager – Inside and Beside the Camp* in the Exhibition Gallery in Helsinki in 2017. Photo Japo Knuutila.

Photo 151. General view of the exhibition *Durchgangslager Hanko 1942–1944* in the Hanko Museum 2018–2019. Photo Jan Fast.

work would pay off by generating interest in the research and motivating people to step forward and share whatever knowledge, memories, or items they may possess that could be associated with the camp. Another reason for the coordinated media coverage was to advertise the possibility of joining the community archaeology excavations of the site and to prevent misleading or possibly even harmful or ideologically biased, information from spreading uncontrollably.

The work with the media functioned very much according to plan and helped in generating an interest in the research on a local, national, and even international level. Especially the articles published in the Finnish popular science magazine *Tiede* in 2016 (Fast 2016) and in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* in 2017 (Huhtanen 2017) were of great help to the research and generated contacts with people who had information about the history of the camp and with an interest in the excavations themselves. Despite the overall success of the media process a few difficulties also occurred. Despite trying to explain the multidisciplinary nature of the research, the journalists were only interested in the archaeological fieldwork and the German finds. In particular, the co-operation with photographers Jan Kaila and Japo Knuutila and the *Poetic Archaeology* project was difficult to bring forward to the reporters, who either were not interested or did not grasp the idea of what this co-operation was all about or considered it too difficult for the readers to understand.

The other difficulty with presenting the research of the German Second World War transition camp to the media had to do with the use of the word "Nazi" in the published articles. Despite very hard work it was generally impossible to influence the click-bait headlines of the articles, even in the case of the article in *Tiede* magazine (Fast 2016) that I had written myself. The headlines to the otherwise very objective and relatively good articles about the scientific research of the camp were mostly very populistic, and at times also totally misleading. The purpose of this was of course click-bait journalism, as a headline containing the words "Nazi camp" would generate the attention of far more readers than the use of words like "German camp" or "transition camp". The headlines in the magazines generated quite a lot of angry, negative responses from the readers, which was generally directed towards myself, as many of the readers thought that I had written the misleading catchy headlines. The angry response I was confronted with was for instance if I, as a researcher considered all German soldiers who fought in Finland were members of the Nazi party. Interestingly, some of the more right-wing readers considered that the word "Nazi" was used in the articles to bring shame to the German soldiers who had helped save Finland's independence in the final months of the war in the summer of 1944.

For most conflict archaeology research, crowdsourcing with the use of social media is a great tool, and already during the early days of the Deutsches Lager Hanko research project a private Facebook group bearing the same title was created. The purpose of the group was twofold: first, to inform the public of the ongoing research, second, to generate discussions about the excavation finds and artefacts that could be related to the research of the camp. The closed group was moderated by me, and every accepted member was carefully monitored before being allowed to join. By 2024 the group had almost 500 members. The Facebook group worked extremely well, and through it I made many contacts with people who would otherwise have been impossible for me to reach. In hindsight the decision to be very careful in deciding who to accept as a member to the group was the right one to keep the discussions on track, and only very few disturbances occurred over the years.

Pictures of the excavation finds and short texts in English associated with the conflict archaeology excavations of the camp 2015–2024 were also published in my personal archaeology blog *Jan Fast Archaeology*. During the excavations new blog entries were added daily and this greatly increased the number of people who visited the blog. In 2024 the blog has had almost 500 000 page views from all around the world.

6 THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF DEUTSCHES LAGER HANKO

> "The barracks suffer, wishing back the night.
> The soldiers fain would sleep into the dawn,
> To be themselves still longer in the dark,
> Nestling their liberty in crinkled sheets."
> (Romains 1913: 38)

Cape Tulliniemi forms a palimpsest landscape where each successive episode of change can be considered a different 'layer' on the surface of the landscape (Bailey 2007). The scenic cape contains many different traces of its natural history, as well as the wars in the 19th and 20th centuries. The remains of Soviet dugouts from 1940–1941 and the barracks of the Entlausungsdorf delousing area of the camp are without a doubt the most prominent reminders of the Second World War on the cape. Hidden among the lush green colours of summer and spring, bare and naked during winter and autumn, the barracks invite visitors to the area to reflect and interact with this dark period in European history. As one visitor to the site put it: "I don't want to look at them but I just have to, they are so frightening yet intriguing at the same time".

The ever-changing light and weather conditions on the cape during different seasons of the year, as well as nature itself, are combined in dramatic interplay with orchestration in the form of the continuous sound of waves hitting the nearby beach and the sounds of the wind in the trees or howling in the empty barracks.

6.1 About war, camp architecture, and landscape

The German transition camp in Hanko, and similar camps in other parts of Finland, were integral parts of the German war machine and the logistics of the war in the far north. The general layout and size of these camps varied, but all of them contained simple wooden barracks designed and manufactured by Finnish companies like Puutalo Oy, A. Ahlström Oy, and Kylmäkoski Oy (Manninen 2023: 261). The barracks were of several different sizes depending on their use but were of a similar, very basic construction, and due to the cassette design, very easy to assemble. Originally the barracks had been designed to be temporary structures with a life span of only 5–10 years (Manninen 2023: 263). The simple fact that the barracks in the delousing area of Deutsches Lager Hanko are still standing after some 80 years and decades and years of neglect testify to their general strength. The general assumption that the joint Finnish and German attack on the Soviet Union would be successful and that the war would be over in a relatively short time was widespread at the start of the offensive in 1941. As the first war winter came and the operations on the Arctic front stalled in 1941, the situation with finding cheap and functional accommodation for the troops and soldiers travelling on home-leave, in the rear areas, and along the supply lines became urgent, and the building of large transition and other camps commenced. Despite this, as can be seen in the documents in the war diaries of Armeeoberkommando Lappland Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20, the completion of these camps dragged on, and the large transition camps in for instance Turku and Hanko were still not fully functional even in January 1943 (NARA archives T 312/1040).

Location, effectivity, and good sanitary conditions were of key importance in the overall design of German transitions camps like Deutsches Lager Hanko. The transition camps in Turku and Hanko were both situated near the harbour where, the troop carriers could unload their human cargo, and were connected by a railway track to the Finnish railway network making the unloading and embarkment of the soldiers arriving or departing by train as swift as possible. The location of the camp on the desolate but scenic Cape outside the town of Hanko served the sanitary requirements

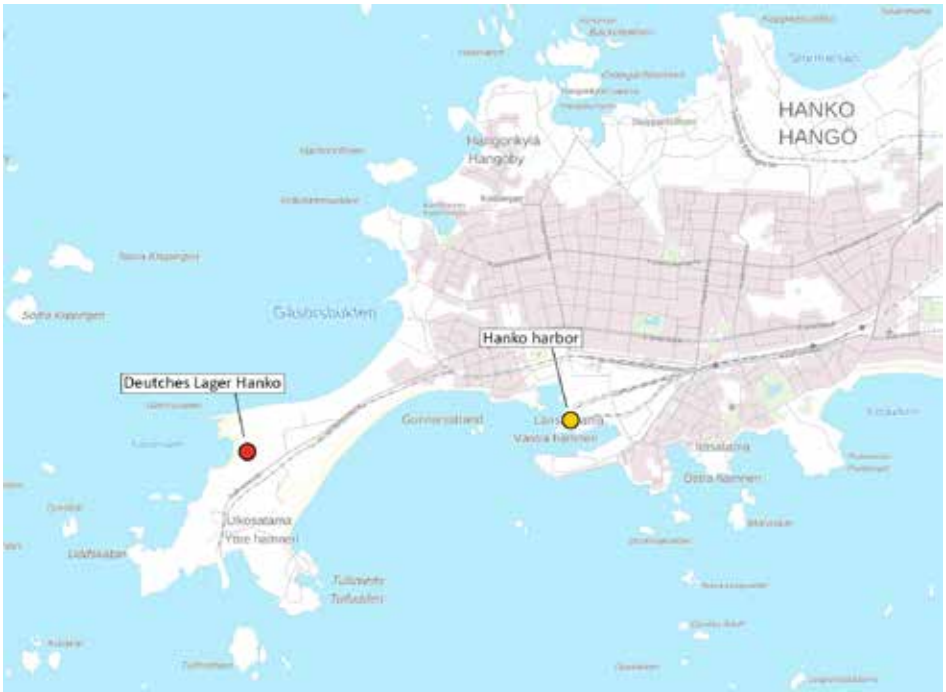
extremely well, but also made contacts with locals more difficult (Map 8). The fear that the presence of German troops in Finnish towns would cause brawls and other unwanted side effects was one reason why the troop transports had been directed to Hanko and not to Helsinki from the beginning (Visuri 2018: 71). The location of the camp on the outskirts of the town of Hanko solved the anticipated problems on a local level, and apparently also succeeded in diminishing the number of punishments for the German soldiers in the camp compared with the camp in Turku which was situated closer to the town centre (NARA archives T 312/1040).

The architecture and general layout of the camp is worth a closer study. First, it is important to note that the camp consisted of two large, separate areas. The first area was the Entlausungsdorf delousing area in the so called "Unreine" or dirty/unhealthy side of the camp, consisting of two large delousing facilities and six large barracks for soldiers, three washing barracks, a kitchen, a barracks for the luggage of the soldiers, and four latrines. The larger main part of the camp was situated on the "Reine" or clean/healthy side (Map 9). The windy weather conditions on the cape were also taken into consideration when the barracks were built.

To improve the efficiency of heating, the barracks that were used for the housing of troops were mostly orientated with their shorter ends towards the north and south. This protected them from the icy cold winds coming from the sea during the winter and early spring months.

6.1.1. Entlausungsdorf

The Entlausungsdorf or delousing area of the camp, to which the troops arrived after their long train journey from the north, was built around two large delousing facilities. Three large storage buildings that had been built prior to the Second World War stood immediately to the south of the railroad tracks and were used by the Germans for storage of the large amounts of foodstuffs and other supplies that were needed to feed and support the inhabitants of the camp. In early 1943 the Entlausungsdorf had a capacity of 1 600 soldiers per day (NARA archives T 312/1040). The six barracks in this somewhat secluded area were the largest of the barracks for military personnel in the entire camp.



Map 8. The location of Hanko harbour and Deutsches Lager Hanko. Map by Marjo Karppanen and Jan Fast.

They were placed in a fan-shaped constellation with their northern far ends towards the sea. The barracks were situated only 1–1,5 meters above sea level, but were protected from winds and waves from the north by a natural sea wall. The barracks were quite sturdy in construction and were provided with brick-clad ovens and brick chimneys.

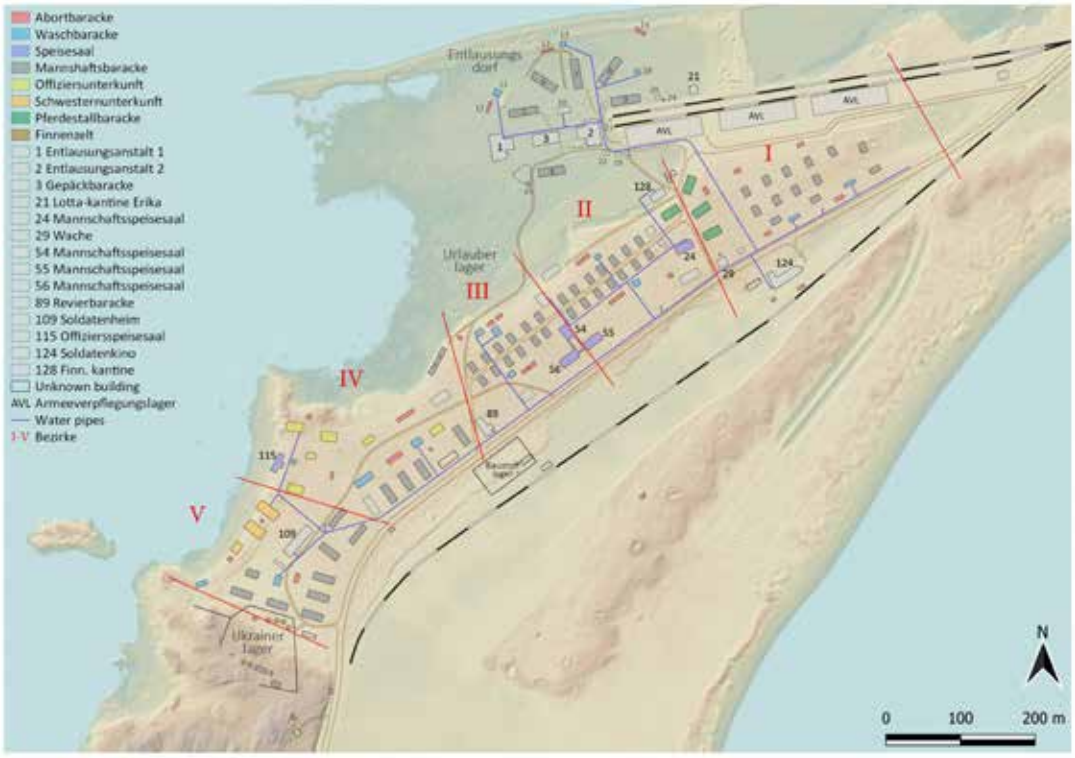
According to the original map of the camp from 1944, both the delousing facilities and all three washing barracks, as well as the kitchen, were equipped with running water through 100 mm water pipes. Because of the cold weather conditions on the cape during winter, the water running through the uninsulated wooden water pipes was at times subject to freezing. The three large lavatories and washing barracks were spread out on the perimeter of the barracks area, probably for sanitary reasons and to prevent the spreading of infectious diseases. The cleaning activities performed in this part of the camp also utilized the maritime location to its full, allowing the German soldiers to wash themselves and shave on the nearby rocky beach. It is not entirely clear if or how medical examinations of the soldiers took place in this part of the camp, but it is likely that at least some kind of rudimentary checking of the health of the soldiers took place here before they left the area. As the area had its own kitchen it was self-sufficient and could also serve as a quarantine area if an epidemic broke out in the camp.

The Entlausungsdorf area is the only part of the camp where entire buildings of Deutsches Lager Hanko still stand to this day, despite decades of lack of care and maintenance. Originally constructed in 1942 and probably intended to be only temporary in nature, these buildings were to stay in use for a very long time. The buildings not only witnessed the German presence in Hanko between 1942 and 1944 but also the dramatic events that occurred during the last months and the last year of the Second World War. It was not until the 1980s that this area, which was so essential to the German transition camp, was finally abandoned. Between 1942–1944, and as its name suggests, the village-like Entlausungsdorf was used for the delousing of German soldiers travelling on furlough to Germany. Lice could spread typhus, and it was because of the fear of an epidemic, that two large delousing facilities, supplied with running water and electricity, were built within its perimeter. One of the delousing facilities was constructed just tens of meters to the west of the end of the railroad track, and the other one a bit further away towards west (Map 9, Buildings 1 and 2). Between these two very large buildings stood a large barracks for the storage of the soldiers' luggage (Map 9, Building 3) and a kitchen (Building 10) that was probably meant to be used for the cooking of food in case this part of the camp was used as a quarantine area, as well as for hungry soldiers arriving in the camp after their two- day long train journey from the north. Baracke 4–HBK 64 (Map 9, Building 4) was used by soldiers from Heeres Betreeungs Kompanie 64. Three of the Mannschaftsbaracke barracks were probably reserved for other soldiers staying in this part of the camp (Map 9, Buildings 5, 6, and 9), but the use of the other two barracks (Map 9, Buildings 7 and 8) is not listed on the original map and is therefore not entirely known.

To the east of the delousing area stood the Lotta-Kantine Erika, a small canteen run by three women from the Finnish Lotta Svärd organization (Map 9, Building 21), and a small building used by the female auxiliaries of the Weibliches Wehrmahtsgefolge (Map 9, Building 20). At the far end of the railroad track stood a small Platzkartenkontrolle ticket control booth (Map 9, Building 23). Bauhütte or a builder's hut (Map 9, Building 22) and a transformer Trafo-Kaus (Map 9, Building 19) stood nearby.

Three Abortbaracke latrines for some 20 soldiers each were constructed in the outer perimeter of the delousing area (Map 9, Buildings 12–14). Three washing barracks, so-called Waschbaracke (Map 9, Buildings 16–18) equipped with running water, were also important for the sanitary conditions of this part of the camp. Three huge pre-war storage buildings on the south side of the railroad track marked with the text AVL were used as Armee Verpflegungs Lager for the storage of all kinds of military-related materials, from uniforms to foodstuffs. In 2019, during the renovation of an old house that had been constructed just after the war, a couple of planks with the text "Unbefugten ist das Betreten der Verpflegungs Ausgabestelle Verboten" ("unauthorized persons are not allowed to visit the issuing point") were found (Photo 152). The planks can probably be associated with one of these buildings.

Photo 152. Planks with writing in German, probably originating from one of the Armee Verpflegungslager AVL. buildings were found during the renovation of an old house in Hanko in 2018. Photo Jan Fast.



Map 9. The layout, the five "Bezirke", the "Entlausungsdorf" de-lousing area the "Ukrainer Lager" and the different types of barracks of the camp. Map by Marjo Karppanen.

6.1.1.1 Entlausungsanstalt 1

The westernmost of the delousing facilities Entlausungsanstalt 1 (Map 9, Building 1), was located in the western part of the delousing area some 50 meters to the west of Entlausungsanstalt 2. On the map the two buildings are mirror images of each other, and identical in both shape and size. In a photo taken in late 1944 a window of the building can be seen. The outside of the structure was probably made of wood and similar in style to the other barracks of the camp. The building had a massive cross-shaped and very well-made central part of concrete (Photos 153–156). This structure could be the foundation of an oven or a heated sauna room that was used to get rid of the lice. Two large metal hatches on the south side of the structure could have been used to empty these ovens. There are no signs of a shower room, although this building was equipped with running water. It is possible that the Entlausungsanstalt 1 was used for the delousing and washing of uniforms and equipment, which is also supported by the excavation finds from the nearby area 4. A large rainwater well, 1,5 meters in diameter, stood just meters to the east of the structure. No other sign of the building except for the concrete foundation can be seen in an aerial photograph of the camp from 1950, and it is therefore possible that it was demolished almost immediately after 1944 when it was not used anymore. Metal detecting surveys in the vicinity to the north and east of the concrete structure produced a few German uniform buttons and other small items such as unspent Mauser rifle cartridges and Mauser ammo clips. No Second World War finds were found near the structure which indicates that this area was covered by the building itself.

6.1.1.2 Entlausungsanstalt 2

The second one of the two large delousing facilities of the camp was Entlausungsanstalt 2 (Map 9, Building 2). It was housed in a large wooden building right in the heart of the delousing area, just around 20 meters to the west of the end of the railroad track and some 50 meters east of Entlausungsanstalt 1. The building would have been among the first of the camp that the German sol-

Photos 153–156. The concrete structure in the central part of Entlausungsanstalt 1 from the northeast (top left) and south (top right). The location of the iron hatches on the south side of the structure (bottom left and right) can be seen. Photos Jan Fast.

diers saw when they got off the train upon arrival in the camp. In the centre of the large building was a massive rectangular concrete structure identical to the one in the other delousing facility. The foundation was possibly that of a heated room or a sauna. On the north side of this structure is what appears to have been a shower room with a floor made of concrete slabs. It is not clear whether the room had actual showers, but according to the original map of the camp it was one of the few buildings in the camp that had running water. A water pipe embedded in the concrete foundation also testifies to this. No period pictures of the building taken on ground level have survived. Because it stood in an area that saw years of use after the Germans had left Hanko, it survived a bit longer than Entlausungsanstalt 1. According to aerial photos the wooden building seems to have been only partly demolished by 1950, and the main part of it was still standing in 1965 (Photos 137–138). At some point after this the wooden parts of the building were torn down, revealing the concrete and brick foundation in its centre that is still standing and can be seen today. The rather poorly laid construction might be of a later date but could also be part of the original construction. This central part of the building possibly saw use as a cellar or locked storage space until the 1980s. In 2014 it was filled with modern trash, which made research of the floor of the structure and its surroundings virtually impossible (Photos 157–162).

6.1.1.3 Mannschaftsbaracke 4–HBK 64

Along with Baracke 7 (Map 9, Building 7), Mannschaftsbaracke 4–HBK 64 is the best-preserved original building of the German transition camp. HBK 64 stands for Heeres Betreeungs Kompanie 64, which means it probably served as the living quarter of soldiers from this unit. HBK 64 was composed of soldiers who had been disciplined, and as such part of the penal unit or so-called Wehrmachts Streifendienste and was assigned with duties associated with the railway traffic to and from the German camp (Lexicon der Wehrmacht/Heeres- und Wehrmachts-Streifendienste). The 35 meter long and 11-meter-wide building was built on a foundation of bricks. The height of the building was 4,7 meters, and the roof was covered with felt. It was constructed around a frame of wooden beams and clad with planks. The floor was made of planks and plywood boards. Its general appearance from the outside in 2024 is much like it was between 1942–1944, except for the covered entrances and renewed outer doors. The northern facade of the building was almost entirely preserved in 2014 and had 9 windows that were all original to the building. The south side had collapsed almost entirely. A low attic space could be entered through a small hatch directly above the front and back door. The rooms inside the building were all built around a central corridor that ran through the entire narrow building. The rooms in the far ends of the building had several windows, while the smaller rooms in the middle section only had one window each (Photos 163–169). According to MA Anu Varjo, a room with two sinks in the center part could be a bathroom and original to the building, but the barracks did not have running water in 1942–1944.

The washing water would have to have been carried to the bathroom from outside. The drainage from this room was directed to a well outside of the building (Varjo 2019: 62).

The rooms were heated with nine brick-clad heating ovens on the corridor side; one oven warmed two rooms. The brick heating ovens could be original to the barracks (Varjo 2019: 65). Based on period photos taken in other areas of the camp, the barracks show a simple metal chimney protruding through the roof. This indicates that most of the barracks that were intended for the temporary housing of passing soldiers were heated with simple iron stoves. As Mannschaftsbaracke 4–HBK 64 was built to house regular troops on an all-year-round basis, it is quite possible that it was better equipped for handling the difficult weather conditions on the cape. Its construction resembles a type of barracks manufactured by the Finnish company Puutalo Oy and sold in large quantities to German forces in 1941–1944. Although modified for use after the Second World War, it is one of the best surviving examples of the camp architecture of the delousing area of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Metal detecting surveys and a small-scale trial excavation near the eastern entrance to the

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Photos 157–162. The remains of Entlausungsanstalt 2 photographed from the south (top), south-west, and south-east (middle). Remains of the shower room with a water pipe can be seen in the picture in the lowermost left corner. The interior was constructed of bricks (bottom, middle, and right). Photos Japo Knuutila and Jan Fast.

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Photos 163–169. The well-preserved north and collapsed south facade of Mannschaftsbaracke 4 – HBK 64 (top and 2nd row). East and west entrances (third row) and interior views (bottom). Photos Japo Knuutila and Jan-Erik Nyman.

building in 2014 produced no Second World War finds whatsoever. In early spring 2015 dumpsite 4 F was discovered some 50 meters to the west of the building. It was excavated between 2015 and 2016 (see Chapter 7).

6.1.1.4 Mannschaftsbaracke 5

Mannschaftsbaracke 5 (Map 9, Building 5) was in a very poor state of preservation at the start of the research in April 2014. At that time only the facades, the heating ovens, the brick foundation, and brick chimneys were still standing, but the building could not be entered because of the large amounts of debris inside (Photos 170–174). The fragile building was considered a safety hazard and was demolished in May 2014 before the opening of the nature trail to Uddskatan.

The wooden construction seems to have been almost identical in length, width, and height to Baracke 4–HBK 64. Likewise, the entrances had been covered and the outer doors renewed after the war. Because of the dangerous state of the building and the caved-in outer walls, the decision not to enter its interior was made, and the exact number of rooms could not be determined. The room layout may have been much like the one in Baracke 4–HBK 64. The attic of the original building could be entered through a hatch directly above the front and back doors. The east end of the building had one window, but the west end of the building lacked windows altogether. The north and south facades probably held several windows, but due to the bad preservation of the building it was impossible to say how many there originally were. Running through the centre of the building was a row of five brick clad heating ovens. In contrast to Baracke 4–HBK 64, these were not heated from the corridor but instead from the separate rooms of the building. On the original map the building is listed as a Mannschaftsbaracke, meaning it was meant for the housing of German soldiers.

6.1.1.5 Mannschaftsbaracke 6

Mannschaftsbaracke 6 (Map 9, Building 6) was also very badly preserved by the start of the research of the camp in the spring of 2014. The far ends of the building, the heating ovens, the brick foundation, and the chimneys were still standing, but apart from a short segment of the northern facade the most part of the walls and the roof had caved in (Photos 175–179). Considered too dangerous for passers-by, this building was also demolished before the opening of the nature trail to Uddskatan. The building was identical in length, width, and height to Mannschaftsbaracke 4– HBK 64 and Mannschaftsbaracke 5. Because of safety issues it was not possible to enter the barracks and as a result the interior layout and the total number of rooms could not be determined. In this barracks too the attic could be reached through hatches above the front and back doors.

Like all the barracks in the area, the entrances had been covered and the outer doors renewed after the war. The front end of the building had one double window, but the rear end of the building lacked windows altogether. The facade to the north had one remaining single window, and beside it another opening for a single window had been filled in at some point. The south facade of the building had one remaining double window. The building seems to have had several more windows on the east and west sides, but here too due to the poor preservation and the removal of window frames the exact number could not be determined. The structure had a total of five brick clad heating ovens that probably had been heated from the separate rooms of the building. When the building was demolished in 2015, concrete foundations for the heating ovens became visible.

The original purpose of the building also remains unclear, as there is no mention of what the building was used for on the original map, its appendix, or the archive cards. Like its neighbour, it is probable that this building too was first used to house German soldiers and later in the autumn of 1944 Soviet prisoners of war and possibly also others who were quarantined in the camp after that.

A metal detecting survey and a trial excavation of the immediate surroundings around Baracke 6 was conducted in April 2014. Many modern-day finds including spent Finnish rifle cartridges from the 1970s and early 1980s were encountered during the survey, but no finds whatsoever from the Second World War period.

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Photos 170–174. The ruins of Mannschaftsbaracke 5 photographed in 2014 before being demolished a couple of months later. Photos Jan-Erik Nyman and Jan Fast.

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Photos 175–179. Mannschaftsbaracke 6 photographed in April 2014 before its demolition a month later. Trial excavations outside the entrance were carried out in May that same year. Photos Jan-Erik Nyman and Jan Fast.

6.1.1.6 Baracke 7

Although partly rebuilt on the interior and exterior after the Second World War, Baracke 7 (Map 9, Building 7) was the best-preserved German barracks of Deutsches Lager Hanko at the start of the research in 2014. Until 2017 the roof of the building was in relatively good condition, which allowed the building to be examined not only from the outside as the other barracks in the area but from the inside as well (Photos 180–185).

The 40-meter-long, 11 meters wide, and 4,9-meter-high building was built on a foundation of bricks with perforated holes to increase the ventilation of the substructure. The bricks had been left visible and were not clad with concrete like in the other barracks in the area. The roof was covered with felt. Near the middle of the east facade of the building was a double door and what appears to be a period concrete loading platform. The entrance to the building was through the doors in the far ends and the double door on the east side of the building. This barracks did not have a central corridor. It is unclear whether the arrangement and size of the rooms inside are original or not.

Like the other buildings in the area, Baracke 7 had been constructed around a frame of wooden beams and clad with planks. The floor was made from planks and plywood boards. The front and the rear part of the building lacked windows, but both long sides had 16 original windows. The southernmost window on the east side was a double window equipped with iron bars, but it is not possible to tell whether these bars are original to the building or not.

Its general appearance from the outside in 2014 was very much like it was in 1942–1944, except for the covered entrances at the ends of the building and the renewed outer doors. An attic space could be entered through a small hatch directly above the front door in the south end of the building. The northern and southern ends and the whole eastern facade of the building were entirely preserved. The west facade had collapsed in the middle, revealing a recently built brick fire wall that separated a large open middle space from the rooms in the southern part of the building. The fire wall indicated that the building had seen major changes after the Second World War, and probably served as a workshop during its final years. Two brick-clad heating ovens were placed in the rooms at the far ends of the structure, and one in the middle section.

6.1.1.7 Baracke 8

Baracke 8 (Map 9, Building 8) was 40 meters long, 11 meters wide, and 6,7 meters in height. It was originally identical in construction to the other barracks in the area but had been extensively rebuilt sometime after the Second World War, when it was used for the housing of families (Photos 186–191). Because of the changes that had been made to the building it was difficult to assess what the building looked like between 1942 and 1944 and what it was originally used for. There is no mention other than its number on the original map of the camp, and the building is not mentioned in the Belegungsübersicht appendix to the map. Nor can information about the building be found among the archive cards listing the value and use of the buildings. During the renovation the roof had been raised to 6.7 meters from the original height of approximately 4,9 meters, making the roof angle much steeper than on the other buildings in the area. The change in the roof structured allowed for an attic with windows to be built on top of the living quarters. Ten of the original windows on the eastern and western façades and in both far ends of the "Baracke" had all been changed into larger modern ones with the northernmost window opening on the western side shut. It is possible that the building originally had between 10 or 14 windows on both facades. On the east facade of the building, two covered entrances had been built to access the approximately five individual apartments. It is possible that the location of some of these entrances are original to the building, and that the building originally had two doors on this side. The rooms of the apartments were heated with nine very different types of stoves with tall brick chimneys. All of the stoves were probably from the 1950s and had been moved here from other buildings in Hanko.

As already mentioned, the original purpose and use of the building cannot be determined because of the renovations. One woman who left

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Photos 180–185. Baracke 7. East facade (top). The collapsed middle section of the west facade. The collapsed middle section on the western side of the building (centre). The south end (bottom left) and north end (bottom right) of the building. Photos Japo Knuutila.

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Photos 186–191. The south and north end of Baracke 8 (top) and the facades to the east and west (middle left and right). Interior views (bottom). Photos Japo Knuutila.

Finland with the retreating German army in 1944 recalled that upon her return to Finland she was possibly interrogated by the Finnish state police in this building, but this cannot be verified (Suutari 2010). A metal detecting survey and a trial excavation was organized in the vicinity of the barracks in 2015. The excavation produced a lot of finds from the 1970s but no finds from the Second World War period.

6.1.1.8 Mannschaftsbaracke 9

On the original map of the German camp, Mannschaftsbaracke 9 (Map 9, Building 8) is listed as a building for the housing of troops. Along with Waschbaracke 18 this is the only one of the barracks of the delousing area for which Finnish archive cards from 1945 can be found. The information on the card is quite scanty, but it states that it was built in 1942 and stood on wooden posts. The roof was made from felt, and the outer walls were clad with planks. The building was 449,5 square meters in size and 3,2 meters in height. There is no mention of any ovens or other heating equipment. On the archive card the condition of the building in 1945 is described as poor, but that it was repaired in May 1948.

The building had collapsed entirely decades before the research of the camp started in 2014 and due to the debris covering the entire floor space of the building no reliable observations about the number of rooms or heating arrangements could be documented (Photo 192). The only architectural detail visible among the rubble was a large double door at the eastern end of the building, but whether the door was original or not to the building could not be determined. A modern but broken window frame lay among the rubble, which confirms the information in the archive card that this building had also been modified at least once after the Second World War.

6.1.1.9 Küche

The Entlausungsdorf area could be used for delousing of up to 1 000 German soldiers per day. If necessary, it could also be used as a quarantine area in case of an epidemic. It was therefore important that it had its own kitchen, or Küche, where food for quarantined soldiers could be prepared. The kitchen was built on a solid foundation of bricks and concrete and was 17,5 meters long and 8,8 meters wide. The entrance was from the west end of the building (Map 9, Building 10). When this part of the camp was used as a penal colony for female prisoners, a dining hall was built on the south side of the kitchen. The then 20-meter-long building was destroyed by a fire in March 1953 (*Hangötidningen* 24 March 1953). No original Second World War period or other photos of the building have survived. In 2014 a metal detecting survey and a trial excavation were conducted in the area surrounding the kitchen, but the only period German item, a standard uniform button with pebbled surface was found among the modern trash surrounding the concrete foundation (Photos 193–194).

Photo 192. The collapsed Mannschaftsbaracke 9 photographed from the west. Photo Jan Fast.

6.1.1.10 Abortbaracke 12

The latrines were an integral part of the sanitary conditions of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Many German soldiers visited the delousing area daily, and the barracks there could also be used during a quarantine. Because of this, the area had altogether four latrines, or so-called "Abortbaracke". This is far more than in the other areas of the camp. The latrines were situated on the outskirts of the area and with their entrances towards the barracks.

Abortbaracke 12 (Map 9, Building 12) was one of the large latrines in this area of the camp and had a capacity of 20 soldiers at a time. The building was 16 meters long, 3,2 meters wide, and three meters in height. It was located just 20 meters to the northwest of Mannschaftsbaracke 5 and very close to Entlausungsanstalt 1. Nearby to the northeast stood a small washing barracks. The latrine was constructed of wooden planks on a foundation of simple wooden poles. The seats were separated with low plank walls for privacy. The roof was clad with felt and was almost flat, with a very shallow roof angle tilted towards the back of the building. There were two door entrances on the east side of the building, and five narrow glassless windows near the roof line that were covered with planks. The latrine was emptied through hatches placed on the back side of the building (Photos 195–198).

6.1.1.11 Abortbaracke 13

Abortbaracke 13 (Map 9, Building 13) was located near the northern beach area. just a couple of meters to the northwest of Baracke 7. Here too a small washing barracks stood nearby. This latrine was also 16 meters long, 3,2 meters wide, and three meters in height (Photos 199–202). The latrine was almost identical to Abortbaracke 12 and was constructed of wooden planks on a foundation of simple wooden poles. The felt clad roof was almost flat and had a very shallow roof angle tilted towards the north side of the building. There were two door entrances on the south side of the building and five narrow glassless windows near the roof line. In contrast to the windows of Abortbaracke 12, the windows were not covered with planks. The latrine was emptied through hatches placed on the back side of the building.

Sixteen of the seats had low plank walls on the sides, but four of the seats in the east part of the building had been totally fenced off with white painted plank walls and had separate door entrances. It is not possible to tell whether the wall and the doors were later additions or original to the building. The emptying of the lavatory would have happened from the back. There was no latrine ditch underneath the structure, so the excrement must have fallen on the ground and then been removed with shovels and transported elsewhere.

6.1.1.12 Abortbaracke 15

Compared to the other three large latrines in the area, Abortbaracke 15 (Map 9, Building 15) was tiny. According to the original map of the camp it originally stood some 15 meters to the SW of Baracke 4–HBK 64, but its actual location in 2014


Photos 193–194. The foundation of the Küche photographed from the southwest and northwest. Photos Japo Knuutila.

Photos 195–198. Abortbaracke 12, photographed from the northeast and northwest (top). Interior views (bottom). Photos Jan Fast.

Photos 199–202. Abortbaracke 13 photographed from the southeast and northeast (top). Interior views (bottom). Photos Jan Fast.

was much closer to it. Either the map is inaccurate, or it is possible that it was moved closer to the barracks at some point. The structure stood on wooden posts and had a similar structure as the other latrines in the area. It was 2,8 meters in height. It had two separate door entrances, but was divided into two separate rooms, each for one person. Both doors were equipped with glass windows (Photos 203–204). Because of its location close to the Mannschaftsbaracke 4–HBK 64 it is plausible that this latrine was used exclusively by soldiers from Heeres Betreeungs Kompanie 64.

6.1.1.13 Waschbaracke 17

Three barracks for washing or so-called Waschbaracke, were built in the delousing area. The barracks provided facilities for at least washing and bathing and were equally important for the hygiene of this part of the camp as the latrines. Like these, the washing barracks were located in the outskirts of the area. Two of these constructions have survived, while the third one was demolished when the main building of the correctional facility for female prisoners was built in the 1950s. Waschbaracke 17 (Map 9, Building 17) was situated near the northern beach area, very close to Abortbaracke 13 and around 30 meters to the south of Baracke 7. The entrance to the building was from the south. Only the 8,2 meter long and 6,5-meter-wide concrete foundation remained of the building (Photo 205). The size of this building was the same as Waschbaracke 18, so the buildings probably were identical in size and construction. The whole structure was covered with a pile of post-war roof tiles.

6.1.1.14 Waschbaracke 18

Waschbaracke 18 (Map 9, Building 18) had survived almost completely, despite having been somewhat rebuilt and painted after the war. The original building was 8,2 meters long, 6,5 meters wide, and 3,7 meters in height. According to information on one of the Finnish archive cards of the buildings of the camp, the floor space of the building was 50,4 square meters. The condition of the building in 1945 is described as poor. The facade to the west had two original windows, and the facade to the east had one identical window. The barracks was built on a solid concrete foundation and all of the rooms had concrete floors. The walls were made of timber and clad with wooden planks, and the roof was covered with felt. After the Second World War a latrine had been added to the south end of the building, and the door had been covered with a roof. The building had been partly destroyed by a fire before being abandoned, possibly sometime in the 1970s or 1980s (Photos 206–210).

The interior space was divided into five separate rooms. The entrance to the building was through a small hallway with doors to the left and right. The right door led to a long and narrow room that ran through the entire building. It is possible that the room was used as a dressing room. On the wall of this room a small plywood sign with the word


Photos 203–204. Abortbaracke 15. The small latrine, photographed from the northwest with Mannschaftsbaracke 4 HBK-64 in the foreground (left). Photo Japo Knuutila and Jan-Erik Nyman.

Photo 205. The concrete foundation of Washbaracke 17 covered with roof-tiles, from the northwest. In the background to the right is the north end of Baracke 7. Photo Jan Fast.

"Kein" was discovered. To the left of the entrance was a small room with a stove and an entrance to a washing room of a similar size on the eastern side. The washing room had a large hot water kettle that was heated with the stove in the previous room. On the south side was an entrance to a very small sauna with a very large oven made of a reinforced German gasoline barrel. It is not certain that the sauna was original to the building, but it is possible. The sheet metal stove that was used to warm the building and to boil the water in the kettle in the washing room was an iron sheet metal stove made by Volkswagen for the German civil and military engineering organization named Organisation Todt. This type of stove was very common during the Second World War and was produced in very large quantities. In Washbaracke 18 the stove was placed inside a structure made of bricks and cement to better collect the heat from the stove. Apart from the stove, the German reinforced gasoline barrel, and the plywood sign, no other period German finds were found in the building. A metal detecting survey around the building only provided large amounts of modern trash.

6.1.1.15 Rainwater wells

The Entlausungsdorf area had a total of 13 rainwater wells (Map 15). The wells were made of concrete rings with a diameter of 1,5 meters. All of the wells were located close to the buildings. Baracke 8 had five wells and Mannschaftsbaracke 4 HBK-64 four wells, while Baracke 7 only had one well. Mannschaftsbaracke 5, 6, and 9, as well as the kitchen and Waschbaracke 17, lacked wells altogether, but Waschbaracke 18 had two wells. The delousing facilities had one well each, but the one on the east side of Entlausungsanstalt 1 was much larger than the other wells in the area, with a diameter of almost two meters.

The use of the wells cannot be determined with certainty. The water was not drinkable, and as some of the buildings in this part of the camp were equipped with running water this use can be ruled out. The possibility that the wells were constructed to serve as water reserves, and the water inside them to be used in case of a fire or for cleaning or washing, seems the most plausible.

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Photos 206–210. Waschbaracke 18, photographed from the west and northeast. The VW stove (middle right), the foundation for the hot water kettle (bottom left), and the sauna with the stove made of a German reinforced gasoline barrel (bottom right). Photographs Jan Fast and Jan-Erik Nyman.

6.1.2 Urlauberlager

The Urlauberlager camp for soldiers on furlough was built on fine, sandy, and dry soil on the flat top of the narrow cape. The barracks were placed in an area with pine trees that was connected by narrow sandy roads and foot paths. By the look of the air surveillance photo from 1942, it seems that special care was taken not to cut down more trees than what was necessary (Photo 136). A larger main road led through the camp from east to west.

The main camp was divided into five different so called Bezirke, or districts, shown by the red sectors numbered I-V from east to west on the original map (Map 5 and Map 9). It is not known exactly when or why the division into different sectors was made. The Ukrainerlager was left out of this division, probably because no German soldiers were housed in this area. The barracks are numbered, and the different barracks in each sector are described at the bottom of the map. The normal and maximum number of soldiers in each sector is shown in the Belegungsübersicht appendix to the map (Photo 43).

6.1.2.1 Bezirk I

District I, in the easternmost part of the camp, consisted of a triangular area with 13 small barracks for soldiers and a few other small buildings (Map 9). The barracks were somewhat irregularly spread out in the area just to the south of the railroad that led to the unclean area of the camp. The area was like a village of its own and was surrounded by roads on all sides. According to the appendix to the original map, the barracks in this area were built to accommodate 845 soldiers under normal conditions. The area had five latrines for ordinary soldiers (50 seats) and one latrine (one seat) for regular personnel, two washing barracks with 134 sinks, and four rainwater wells (Photo 43). District I was situated in an area that could practically be considered a railway junction. Two railroad tracks, one leading to the delousing area of the camp and one to the western harbour, ran in the northern and southern outskirts of the area. This must have made the area quite noisy during the daily (and nightly) arrivals and departures of the furlough trains and added a special character to the atmosphere of daily life in this part of the camp. To the south of this area, and on the other side of the main road through the camp, lay the camp's large Soldatenkino movie-theatre. To the west there were three large stables for horses, that separated this area from the rest of the camp and partly blocked the view to the western part of the camp. Only the two small washing barracks and the movie-theatre by the railroad to the south of the Mannschaftsbaracke were equipped with running water. The entire area of District I was demolished and built over in the decade after the Second World War.

6.1.2.2 Bezirke II–III

The compact and functional districts II and II just to the west of district I, contained 33 rather small barracks for some 40 soldiers each, along with many other buildings. They were designed to accommodate and serve a total of 1 495 soldiers under normal conditions (photo 211). Compared to District I the barracks in this area were rigidly placed in rows on the north and south side of a sandy road that cut the area in two (Map 9). A narrow winding road connected the area to the delousing part of the camp. In the heart of the area, placed around what appears to have been an open yard, stood two large dining halls for the soldiers in transit (Map 9). One separate dining hall was located near the four horse stables in the easternmost part of the area. Foodstuffs were probably stored and prepared in the nearby buildings. The area had four latrines for ordinary soldiers (80 seats) one latrine for regular personnel (two seats), one single latrine in the kitchen building, four washing barracks with 171 sinks, and 13 rainwater wells (Photo 42).

A Finnish canteen was situated in the northeastern part of the area, supplying the soldiers with things that the traditional German military catering could not provide. The camp's hospital, called Revierbaracke, was located just to the north the side of the main road and some 50 meters to the west from the catering area (Map 9). The hospital, three of the washing facilities, one sauna, the catering areas, and the canteen were equipped with running water. According to air surveillance pho-

tos the area was the first part of the camp to be built and was completed already in the summer of 1942; some of the barracks are still visible in an air surveillance photo from 1950 (Photos 136 and 138).

6.1.2.3 Bezirk IV

The general layout of this area situated in the northwestern part of the cape, was much more spacious in design than the other ones. Just to the north of the gravel road running through the area lay the largest lavatory of the camp, along with a large storage barracks on its east side. A row of small barracks for ordinary soldiers was situated on the low ground near the northern shore of the cape some 50 meters to the north from here (Map 10). The barracks in District IV were constructed to house 569 German soldiers under normal conditions. The area had 4 latrines for ordinary soldiers (47 seats). The officers had two latrines, one with ten seats and one with two seats (in the sauna). In addition, the area had two washing barracks or saunas with 149 sinks and eight rainwater wells (Photo 43). The scenic area to the north of the road, with its sandy beach, beautiful sea views, and old pine trees was reserved for the housing of German officers, and included a sauna and a dining hall along with five spacious barracks for 65 officers. The barracks for the staff officers was also equipped with running water. To the south of the main road lay another barracks for officers and a food storage barracks. The southernmost part of the area was reserved for a row of six large barracks for ordinary soldiers. A few of the barracks in the northern part of District IV survived after the Second World War. Some of them including the barracks for the staff officers, which were used by Finnish sea-mine clearers in 1946 (Pakola 2023: 71). They were also used for housing families in the 1950s and 1960s before they were demolished. Today, the area is a very scenic nature reserve area. Excavations and surveys of dumpsites and areas with discarded waste were carried out between 2014–2019 and 2022–2023 (Map 10, areas 2 and 3).

6.1.2.3.1 Baracke 115 – Offiziersspeisesaal

As the name implies, the building was used as a dining hall for German officers (Map 9; Map 12, Building 115). Much like the other buildings in this area, this barracks was also dismantled and moved away from the area soon after the war. Based on surviving period pictures, the building stood on wooden posts and had four large windows towards the sea. It was clad with vertically positioned segments of planks (Photo 212). For this reason, the general appearance of the building was very different from the other barracks in the camp. The entrance to the building was probably from the south, from the direction of the nearby sauna. Today only two brick and mortar constructions, that probably are foundations for heating ovens, remain (Photos 212–215). A brown glazed brick found at the site probably hints at the heating ovens being a bit more decorative than the ones in the ordinary barracks of the camp.

6.1.2.3.2 Baracke 117 – Sauna

According to descriptions on the original map of the camp, the only two saunas of the camp were situated in District IV (Map 9; Map 12, Building 117). The only surviving reminder of these saunas or washing barracks is a square-shaped concrete foundation some 15 meters from the officers' dining hall (Photos 216–218). The structure is equipped with square-shaped holes on the sides, possibly for increased ventilation of the substructure. The entrance to the sauna was from the westernmost end of the north facade. The remains of the sauna have not been excavated, so the interior design and the number of rooms is still unknown.

6.1.2.3.3 Rainwater well

One of the eight rainwater wells in the area can still be found. It is located immediately to the north of the sauna and was made of concrete rings and filled in at some point (Photo 219; Map 12). The well is of the same size as the wells in the delousing area, but much like these its purpose is not entirely clear. The undrinkable water was possibly used in the sauna or served as a water reserve.

Photo 211. District II of the Urlauberlager photographed in the spring of 1943. Original photograph acquired from German eBay by the author.

Photos 212–215. The dining hall for the officers, photographed in the winter of 1942–1943 (top left) and the same area today (top right). The western (bottom left) and eastern (bottom right) oven photographed from the northwest. Photos Hanko Museum and Jan Fast.

Photos 216–218. The concrete foundation of the sauna, photographed from the north and northwest. Photos Jan Fast.

6.1.2.4 Bezirk V

Some 1 120 military and auxiliary personnel at a time could be accommodated in this area, which made it the second largest accommodation area of the camp. The area was constructed around the large Soldatenheim canteen and bounded by the sea to the north, by the main road to the south, and the Ukrainerlager to the southwest (Map 9). The north part of District V was reserved for the housing of women of the German Red Cross and the female auxiliary helpers of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge. The area had two latrines for ordinary soldiers (27 seats), along with three more personal ones (two with two seats and one with one seat) that were reserved for the female auxiliaries housed in the area. The area also had one washing barracks or sauna with 53 sinks and four rainwater wells (Photo 43).

The Soldatenheim canteen, some 60 meters to the south of the barracks of the women of the camp, was the largest single building of the camp (Map 11, Building 109). No exact number of how many soldiers it could serve at a time exists, but the information that it could be used to house 250 men in case of emergency gives an indication of its

Photo 219. The only surviving rainwater well in this part of the camp photographed from the southwest. Photo Jan Fast.

large size. Probably several hundred soldiers could visit it at a time. As could be expected, the building had access to running water, as did a nearby washing barracks (Map 12, Building 106). South of the Soldatenheim canteen, on the opposite side of the road that went past it, stood five barracks for soldiers and the only large latrine in this part of the camp (Map 12, Building 107). Two large barracks in the southwestern part of the area almost blocked the view towards the Ukrainerlager situated in the westernmost part of the camp (Map 9).

6.1.2.4.1. Schwesternunterkünfte

The women of Deutsches Lager Hanko lived in three separate barracks in the northern part of District V (Map 12). One reason that the German women were housed in this part of the camp was because of its vicinity to the Soldatenheim canteen (Map 11, Building 109) and the officers' dining hall (Map 11, Building 115) where many of them worked. The other reason might have been related to them feeling safer in the large camp that was dominated by thousands of young men. Living close to the officers might have offered the women a sense of security.

Two of the barracks (Buildings 112 and 114) some 60 meters behind the Soldatenheim canteen were reserved for the 30 female auxiliaries from the German Red Cross. The barracks were constructed side-by-side in northeast-southwest direction, with an inner yard with a small latrine between them (Map 12, Building 113). The easternmost barracks was equipped with running water, a very rare occurrence in the camp. Barracks number 114 burnt to the ground on 10 February 1946, when it was occupied by Finnish sea-mine clearers (Pakola 2023: 71).

The barracks for members of the female auxiliary helpers of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge (Map 12, Building 110) was situated some 20 meters to the west of the Red Cross barracks. It was small (only 1/3 of the size of the German Red Cross barracks) and built to house 22 women. To the west of it stood a small lavatory (Map 12, Building 11) and a sauna (Map 12, Building 134). It is possible that this sauna was reserved for the women of the camp.

The area on the northern seashore is scenic but very windy and cold, especially during the winter and early spring months. The area is also subjected to rising sea levels and large waves during storms. Probably because of this, the westernmost barracks for the female members of the German Red

Cross had an additional foundation built of stones and bricks towards its northern gable end (Photos 220–222). The construction prevented the foundation of the barracks from eroding into the sea during high sea levels and strong winds. The barracks in this area were almost all dismantled and the area covered with gravel and asphalt after the war. Both Schwesternunterkünfte barracks, together with the other buildings in the beach area, were dismantled soon after the Second World War and probably moved to some other location The northern part near the seashore was, however, left untouched, and the area is now a nature reserve area like the northern parts of the former district IV. Today only the partial stone and brick-built terrace at the northern end of the westernmost Schwesterunterkunft remains.

A small-scale trial excavation in the middle of the area were the barracks once stood produced no German finds whatsoever, but a German Second World War era metal package for condoms was found during a metal detecting survey in the surrounding area. A large dumpsite was found and partly excavated in 2018, some 40 meters to the west of the barracks of the women of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge (dumpsite 2 A, Photo 290). The excavation produced a large amount of German and Finnish Second World War period artefacts that can mostly be related to the nearby Soldatenheim canteen (Figure 5; Photos 292–307).

6.1.3 Ukrainerlager

In the westernmost part of the German transition camp there was an area marked with the text Ukrainerlager on the original map, an area for former Ukrainian (Soviet) prisoners of war (Maps 8 and 10). The details on the original map of the

Photos 220–222. The elevated terrace of brick and stone in the north end of the westernmost Schwesternuntekunft barracks, photographed from the northwest. Photos Jan Fast.

camp show an area possibly partly fenced off from the rest of the camp (Maps 5 and 6). The entrance may have been from the northeast. The location in the westernmost part of the camp is quite secluded and is protected from the winds from all directions except from the north.

The original map shows eight circular structures numbered 135–142 and three rectangular barracks with the numbers 143–145 inside the fenced area, but there is no text on the map explaining the use of these structures (Maps 5 and 6 and Map 11). Based on studies of air surveillance photographs, the circular structures could be plywood tents. The so-called *Finnenzelte* were possibly used for housing or storage or both. A fragment of plywood and a small Volkswagen-made iron stove for Organisation Todt found above ground, were the only finds that indicated the presence of buildings in the area between 1942–1944 (Photos 223–224). The stove found in the Ukrainerlager part of the camp was identical to the one found in Waschbaracke 18 in the delousing area.

The Ukrainerlager of Deutsches Lager Hanko was an area used for housing and activities by German trusted prisoners of war, or so called *Hiwis* (taken from the German word *Hilfswillige* and meaning auxiliary helper). The practice of the Germans using Hilfswillige in Turku and Alakurtti, Sodankylä, and many other German camps in northern Finland is well known (Westerlund 2008: 146–147). Despite this, only very little is known about the Ukrainians who lived and worked in the German camps. A document in the archives of Armeeoberkommando Lappland, Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20, counts 12 Hilfswillige and three Soviet prisoners of war in Deutshes Lager Hanko in July 1944 (NARA archives, T-312, R-1069). In July 1944 the total number of Hilfswillige in the Armeeoberkommando Lappland, Gebirgs-Armeeoberkommando 20 on 31 July 1944 was 3 315 (NARA archives T-312, R-1062).

A photo showing two of the Hilfswillige of the camp was found on German eBay during this research. The picture was among a group of photos taken by a Wehrmacht soldier passing through the camp in the summer of 1944. In the picture two men wearing German uniforms (but without the German uniform insignia) can be seen standing close to a railway ramp near the pier of the western harbour of the camp which was situated close to the Ukrainerlager area. The picture is a bit out of focus, but the cap badges and especially the sleeve shield on the left arm of the soldier on the right seems to be one used by the Ukrainian volunteers (Photos 225–226).

6.2 Summary

Today almost all the original barracks and other architecture of the camp are long gone. The remaining barracks in the delousing area are in a very poor state of preservation, and they too are

Photos 223–224. A Volkswagen-made iron stove for Organisation Todt was found and recovered during the first field survey of the former Ukrainerlager area in 2014. Photos Jan Fast.

doomed to vanish during the upcoming years. The documentation of and modern conflict archaeology research on these architectural fragments can still reveal much about how the German soldiers were housed during their stay in the camp. The many and probably Finnish-made simple wooden barracks and other constructions of the camp were constructed in a hurry and were intended to stay in use only for only a relatively short period of time. The main part camp was built on the flat top of the cape, as far away as possible from the very windy shores and some four meters above sea level. Architecturally, the barracks were quite well suited for their purpose, especially here in the southernmost part of Finland where there was not much snow during the winter. The low roof angle of the barracks might otherwise have caused problems when heavy snow accumulated on the top of the roof.

Despite not having much snow during the winter, Cape Tulliniemi can still be a very cold place from November to the end of May. Interviews with Finnish soldiers who were housed in the barracks soon after the war complained about one quite serious problem with the barracks, namely that they were very cold to live in and required much firewood for heating (Mrs. Johanna Pakola 2020, personal communication). Studies of period photographs of the camp probably reveal the cause for this. Despite the barracks in the delousing area having large brick-clad heating ovens with brick chimneys that kept the warmth, it seems that the rest of the barracks reserved for the soldiers of the camp did not have this luxury. It is possible that the barracks of the main camp were heated with simple iron stoves with an unclad iron funnel protruding through the roof of the barracks.

The number of lavatories was probably sufficient, but the number of washing facilities can be considered insufficient for the number of soldiers in the camp, especially during winter when washing yourself in the sea was not possible. The camp was equipped with a wooden water pipe and a water reservoir, but it is probable that in the winter the water froze, rendering it useless for the soldiers who lived in the camp during this part of the year. Because of its location so close to the sea and the salty sea water, the camp did not have any traditional deep wells where the soldiers could get access to drinking water during the winter. The water in the shallow rainwater wells was murky, brown in colour, and probably infested with coli bacteria, rendering it undrinkable. Many eyewitness accounts still speak about how neat, well-kept, and tidy the camp was. This testifies to the efforts of the Germans to run a well-organized and clean camp, but also to the hard discipline inside its perimeter where the soldiers were kept busy with cleaning and other activities during their short, temporary stays.

Photos 225–226. Two Ukrainian Hilfswillige photographed by the western pier in Deutsches Lager Hanko, and the sleeve shield used by Ukrainian "YBB", trusted prisoners of war. Original photo and sleeve shield acquired by the author from German eBay.

7 THE MATERIALITY OF DEUTSCHES LAGER HANKO – FINDS FROM CONFLICT ARCHAEOLOGY EXCAVATIONS AND SURVEYS 2014–2023

> Everything is alive in some way,
> either in memories, imagination or in our hearts.
>
> What remains is the strongest, for it is what has lasted through the toughest of times, it has survived.
>
> What remains is a stronger thing.
> (Poem by Olivia Isabella).

The fragile and often very ordinary and mundane personal artefacts, animal bones, bottles, and food ration cans found in the dumpsites of the German camp speak about the lives of the German soldiers and women in the camp during the Second World War (Mason 2006: 7). They offer a glimpse to a mostly forgotten side of the Second World War, far away from the frontlines, an industrial war where ordinary human beings are much like other war materiel and being transported from one place to another in the same manner.

The fact that the artefacts survived in the soil after the war is a wonder that can mostly be credited to the good conditions for preservation in the sandy soil and the natural conditions on the cape. The fact that the area remained fenced off from visitors after the Second World War helped keep at least some areas in the northern perimeter of the former German camp in a natural state, without layers of trash from the 1970s to the 1990s or asphalt covering the archaeology of the site. The fact that the area was a nature reserve also protected the artefacts in the ground from illegal metal detecting.

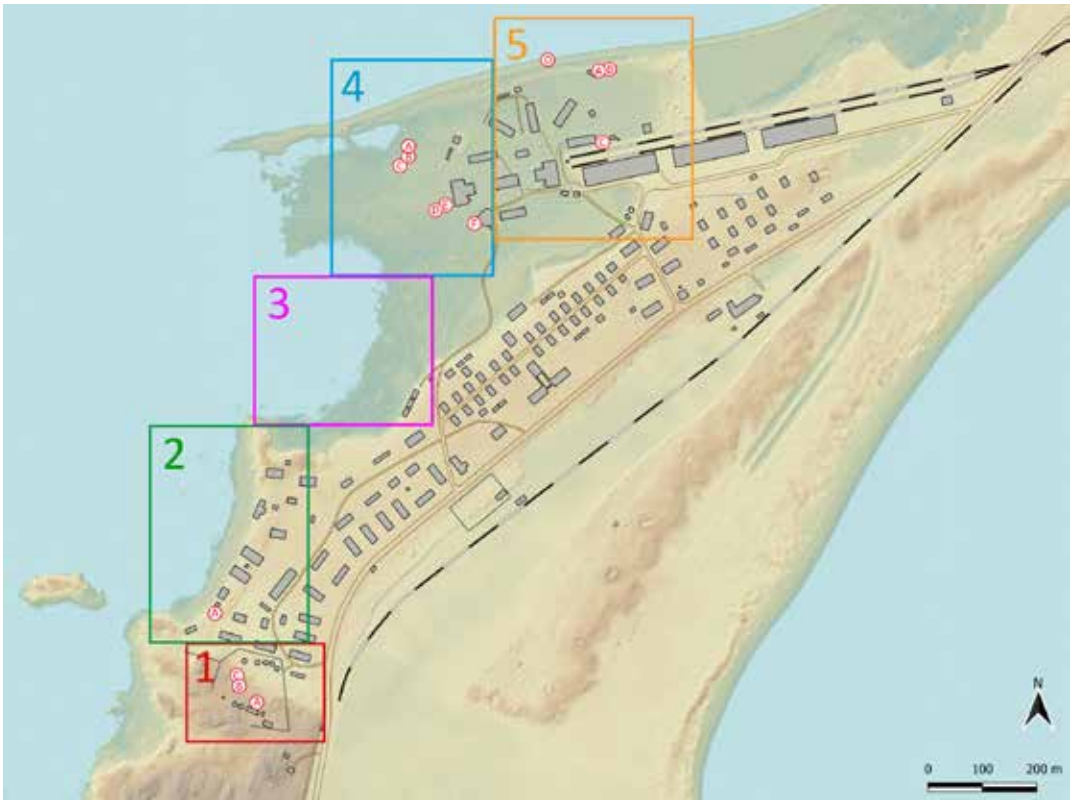
7.1. Overview of the excavation and survey areas

The conflict archaeology surveys and excavations of Deutsches Lager Hanko were carried out during a time-period of eight years, between 2014–2019 and 2022–2023, with permissions granted by the landowners Metsähallitus and the town of Hanko. During the extensive fieldwork, remains of several different constructions and dumpsites belonging to the former German transition camp were located and subsequently excavated in five separate areas along the northern, northwestern, western, and southwestern perimeters of the camp (Map 10, Areas 1–5). The surviving architecture of the camp, dumpsites, and excavation areas were mapped by professional cartographer Marjo Karppanen using a GPS and a total station between 2022–2023.

In 2014, at the start of the research, only traditional archaeological field surveying methods were used. During these trial excavations, pits were simply dug in promising looking areas of the former camp (see Chapter 5.4.2.2). This approach soon proved to be like looking for a needle in a haystack, as almost no surface finds or features indicating dumpsites from the Second World War could be found in the area. During the next stage of archaeological fieldwork of the site in 2014, trial excavations were carried out in areas 4 and 5 in the immediate vicinity of the barracks of the delousing area (Photo 179). During these excavations a few German artefacts from the 1942– 1944 period were finally found. The period finds consisted of a small amount of beer bottle caps, uniform buttons, and a few coins, but were mostly mixed with very large amounts of modern trash. In the areas where some of the demolished barracks had once stood, no finds or structures whatsoever from 1942–1944 period could be found. This could also have its advantages, as on a couple of occasions the location of the floor space of a dismantled barracks could be determined by the total lack of Second World War finds in the ground. The almost total lack of 1942–1944 period finds near the barracks of the delousing area caused the research to take a different approach than what was usual in archaeology in 2015. This meant heading away from the centre of the camp towards its perimeter. The objec-

tive was to find undisturbed areas with remains such as dumpsites or other activity areas that only contained finds from the 1942–1944 period and could be considered closed find contexts. Instead of opening trial excavation areas, attempts to find "hot spots" worth excavating were now made using a metal detector. This approach proved quite difficult at first, as it was difficult to find trustworthy detectorists to do the job. It was only after calling in experienced metal detectorists Lasse Nyman (chairman of the association of Finnish metal detectorists) and archaeologist Teemu Väisänen that the research got going and areas of archaeological interest started to emerge.

All of the metal detecting surveys in the different research areas were conducted under my supervision. The idea was to pinpoint areas with interesting signals and after that make a small trial excavation pit on the spot to determine whether the area contained German Second World War artefacts, and preferably also finds made of other materials than metal. After a promising looking German dumpsite had been found, the finds were put back in the ground and the find spot was marked on a map to be subjected to an archaeological excavation later that same year or the next (Photo 313). The new approach soon started to pay off. The first German dumpsite (1 A) was found in the former Ukrainerlager area in 2015, with new dumpsites found on a regular basis in the outskirts of the camp until 2019. Fourteen undisturbed German dumpsites and dumping grounds from the 1942–1944 period was discovered during the coordinated metal detecting search. In 2022 a previously unknown large dump area was found (Map 10, Area 3). This find suggests that, despite the intense and coordinated scientific metal detecting surveys in the area between 2014 and 2022, it is very likely that many more German Second World War dumps remain undiscovered on the cape.



Map 10. The locations of the excavation and survey areas and the dump sites of Deutsches Lager Hanko, 2015–2019 and 2022–2023. Map by Jan Fast and Marjo Karppanen.

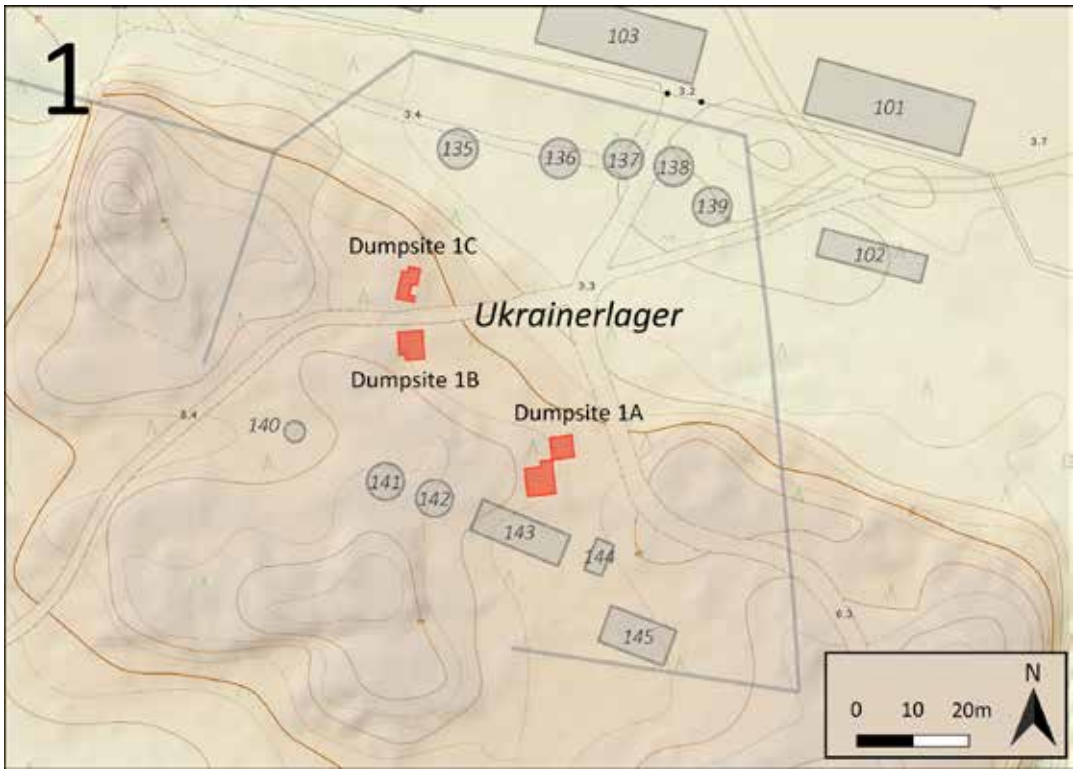
7.2 The dumpsites of Area 1 – Ukrainerlager

The three dumpsites of Area 1 were situated in the Ukrainerlager area in the westernmost part of the camp. The area is mostly forested and quite secluded and is protected from the winds from all directions except from the north (Map 10). During the Second World War this part of the camp was probably used both for the housing of and a work area for the so-called Hilfswillige, former Ukrainian prisoners of war.

7.2.1 Dumpsite 1 A

Dumpsite 1 A was found in 2015 and was the first German dumpsite of the camp to be discovered. It was situated in sandy soil in a densely forested area overlooking an unforested open area where a row of five plywood tents (Map 10, Structures 139–142), a couple of smaller ordinary barracks (Map 11, Buildings 143 and 145), and a latrine (Map 11, Building 144) once stood (Map 11; Photos 227–228).

The archaeological excavations of dumpsite 1 A were conducted during three consecutive field seasons between 2015 and 2017. The excavated area was extended gradually, year-by-year, and by 2017 when the dumpsite had been fully excavated the total excavated area was 16 square meters. The mixed waste had been deposited in a large 1,7-meter-deep pit and left uncovered after it had filled up with trash. Signs of repeated attempts to cover up the garbage in the pit with layers of limestone and sand were observed in some areas of the pit during the excavation (Photos 229–230). The area around the dump had also been left quite untidy, with lots of spread-out trash such as food ration cans spread-out on the ground surface over a large area. The artefacts that were recovered from the pit were plentiful and varied in nature but showed no



Map 11. Area 1, the excavation areas of dumpsites 1 A–C in the Ukrainerlager area, marked with red squares. Map by Marjo Karppanen and Jan Fast.

Photo 227. Area 1. The northwestern part of the Ukrainerlager area where a row of plywood tents once stood, photographed from the southwest. Photo Jan Fast.

Photo 228. The area of dumpsite 1 A in the shrubs in the centre of the picture, photographed from the northwest. Photo Jan Fast.

signs of having been intentionally placed in any kind of order in the pit. Instead, it seemed like the trash had been just thrown into the pit on many separate occasions. A total of 1 556 finds (excl. unburnt and burnt animal bones) were found during the excavations of the dumpsite (Photos 231–251; Appendix 3).

The two largest single groups of artefacts from dumpsite 1 A consisted of drink- and food-related items (Figure 2). In all, 477 beer bottle caps and 65 wine, beer, and other alcohol bottles (Photos 235 and 243) and wine and schnapps drinking glasses (Photo 240) were found. The food-related artefacts mainly consisted of food ration cans. Some 250 German iron food ration cans and many aluminium Sardine cans of different sizes were found (Photos 230 and 251). Spoons (Photo 239) and knives, Bona Tilsiter cheese tubes, and fragments of cheese foil were also found in the pit. Items related to health and hygiene formed the third largest group of finds in the pit, and included many Eau de Cologne and other ointment bottles, medicine bottles and tubes, soap boxes (Photo 249), toothpaste tubes, toothbrushes (Photo 250), shaving razors, many broken pocket mirrors, and 45 mostly broken and outworn combs. The combination of finds from dumpsite 1 A, with 73 % of the items being either food, drink, or health and hygiene related, differed substantially from the finds in Area 4 (dumpsites 4 A–4 F). There are, however, resemblances with the other dumpsites in this area, dumpsite 2 A, and the dumpsites in Area 5, especially dumpsites 5 A and 5 B, when it comes to drink-related artefacts such as beer bottle caps and alcohol bottles. Uniform, ammunition and guns, and equipment-related items were also found in the dump pit. These included a Bakelite container containing bags with powder to reduce the muzzle flash of the Gebirgsgeschütz 36 cannon (Photo 244), a couple of German mess tin lids (Photo 236), many different types of German military uniform buttons, spent and unspent Mauser rifle and pistol cartridges and ammo clips, flashlight and radio batteries, etc. Smoking-related items consisted mainly of patriotic brass matchbox covers (Photo 247), fragments of cigarette packages, mouthpieces, and pipes. More unique finds include half-finished brass trench-art finger rings in different stages of manufacture (Photo 237), a perforated Soviet coin with the hammer and the sickle cut out (Photo 238), and a Luftwaffe visor cap eagle from which the swastika had been cut off (Photo 233). All of these items were found together in a small area and could be part of a trench-art making kit. A gilded civilian mountaineering brooch (Photo 234), a broken Reichsarbeitsdienst stick needle pin (Photo 233), two Christmas tree ornaments (Photo 242), a luggage tag (Photo 245), gaming pieces (Photo 248), a frame for a good luck coin (Photo 246), and twenty German, Norwegian, Soviet, and Finnish coins were also among the extremely varied group of personal and leisure-related small finds from this dumpsite. Fragments of cut wooden planks, planning chips, and pieces of carefully cut leather and rubber tire bits testify to work with these materials in the area between 1942 and 1944.

The many fragments of unburnt and burnt animal bones were well preserved and plentiful, allowing for detailed and representative osteological research. The animal bones were analysed in 2023 by osteoarchaeologist, PhD Katariina Nurminen. According to the results, the bone fragments from dumpsite 1 A belong to a wide variety of different species of fish (perch, pike, cod, turbot, herring, and different sorts of whitefish), birds (domestic chicken and common eider and unspecified waterfowl), and mammals (pig, grey seal, muskrat, and brown hare, and rat). The collection of bones inside one of the German iron food ration cans all belonged to a young chicken (Photo 231).

Photos 229–251. Dumpsite 1 A during excavation, and a small selection of small finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

7.2.2 Dumpsite 1 B

Dumpsite 1 B was discovered by archaeologist MA Teemu Väisänen during a metal detecting survey of the Ukrainerlager area during the excavations of dumpsite 1 B in 2018. The main part of the long and narrow dumpsite was situated almost in the middle of this part of the camp, just to the south of a narrow gravel road leading to the Uddskatan, the southernmost tip of Cape Tulliniemi (Map 11; Photo 252). The dumpsite was excavated as part of a conflict archaeology field school organized by Hangö Sommaruni in 2018 (Photos 252–253). Like dumpsite 1 A, dumpsite 1 B also contained a wide variety of German Second World War period items (Figure 3). A total of 549 artefacts (excl. the unburnt and burnt animal bones), all dating to the 1942– 1944 period, were found in the pit during the excavation (Photos 253–269; Appendix 4).

The trash had been randomly dumped in a ditch or trench-like depression running by the side of the road and left uncovered. The scattered artefacts gave the overall impression that the area had been used for waste disposal over a longer period sometime between 1942 and 1944. The find layer was intensely dark, coloured by charcoal and decomposed and burnt organic materials and melted glass (Photo 253).

Much like in the other dumps in this part of the camp the finds from this dump pit also included many iron and aluminium food ration cans (Photo 258), bottles (Photo 254), beer bottle caps, and wine bottle corks. In all, over 300 drink- and food-related artefacts (55% of all finds) of this type were recovered during the excavation (Figure 3). As in dumpsite 1 A, the third largest group of finds (some 15% of the total) consisted of health and hygiene related artefacts such as pocket mirrors (Photo 263), shaving razors (Photo 268), Eau de Cologne and other bottles (Photo 267), outworn and broken combs, toothbrushes, as well as medicine- and toothpaste-tubes. Other finds from the dump include a complete Luftwaffe porcelain canteen cup (Photo 255), a variety of metal, bakelite, and composite plastic containers (Photos 256 and 265), lighters (Photo 262), harmonicas (Photo 267), a part of a headset (Photo 266), and a fountain pen (Photo 269). Among the artefacts was also a Petsamo-Rovaniemi screw-back canteen badge (Photo 270), and a SA-Sportabzeichen badge (Photo 259), one of the few military awards found during the excavations. A rare fragment of a catholic rosary (Photo 257) testifies to the religious practices of the German soldiers during their furlough journeys. The only female-related artefact found in this part of the camp, an aluminum hairclip (Photo 264) was also found among the trash.

7.2.3 Dumpsite 1 C

Dumpsite 1 C was found by metal detectorist Lasse Nyman in the autumn of 2017. It was situated in the tree line just above the open area with plywood tents (Map 11). The trash had been deposited in a shallow (only 40 cm deep) irregular pit and left uncovered. No signs of the dumpsite itself except for a slight depression in the ground was visible before excavation (Photo 271).

The rather small dumpsite was like dumpsite 1 B excavated as part of a conflict archaeology field school organized by Hangö Sommaruni in 2018 (Photos 271–273). In all, 413 artefacts, all dating to the 1942–1944 period, were found during the excavation of the dumpsite (Photos 274–289; Appendix 5). The finds from dumpsite 1 C also included a variety of German Second World War period items, but the find layer was quite thin and the area of the dump site much smaller than the other dumpsites in the area.

The composition of finds was very similar to dumpsites 1 A and 1 B. The pit dumpsite contained many drink-and food-related artefacts such as iron and aluminium food-ration cans, alcohol bottles (Photo 280 and 287–288), a schnapps glass (Photo 277), and alcohol and beer bottle caps. In all, over 230 items belonging to these categories (57 % of the total finds) were found during the excavation (Figure 4).

Some 130 health and hygiene related items (13 % of the total finds) were also recovered from the dump (Figure 4). These finds mostly included combs, razors, broken and complete pocket mirrors (Photo 275), shoe polish containers (Photo 278), Eau de Cologne bottles (Photo 287), as well as toothpaste and medicine tubes. The few uniform-related artefacts mostly consisted of Ger-

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Photos 252–270. Dumpsite 1 B before and during excavation, and a small selection of excavation finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.


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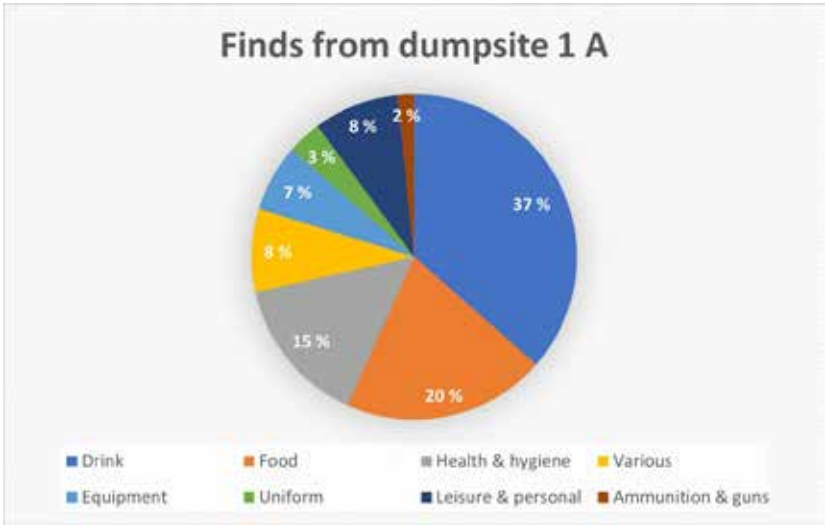
Photos 271–289. Dumpsite 1 C before and during excavation, photographed from the south, and a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

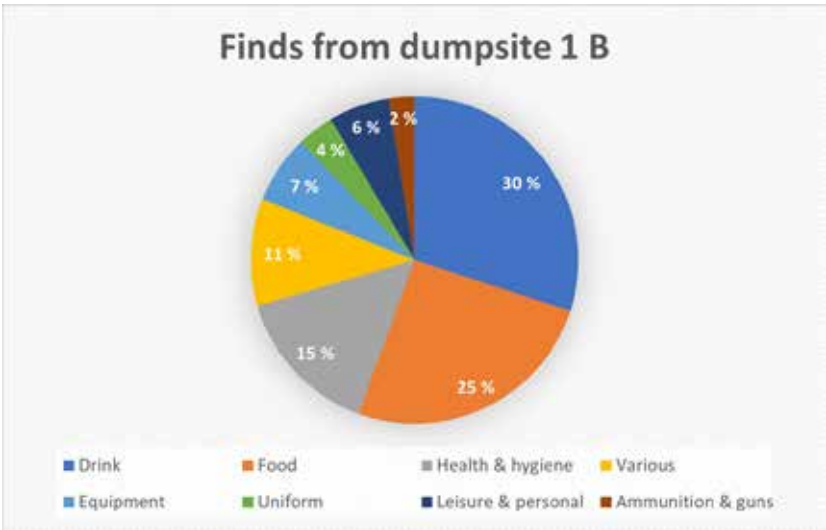
man uniform and underwear buttons, but rather surprisingly also a Polish pre-Second World War uniform button, possibly a war trophy (Photo 276). The equipment-related artefacts were quite rare and included an inscribed German mess tin lid (Photo 279), flashlight batteries, and different small containers made of Bakelite, iron, or composite plastic. Ammunition-and-gun-related artefacts were also scarce, and only included two spent Mauser rifle cartridges, two Mauser rifle ammo clips, and one unspent pistol cartridge. The personal and leisure-related artefacts included five German and three Finnish coins, a few keys and locks, and some other small items such as a harmonica and a part of a pocket watch (Photo 289). Smoking-related artefacts consisted mostly of cigarette packages and a couple of lighters and mouthpieces (Photo 283). Small cut and colourful plastic fragments were also found in this dump, possibly indicating work with making trench-art items by German soldiers. or more likely the Ukrainian Hilfswillige.

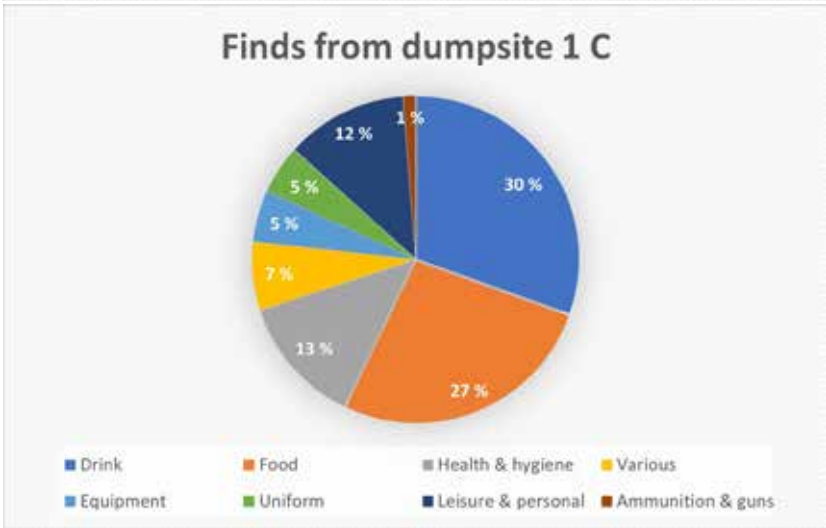
7.2.4 Interpretation of the finds from the dump sites of Area 1

The dumpsites of Area 1 were located very close to the barracks and plywood tents and almost in the middle of the Ukrainerlager area, which sets them apart from the other dumpsites of the camp (Map 11). As already stated, dumpsites 1 A, 1 B, and 1 C can all be classified as pit dumpsites below the ground surface. All three excavated dumpsites only contained finds from the 1942–1944 period and can therefore be considered closed find contexts. Although it is tempting to see the artefacts from the dumps exclusively as part of the materiality of the nearby Ukrainerlager and the Ukrainian Hilfswillige themselves, it is very difficult to prove that this is definitively the case. As trash usually does not travel very far, the artefacts can still be seen to reflect activities carried out in the southwestern area of the camp, and the artefacts found in the three dumpsites paint a uniform picture of the daily life in this area. The drink and food-related artefacts are especially abundant and point towards the rather frequent use of alcohol (Figures 2–4).

The food-related items mainly consist of two different sizes of standard German iron food-ration cans, civilian style food cans, as well as aluminium and iron Sardine cans. The markings AL-DIN 252 on one aluminum can show that it once contained condensed milk (Pool 2010: 52). Because of the heavy corrosion of the iron cans, it is however impossible to determine exactly what the food-ration cans and civilian style food cans once contained. Canned food was not normally used to feed large numbers of German soldiers in transition camps like Deutsches Lager Hanko (Pool 2010: 8). Instead, the camp had its own large kitchens and dining halls situated in the middle of the camp for this purpose (Map 9, Buildings 54 and 55). It is therefore possible that the food-ration cans found in the dumps were issued and originally used by German soldiers during the long train journey from northern Finland to Hanko. The iron food-ration cans might have been leftovers from the train journey and were possibly found and collected from the train cars during the cleaning process in the nearby harbour area. It is of course also possible that the food ration cans were used by the Ukrainian Hilfswillige themselves. This could possibly have taken place during the last months of Deutsches Lager Hanko when the camp was emptied by the Germans, and when canned food stored in the camp would have been readily available. The unfilled trash pits in the area might also point towards them still being used during the final months or days of the camp, much like in the case of the uncovered trash pits documented in Teillager 6 Sværholt in northern Norway (Farstadvoll et al. 2022: 101). The many German small finds might originate from cleaning the railway cars, the Soldatenheim canteen, or the nearby soldiers' barracks (Map 9). The items that had no value to the Ukrainians were then simply thrown into the trash pits or re-used and made into trench-art as evidenced by the small cut fragments of coloured plastic, the perforated and cut coins and insignia, as well as the unfinished brass finger rings. The large amount of beer bottle caps in all three dumpsites could point towards beer or pilsener having been purchased either from locals, in the nearby Soldatenheim canteen, or possibly the Lotta Svärd canteen in the northernmost part







Figures 2–4. Pie diagrams showing the similarities in the amounts of different types of finds from dumpsites 1 A–C.

of the camp. It is noteworthy that almost no beer bottles were found in the three dumpsites. This is probably because the locally produced beer bottles were re-used and that only the German beer and wine bottles were thrown in the dump pits. The various finds from area 1 contained many pieces of carefully cut leather fragments, shoes and shoe soles, and rubber tire pieces, which point towards shoe and boot repair work being done in this part of the camp. The similarities of these type of finds from the Ukrainerlager of Deutsches Lager Hanko to those of the Soviet prisoner of war camp Teillager 6 Sværholt in northern Norway is evident (Grabowski et al. 2014: 19).

The animal bones found in all the excavated dumpsites in Area 1 offer a rare glimpse into the culinary side of life of the German camp. It is quite evident that bones from fish such as cod, herring, and turbot, as well as bones from wild game such as grey seal, muskrat, and hare represent fauna that could not have been hunted or fished by the German soldiers or Ukrainian Hilfswillige in the shallow waters surrounding the camp. The multitude of bone fragments therefore probably represent remains of fish and game, and possibly also other types of meat, that was caught, hunted, or bred by locals. Meat and fish were traded by the locals and consumed by the Hilfswillige or the German soldiers who were permanently stationed in the camp. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that forming friendships and contacts with people who could acquire fresh fish and meat in Hanko would have been much more difficult for regular German soldiers during their short transit through the camp. The food remains in the dumpsites also attracted rats. Macrofossil analysis of soil samples taken during the excavation of dumpsite 1 A showed a large amount of charcoal, but almost no signs of charred seeds or plant remains. As with most of the artefacts, the bones and macrofossils that were found in the dumpsite showed no sign of burning; however, it could be positively determined that fires had not been set in the pit itself, but rather that charred remains from trash pyres or ovens had been disposed of in the pit on several different occasions.

7.3 The dumpsite of Area 2 – Schwesternunterkünfte, Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge and Stammoffiziersunterkunft

The northwestern part of the camp situated some 200 meters to the north of the Ukrainerlager, provided the inhabitants of the area with a small secluded sandy beach and a scenic sea-view to the north (Map 10 and Map 12). Many old wind-torn pine trees probably grew in the area and added to the scenic nature of this part of the camp in 1942–1944, much like they still do today (Photo 290). A dense network of Soviet defensive trenches and dugouts built in 1940–1941 formed the backdrop to the thirteen different barracks in this part of the camp between 1942–1944.

The water outside this area is very shallow and as such not very well suited for swimming. According to an aerial surveillance photo from

Photo 290. Soldiers from Finnisches Freiwilligen- Bataillon der Waffen-SS on the beach in the western part of Area 2 in June-July 1943. The officers' dining hall can be seen in the background. Photo in a private collection.

1942 a very long and a narrow jetty leading from the shore beneath the officers' dining hall to deeper water was built in the summer of 1942 (Photo 136). The jetty was very short-lived and was probably soon demolished by the ice and waves, as it does not appear in any of the later air surveillance photos of the camp. According to photographs taken by German soldiers, the cliffs and the sandy beach in the southwestern part of the area were frequently visited by German soldiers staying in the camp (Photos 86–87; 89–90; 290).

After the Second World War all of the buildings in the area were sold, dismantled, and transported to other locations, with the exception of the barracks for the German staff officers and the sauna (Map 12, Buildings 117 and 118). The staff officers' barracks was inhabited by the family of war historian Pekka Silvast until the late 1950s when it burned to the ground. Silvast later claimed that the commander of the 20th Mountain Army, German general Eduard Dietl, had been housed in the barrack when he inspected the camp in 1943 (Pekka Silvast 2015, per-

Map 12. Area 2. The excavation area of dumpsite 2 A marked with a red square. The 13 barracks in the area consisted of two German Red Cross barracks (buildings 112–114), two Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge barracks (buildings 110–111), the officers' dining hall (building 115, the staff officers' barracks (building 118), and three officers' barracks (buildings 116 and 120–121) and a sauna (building 117). The rainwater well near the dining hall is marked with a red circle. and three latrines (buildings 110, 113 and 119). The large Soldatenheim canteen (building 109) was situated just tens of meters to the southeast of the barracks of the female auxiliaries. Map by Marjo Karppanen and Jan Fast.

sonal communication). This is possible, but as the inspection report from his visit in 1943 is lost it cannot be verified.

Today, only parts of five of the structures remain visible above ground. These include remains of the northern part of the stone foundation of the northernmost barracks for the female members of the German Red Cross, two brick foundations for the ovens of the officers' dining hall, the concrete floor of the officers' sauna, and the nearby rainwater well (Chapter 6.1.3.3). The Soviet entrenchments and dugouts in the area have been filled in or collapsed (Photo 291).

Due to its interesting history connected to the German officers and female auxiliaries, and its assumed natural state of preservation, the area was subjected to metal detecting and other field surveys already from the start of the research. Finding German dumpsites, however proved to be more difficult than expected, and only very few scattered artefacts from 1942–1944 surfaced during the initial searches. In 2017 a coordinated metal detecting survey finally resulted in finding an untouched German dumpsite in the area.

7.3.1 Dumpsite 2 A

Dumpsite 2 A was situated just to the southwest of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge barracks, some 40 meters west-southwest from the Soldatenheim canteen building (Map 12). The trash had been deposited in the bottom of an approximately one-meter-deep Soviet trench running in the direction of the beach. At some point the entire trench had been covered with sand and gravel, and no sign of the dumpsite except for a very shallow depression was visible above ground before excavation (Photo 291). The fact that the layer of trash had been covered with over 50 centimetres of coarse sand and gravel also meant that the metal detecting signals were very weak and made the dump extremely difficult to find. It is therefore possible that other similar dumps remain hidden and undetected in this part of the camp.

Part of the dumpsite was excavated in 2018 during a conflict archaeology field school organized by Hangö Sommaruni (Photos 292–295). The total excavated area was ten square meters, and most of the finds were found at the bottom of the trench at a depth of almost one meter below ground surface. All of the excavation finds were from the 1942–1944 period.

Photo 291. Metal detectorist Lasse Nyman (in the foreground) and the author standing in the far ends of dumpsite 2 A. The filled-in trench is visible as a shallow depression on the ground surface. Photo Teemu Väisänen.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Photos 292–307. Dumpsite 2 A before and during excavation (top) photographed from the west, and a small selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

7.3.2 Interpretation of the dumpsite in Area 2

The artefacts found in dumpsite 2 A (Appendix 6) differ somewhat in composition from the other excavated dumpsites of Deutsches Lager Hanko and include many porcelain items such as cups and plates made by the Finnish company Arabia in Helsinki (Photos 296–307). Altogether 602 food and drink-related artefacts were found in the dump, making up 86 % of all items (Figure 5). The finds include 139 Bona Tilsiter cheese tubes (Photo 299), 81 iron and aluminium food ration cans, a large cucumber can (Photo 298), and 34 wine bottles, most of them large one-litre bottles (Photo 296), 295 beer bottle caps, and one ceramic beer bottle cap (Photo 307). The large amount food and drink-related artefacts, and especially the many broken Arabia canteen porcelain cups (Photos 304–305), porcelain plates (Photo 306), beer bottle caps, and cheese-tubes suggest that at least part of the trash in dumpsite 2 A could have originated from activities in the nearby Soldatenheim canteen or the officers' dining hall. Health and hygiene-related artefacts such as broken pocket mirrors (Photo 301), toothpaste tubes, perfume and Eau de Cologne bottles, shoe polish containers, and medicine bottles and ampoules were only found in very small amounts. Uniform-related artefacts like buttons, coins, and equipment items were almost non-existent compared to the other dumps in the camp. A civilian style porcelain tea pot (Photo 300), fragments from two vinyl records (Photos 302–303), an ordinary clay flowerpot, and some well-preserved cigarette packages (Photo 297) were also among the finds. The lack of small finds could point towards these items being from the daily cleaning of the Soldatenheim canteen, or that some of the refuse from the nearby barracks was dumped elsewhere, possibly the Ukrainerlager area. Due to the vicinity to the barracks of the female auxiliaries of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge and the German Red Cross, some of the small finds, like for example the record fragments and the small tea pot, could be part of their personal possessions, but this can of course not be definitively proven.

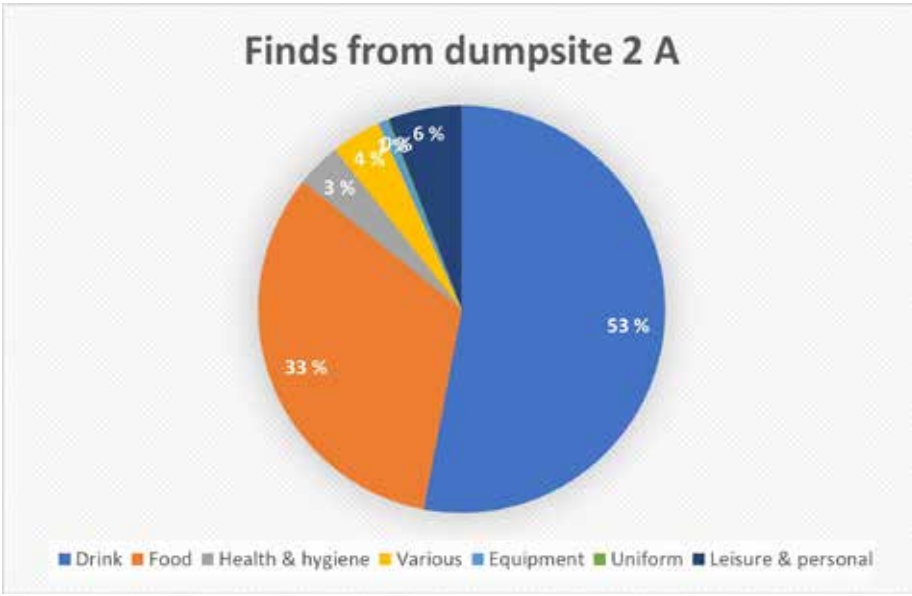


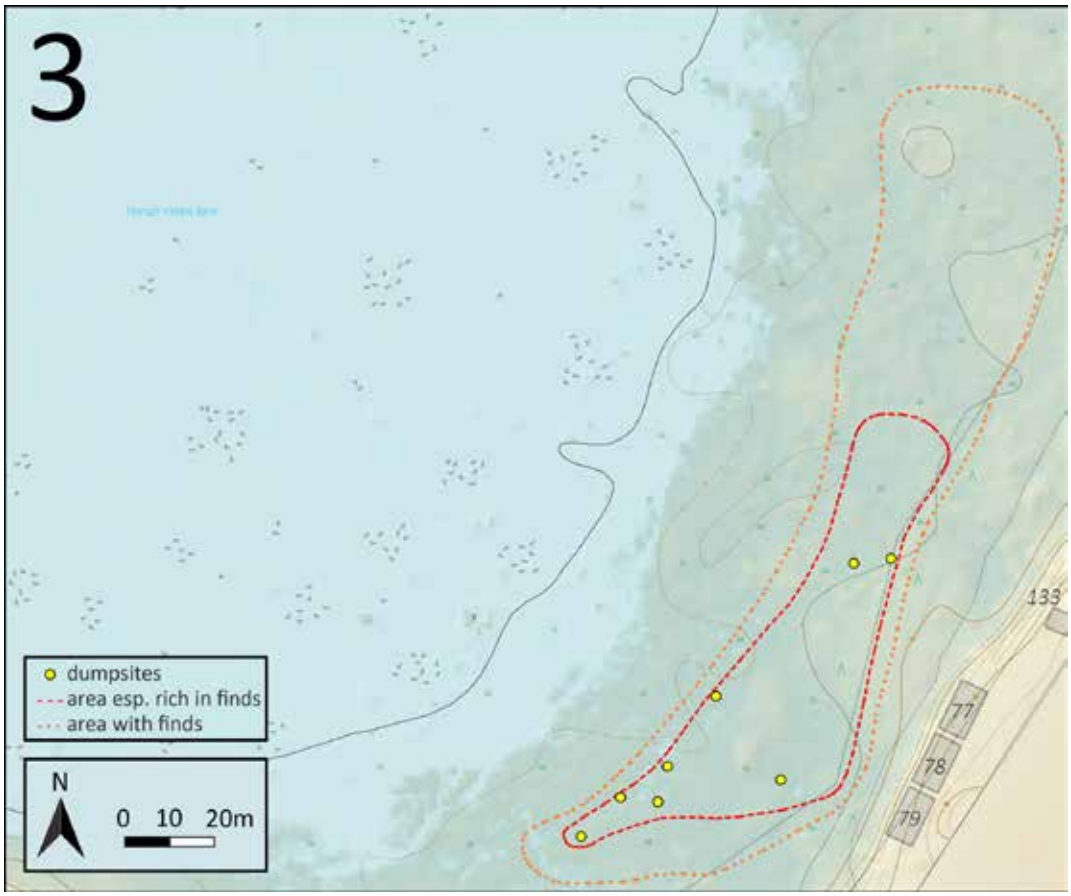
Figure 5. Pie diagram showing the relative amounts of different types of finds in dumpsite 2 A.

7.4 The dumpsites of Area 3– Mannschaftsbaracken

7.4.1 Dumpsites in Area 3

Area 3 was discovered in the fall of 2022, when it was cleared of trash and shrubbery as part of its planned future use as a multilayered nature reserve. During the clearing work the project volunteers working in the area noticed large amounts of porcelain fragments, sherds of window glass and other artefacts caught between the roots of large trees that had fallen during a storm (Photo 308). The finds were reported, and the very low-lying and flat area was inspected, mapped, and surveyed as part of this thesis in October 2022, and again in May 2023 and May 2024. During these conflict archaeology and metal-detecting surveys, concentrations of Second World War items such as metal, glass, and porcelain fragments were found in at least eight different locations covering a 2 000 square meter area close to the present beach line (Map 9; Map 13).

The conditions for metal detecting in the area were extremely difficult, as the soil was so full of fragments of iron and other metals that picking up identifiable signals of items that could be excavated was almost impossible. Despite these difficulties, the entire area containing Second World War period finds and all of the separate smaller dumpsites within it that were especially rich in finds were mapped with GPS and using a total station (Map 13). All of the artefacts recovered from Area 3 were found in the 10–20 cm thick turf in the topsoil. There were no observations of pit dumps, and as a result the area can be classified as a large dumping ground consisting of many densely located separate smaller dump sites on ground level.



Map 13. Area 3. The locations of dumpsites especially rich in finds, marked with yellow dots and a red dotted line. The whole area containing Second World War finds is marked with an orange dotted line. Map by Marjo Karppanen.

Area 3 differs significantly from the other areas in the camp with dumpsites. The first difference is its size: compared to the other excavated dumpsites, Area 3 is vast. Secondly, the finds from this area are very different than the artefacts from other dumpsites. The finds from Area 3 mostly contain large amounts of broken window glass, large amounts of mostly unmarked or predominately Soviet porcelain (Photos 310–311), and finds that can be associated with cars or car batteries (Photo 312). Only very few artefacts that can definitively be associated with German soldiers was found during the field surveys of Area 3.

7.4.2 Interpretation of the dumpsites in Area 3

Due to the lack of large-scale excavations in the area, it is almost impossible to make any interpretations about the use and formation of the dumpsites in Area 3. A general discussion about the different alternatives for the use of the area suggests at least three different possible explanations for its existence.

The lease agreement between Finland and Germany contained a clause about keeping the area of the German camp clean and tidy during its use as a transition camp, and that garbage should be transported away from the area. A large open-air dumping ground would therefore have probably been out of the question during the occupation

Photos 308–312. Area 3, photographed from the northeast and northwest in October 2022 (top row). Fragments of Russian Red Navy, Komintern plates, and unmarked porcelain items (bottom left and middle) were caught in the roots of fallen trees. The black bituminous coal staff made by C. Condraty in Nürnberg (bottom right) was the only definitely German item that was found during surveys of the area in 2022 and 2023. Photos Jan Fast.

of the camp. It is possible that the main part of the dumpsite in Area 3 was formed after 1944 when the German barracks of the camp were dismantled, which might also explain the large amounts of broken window glass. The multitude of Soviet porcelain fragments and the lack of German finds in the area could also point towards the area having been used as a dumping ground in 1940–1941, before the German camp was built. During this period the area was situated on the outskirts of the large Soviet naval base of Hanko and housed large numbers of Soviet troops manning the defensive positions on the cape (Nyström 1984: 72). During this period, Area 3 could very well have been used for dumping trash. The third perhaps most plausible explanation is that the finds from the area belong to many different periods of garbage disposal. This would make it practically impossible to accurately place finds from Area 3 in the context of Deutsches Lager Hanko during the short 1942–1944 that is the focus of this thesis.

To obtain more information about Area 3, large-scale archaeological trial excavations are called for in the future. It is only after such excavations that definitive answers to questions about the formation of the large dumping ground and its use during the Second World War period can be obtained.

7.5 The dumpsites of Area 4 – Entlausungsdorf west

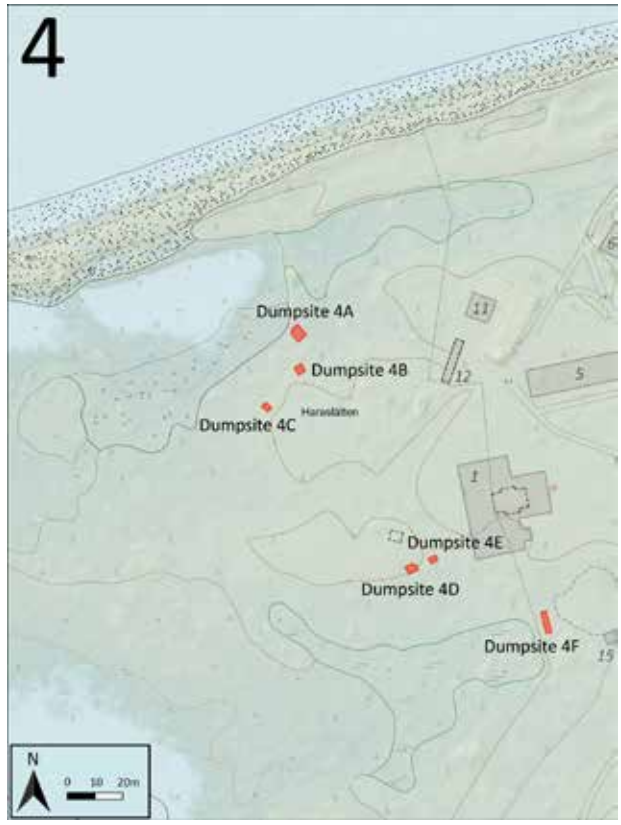
Area 4, situated to the west of the barracks of the delousing area is characterized by a low-lying, partly forested and flat landscape, much like Area 3 (Map 9; Map 14). The vegetation consists of different grasses, junipers, and pine trees (Photo 313). The flat landscape is subjected to rising sea levels and winds from the open sea during autumn and winter. It was probably for this reason that it was not found suitable for the housing of troops, and subsequently no barracks were built in this area between 1942 and 1944. Only three Second World war structures remain in the immediate vicinity of the dumpsites in the area. A massive square-shaped concrete foundation from Entlausungsanstalt 1 (Map 14, Building 1), a large circular rainwater well made of concrete nearby, and a latrine, Abortbaracke 12 (Map 14, Building 12). In the area of dumpsite 4 C, a rectangular square-shaped pit was visible above ground before excavation. The soil beneath the turf layer in this area consists of very fine sand and, stones and pebbles.

Coordinated scientific metal detecting surveys of Area 4 were carried out under my supervision on several different occasions between 2016 and 2018 (Photo 313). During the surveys, six separate dumpsites with discarded waste were found in the area. Four of these dumpsites can be classified as dumpsites on ground level (Map 14, dumpsites 4 A–B and 4 D–F), and one as a dump pit below ground level (Map 14, dumpsite 4 C). The metal detecting surveys were followed up by archaeological excavations of areas 4 A–C in 2017, Areas 4 D–E in 2018, and Area 4 F in 2016–2017. All excavations were organized as conflict archaeology field schools at Hangö Sommaruni.

7.5.1 Dumpsite 4 A

Dumpsite 4 A was the northernmost of the dumpsites in the area. It was situated 60 meters to the south of the seashore in a low-lying, windy area on the outer western perimeter of the Entlausungsdorf area (Map 14). The dump was found by Lasse Nyman in the spring of 2017 during a metal detecting survey of the area. No German Second World War finds or other telltale signs of a dumpsite were visible above ground before excavation. The dumpsite was excavated in July 2017 during a community archaeology conflict archaeology field school arranged by Hangö Sommaruni (Photo 314–315). All of the finds from the dumpsite were concentrated in the 10– 15 cm thick topsoil, giving the impression of trash that had simply been emptied out from trash cans or buckets directly onto the ground surface during several different occasions. Except for a couple of aluminium sardine cans and two period beer bottles, all of the finds from the dumpsite were pocket-sized or smaller. In all, 1 692 German finds, varied and mostly small sized, from the 1942–1944 period were recovered during the excavation (Photos 310–324; Appendix 7). The three largest find categories included finds related to uniforms, health and hygiene, and

Photo 313. Metal detectorists Lasse Nyman (left) and Hans von Mitzlaff (right) surveying the dumpsites in Area 4 in 2017. Photo Jan Fast.



Map 14. Area 4. The location of excavated dumpsites 4 A–F in the western part of the delousing area, marked with red. Building number 1 is Entlausungsanstalt 1, and building number 12 is Abortbaracke 12. The large rainwater well is marked with a red circle. Map by Marjo Karppanen and Jan Fast.

equipment, making up 77 % of the total number of finds (Figure 6). This made the dump very different from the dumpsites in Area 1, Area 2, and Area 5, where drink and food-related items were dominant.

Over 600 of the finds were uniform-related and mostly consisted of uniform buttons, but also included artefacts such as a Wehrmacht or Waffen-SS shoulder board rank pip (Photo 324), a fragment of a German officer's cap insignia and a canteen-bought Kirkenes-Petsamo-Murmansk screw-back pin badge (Photo 317). The 494 health and hygiene related artefacts included many comb fragments, medicine tubes (Photo 330), soap boxes, condoms, broken pocket mirrors (Photos 322 and 324), medicine ampoules, medicine containers (Photo 327), syringe bottles (Photo 326), and syringe bottle caps. The equipment-related items formed the third largest group of finds, mainly consisting of tent canvas buttons and grommets, Losantine gas contamination tablet containers (Photo 319), flashlight batteries, and gasmask lens covers. The personal and leisure and religion-related items were extremely varied and included many different types of artefacts, such as a beautiful brass rosary chain with a crucifix (Photo 316), a rosary ring (Photo 319), broken eyeglass frames (Photo 327), coins, pencils, erasers (Photo 318), gaming pieces, and a die (Photo 323). Smoking-related items such as pipe bowls and many mouthpieces (Photo 321) were also found in this dump. Almost no animal bones were found in the dump, suggesting that different kinds of activities took place in this area than in Area 1 and Area 5, or that the source of the trash was different. The lack of alcohol bottles and food-ration cans is also a prominent feature of this dump that sets it apart from the dumpsites in Areas 1, 2, 3 and 5 of Deutsches Lager Hanko.

7.5.2 Dumpsite 4 B

Dumpsite 4 B was situated in an area of boulders just some 15 meters to the southeast of dumpsite 4 A, on the outer western perimeter of the delousing area (Map 14; Photos 331–333). It was found by Lasse Nyman during the excavation of dumpsite 4 A in the summer of 2017. No German Second World War finds were visible above ground before excavation. Like dumpsite 4 A this dump can also be classified as a dumpsite on ground level although much smaller in size. A total of 278 artefacts were found during the excavation in 2017 (Photos 334–348; Appendix 8). Like dumpsite 4 A, all of the finds from dumpsite 4 B were concentrated in the 10–15 cm thick topsoil. The composition of finds is also very similar to dumpsite 4 A, and in this dumpsite too most of the finds were very small in size and gave the same impression of trash that had simply been spread out on the ground surface.

The small size of the finds area suggests that trash was dumped in this location only once or a maximum of a couple of times. Health and hygiene and uniform-related finds were the most abundant, and formed 64 % of the finds (Figure 7). Uniform and other buttons were especially common (Photos 345–348). The other finds were extremely varied and included many personal items such as finger rings (Photo 335), a hair comb (Photo 342), a label to a package of surrogate fig coffee (Photo 334), a brass patriotic matchbox cover (Photo 339), and newspaper fragments (Photo 340). Mixed with the many small finds were many Losantine gas decontamination tablet containers, gas mask lens covers, gaming pieces, and a variety of different tubes and metal containers (Photos 337–338). A few Mauser rifle cartridge shells (Photo 343) were also found among the trash. Food-and-drink-related items were almost totally absent except for a few beer bottle caps and a couple of Norwegian aluminium sardine cans. A field-made brass item (Photo 336) and a Winterhilfswerk "Hexe" (witch)-figurine, both from 1944, could suggest that this small dump is from that year (Photo 341).

7.5.3 Dumpsite 4 C

Dumpsite 4 C was situated some 20 meters to the southwest of dumpsite 4 B (Map 14). A square-shaped depression was the only visible sign of the dump site above ground, and the excavation area followed the outline of the depression. Here too no German Second World War finds were visible above ground before excavation. The dumpsite was found by metal detectorist Lasse Nyman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Photos 314–330. Dumpsite 4 A during the excavation in July 2017, photographed from the south and north, as well as a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

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Photos 331–348. Dumpsite 4 B during the excavation in July 2017, photographed from the northeast and southwest, as well as a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

during a coordinated metal detecting survey of the area in the spring of 2017 and was excavated in July 2017 together with dumpsites 4 A and 4 B (Photos 349–351).

Dumpsite 4 C was the only pit dump site below ground surface in Area 4. All of the trash had been deposited in the bottom of a shallow 60 cm square 2 x 2 m square shaped pit and left uncovered. The finds were found at the bottom of the pit underneath the rather thick 10–40 cm thick topsoil. Because the pit had been dug at a low elevation and close to the shoreline, the bottom of the pit filled up with seawater during excavation, making the recovery of artefacts difficult. Only 70 artefacts were found during the excavation (Appendix 9). The finds were much like those from the other dumpsites in this area, with the difference that ammunition and gun-related artefacts consisting mainly of unspent Mauser rifle or pistol cartridges and ammo clips, were more common in this dump than in the others (Figure 8). Only one wine bottle, a few beer bottle caps, and a couple of aluminium food ration cans were discovered in the pit. Other items included Losantine gas decontamination tablet containers, soap boxes, toothbrushes, hair combs, and leather fragments. Personal and leisure related artefacts were totally absent from the dump. Finds of a denture and a pivot possibly indicated that this dump had been used for disposal of trash related to dentistry or dental work performed somewhere in this part of the camp (Photos 352–353).

7.5.4 Dumpsite 4 D

Dumpsite 4 D was discovered in the autumn of 2017 during a metal detecting survey by Finnish metal detectorist Lasse Nyman and German metal detectorist Hans von Mitzlaff (Photo 313). During the survey two blank German dog tags, a few German uniform buttons, and other small items were found spread out in the area (Map 14). No signs of the dump where visible above ground before excavation. Although the dumpsite seemed quite dispersed and did not appear to be very large, it was excavated as part of a conflict archaeology field school arranged by Hangö Sommaruni in July 2018 (Photos 354–355). All of the 81 finds were found in the 10 cm thick topsoil, and like most of the other dumpsites in Area 4 this one can also be classified as a surface dumpsite. The scarce and scattered finds could point towards the area having been used for dumping trash for only a very limited amount of time (Photos 356–366; Appendix 10).

The excavation finds mostly consisted of health and hygiene and uniform-related items (Figure 9). The mixed finds included a few medicine bottles (Photo 364), a soap box (Photo 357), an Aspirin container (Photo 356), medicine tubes, military buttons, three blank German dog tags, a Wehrmacht "Gefreiter" sleeve chevron (Photo 358) and a Wehrmacht or Waffen-SS shoulder board rank pip (Photo 358). Other finds from the dump included Losantine gas decontamination tablet containers (Photos 365–366), a spent German flare cartridge (Photo 363), Finnish and German coins, a glass stopper (Photo 360), a few leather fragments, as well as fragments of textile and paper from books and newspapers (Photos 361–361).

7.5.5 Dumpsite 4 E

Dumpsite 4 E was discovered by archaeologist MA Teemu Väisänen using a metal detector during the excavation of dumpsite 4 D in 2018. It was situated just some ten meters to the southwest from dumpsite 4 D, and although no finds were made in the area separating the two it is probably a part of that same dumpsite or activity area (Map 14; Photos 367–368). Eighty-one German Second World War finds were found during the excavation (Photos 369–375; Appendix 11).

The find context and finds from dumpsite 4 E correlated with the observations from the excavation of dump site 4 D. Uniform and health and hygiene related items formed 52 % of the total number of finds in this area (Figure 10). The scattered finds, such as an Eau de Cologne bottle (Photo 371), a German dog tag (Photo 370), a Bona Tilsiter cheese tube (Photo 376), German uniform buttons (Photo 372), cigarette packages (Photo 373), and newspaper fragments (Photos 374–375) in the topsoil do not allow for any broader conclusions, but suggest that the area had been used as a dumpsite for only for a very short time, or that the finds had been deposited in the area during some other type of activity in this general area between 1942–1944.

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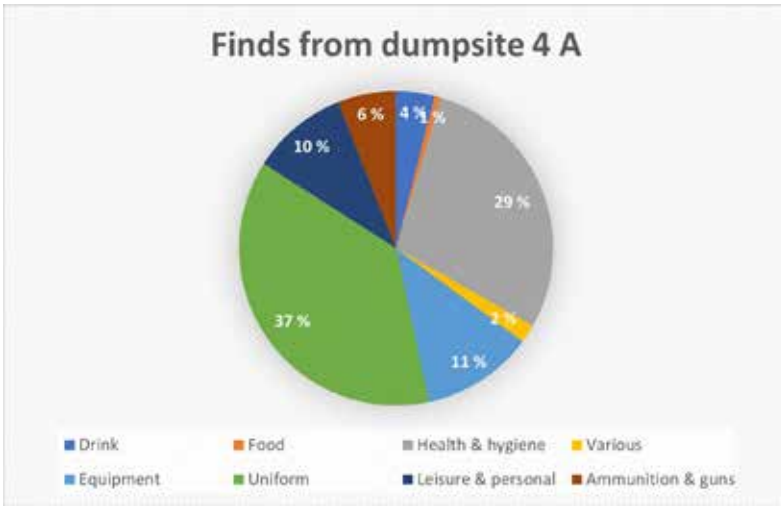
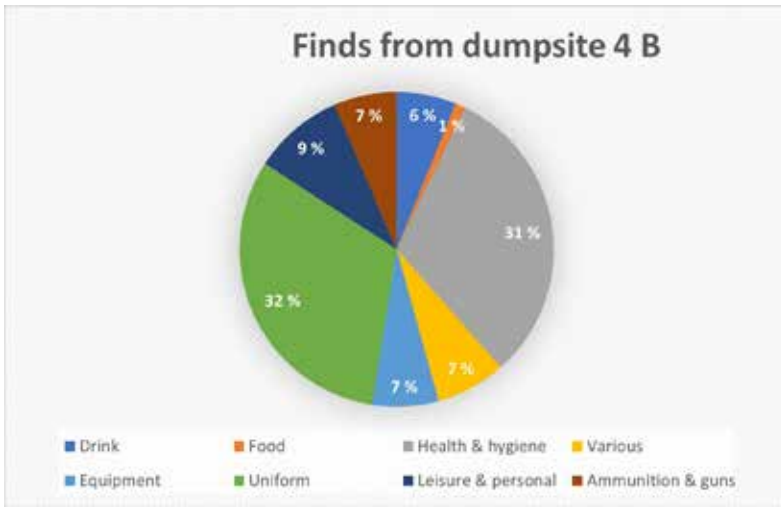
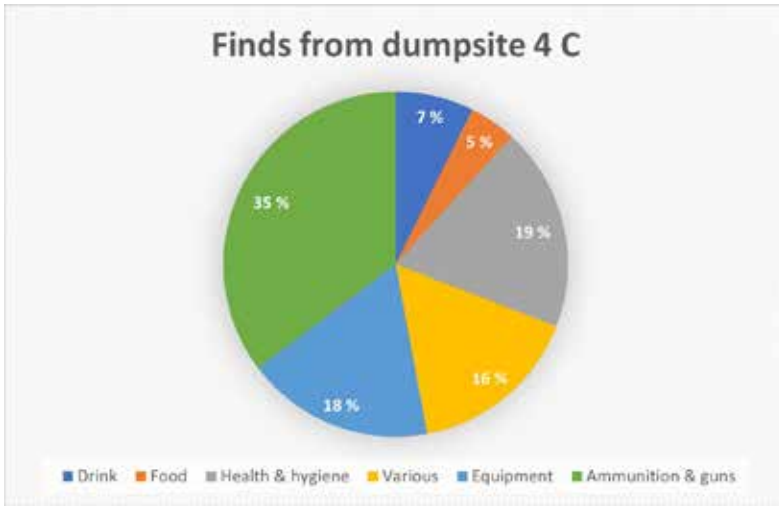
Photos 349–353. Pit dumpsite 4 C during the excavation in July 2017, and the denture and the pivot found in the pit. Photos Jan Fast.







Figures 6–8. Pie diagrams showing the relative amounts of different types of finds in dumpsites 4 A–C. Uniform- related finds were much more common in these dumps than in the other dumps of the camp.

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Photos 354–366. Dumpsite 4 D during the excavation in July 2018, photographed from the south (top left) and southwest (top right), as well as a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

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Photos 367–375. Dumpsite 4 E during the excavation in July 2018, photographed from the south (top left) and northwest (top right), and a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

7.5.6 Dumpsite 4 F

When looking closely at the original map of the camp a hand-drawn strange irregular feature can be observed immediately to the west of the Mannschaftsbaracke – HBK 64 building. The feature is not explained on the map but could possibly indicate a large dump pit or trash heap in this area (Maps 5, 6 and 9). The only area with a concentration of finds in this exact part of the camp was dumpsite 4 F. The dumpsite was situated just some 30 meters to the west from Mannschhaftsbaracke 4, the living quarters of Heeres Betreeungskolonne 64, and some 40 meters south-southeast from Entlausungsanstalt II (Map 14, Building 2).

The excavation of the dumpsite was conducted as a pedagogic conflict archaeology project with students from Hangö gymnasium and Hankoniemen lukio in 2016 (Photos 376–377). Some additional fieldwork around the outer perimeter of the 2016 excavation area was done as part of the community archaeology conflict archaeology field school arranged by Hangö Sommaruni in 2017. The total excavated area was 26 square meters, and all of the finds were concentrated in the approximately 15 cm thick topsoil. The find context can best be described as a 10 x 4 m open dumpsite on ground level. A total of 590 artefacts were found during the excavations (Photos 378–393; Appendix 12).

The finds were varied but mostly consisted of items related to uniforms, equipment, or health and hygiene, and contained among many other things unspent condoms (Photo 378), a pair of broken military issue sunglasses (Photo 379), a gas mask container and other strap ends (Photos 384 and 389), as well as Eau de Cologne and medicine bottles (Photo 382). Artefacts related to food and drink were more common in this dump than in the other dumpsites in area 4 (Figure 11). These included fragments of wine and other alcohol bottles as well as porcelain bottle tops of different manufacture (Photo 385). Other finds belonging to this category were two German porcelain artefacts consisting of a cup and a bowl (Photo 343) with Wehrmacht markings. The markings on the bottom of the porcelain bowl indicate that it was made in 1940 in Kolmar (Chodzież), a town in northwestern Poland. Two canteen rings, one marked Petsamo (Photo 388) and another one with the Finnish Coat of Arms (Photo 387), and a field-made aluminium ring with a heart inlay and the year 1944 (Photo 386), along with a German wound badge in black, missing its needle (Photo 380), stand out among the finds. The buttons include uniform buttons from the Wehrmacht, the Kriegsmarine, and the only SS-marked button found during the excavations. A rare Catholic silver crucifix (Photo 391) and a French coin was found during the metal detecting of the perimeter of Entlausunganstalt I.

One Organisation Todt and several blank German dog tags, and two Finnish Second World War dog tags, were found among the German artefacts during the excavations of dumpsite 4 F (Photo 381). According to information in the National Archives of Finland, one of the Finnish dog tags belonged to a Finnish soldier serving in prisoner of war camp Sotavankileiri 9 in Kemi in northern Finland. The Soviet prisoners of war from this camp were transported to Hanko in the autumn of 1944 before being sent back to the Soviet Union, and it is probable that the Finnish soldier either lost or got rid of his dog tag during this time. The marked German dog tag is for a member of Organisation Todt but could not be researched further because of the strict laws regarding confidentiality of personal information in Germany.

The finds from dumpsite 4 F also include two named brass tags of two different German soldiers. One tag bears the text GEFR. KÖHL LUDWIG GEW. N. 9120 (Photo 392), and the other UFFZ.S (T?) ÄGER FR. 44102 (Photo 393). Research on the Feldpost number 44 102 on the latter brass tag reveals that at the time the marking was made this German officer served in the 2. Kompanie Gebirgs-Pionier-Bataillon 82. The unit fought in Poland before being transferred to Norway and later to Lapland, where it participated in the German attack on the Soviet Union in the far north and fought in the battles of the Arctic front as part of the 2. Gebirgs-Division from 1941 to 1944.


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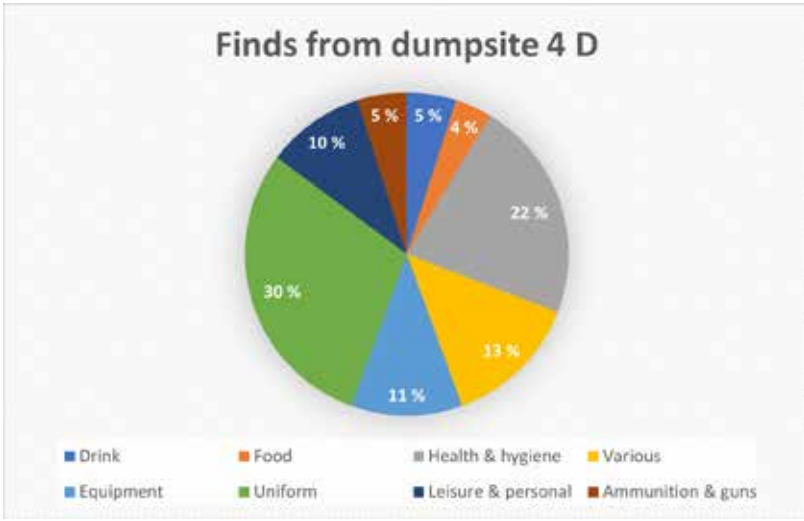
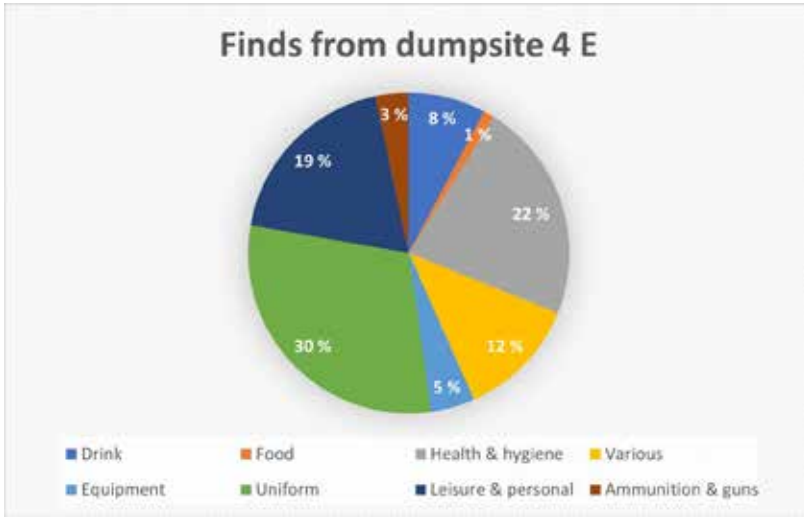
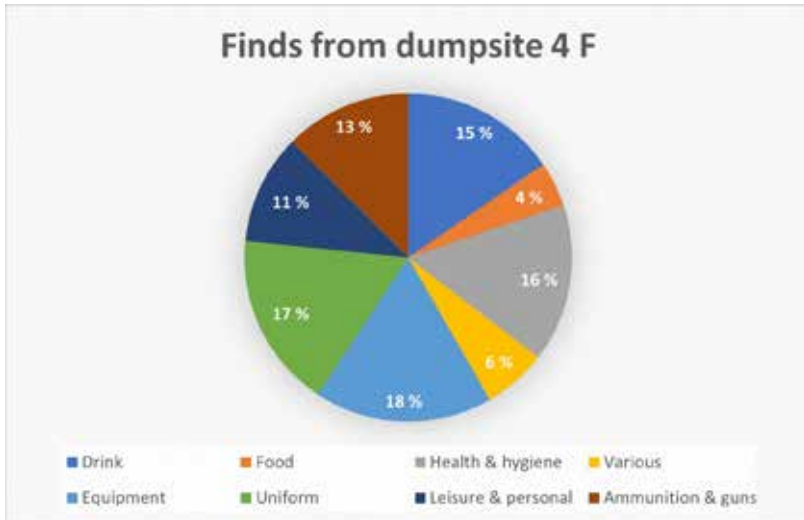
Photos 376–393. Dumpsite 4 F during the excavation in May 2016, photographed from the northeast (top left) and north northwest (top right), and a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.







Figures 9–11. Pie diagrams showing the relative amounts of different types of finds in dumpsites 4 D – F.

7.5.7 Interpretation of the dumpsites in area 4

The flat area on the western outskirt of the delousing area of the camp would have been well suited for the disposal of trash from this part of the camp, but for some reason it seems to have been used for this purpose only very randomly. Most probably the reason for this was the strict regulations regarding the sanitary conditions of this part of the camp, which was visited by thousands of German soldiers every week. The dumpsites on the ground surface in Area 4 were all quite similar, and mainly consisted of small finds related to uniforms and health and hygiene. It is possible that the large number of small finds from dumpsites 4 A, 4 B, and 4 D can be associated with the daily activities of the nearby Entlausungsanstalt 1. The items found during the excavations of these dumpsites could represent artefacts lost or forgotten in the pockets of soldiers' uniforms and then lost or discarded during the delousing process, and occasionally dumped in the vicinity of the delousing facility. The almost total lack of alcohol bottles, beer bottle caps, and food-ration cans, except for dumpsite 4 F, set the dumps apart from the other dump sites of Deutsches Lager Hanko (Figures 6–11). The lack of these types of artefacts which are very common in the excavated dumps of Areas 1, 2 and 5 suggests that food and drink was not consumed in this part of the camp, or at least in the area from where the trash originates.

A feature on the original map that could be interpreted as a large trash heap or dump pit near the Mannschaftsbaracke 4 – HBK 64 building might, however, point to a collection point for larger trash from this part of the camp (Map 5). Although it is possible that trash could have been transported elsewhere during the 1942–1944 period, or been collected after the camp was abandoned, the almost total lack of lack of beer bottle caps and glass bottle fragments still points towards the first hypothesis.

The overall slightly different combination of finds in dumpsite 4 F compared to the other dumpsites in the area can probably best be explained by its location in the vicinity of Mannschaftsbaracke 4 – HBK 64. Most of the trash in this dump, such as the porcelain plate and cup fragments and bottles, probably originates from here, and represents a fraction of the material record of the Heeres Betreeungskompanie 64 soldiers' daily life in the delousing part of the camp.

7.6 The dumpsites of Area 5 – Entlausungsdorf northeast and the north beach

This area in the northeast part of the Entlausungsdorf forms the northernmost perimeter of the camp (Map 10). Its main feature is a long beach consisting mostly of pebbles and stones that runs for hundreds of meters from west to east along the seafront. A low beach wall is situated near the tree line to the south of the beach. The beach wall was used for military purposes by Soviet forces, who in 1940–1941 built defensive entrenchments and gun positions behind it to prevent a landing on the beaches by Finnish or German forces. Behind this beach wall is a flat wooded area with pine trees and an undergrowth of twigs, shrubs, and moss (Photo 394). The northernmost barracks of the delousing area are situated some 50 meters south of the beach line (Map 15).

The surroundings of the barracks in Area 5 were subjected to scientific metal detecting and other surveys already in 2014, but the results were quite poor, as the area closer to the barracks was littered with modern trash. In 2016 the focus was instead turned towards the northern beach area (dumpsite 5 D), which according to a photo found on German eBay was used for cleaning activities by German soldiers. In 2018 two untouched dumpsites, 5 A and 5 B, were discovered just south of the north beach and excavated in 2019. Dumpsite 5 C, near the collapsed remains of Mannschaftsbaracke 9, was discovered during the excavations of dumpsites 5 A and 5 C, and it too was excavated in 2019. The three undisturbed German pit dumpsites are standard dump pits situated below ground. The pits had been covered with sand soon after their use and only contained items from the 1942–1944 period and can therefore be considered closed find contexts. Dumpsite 5 D is an activity area on the

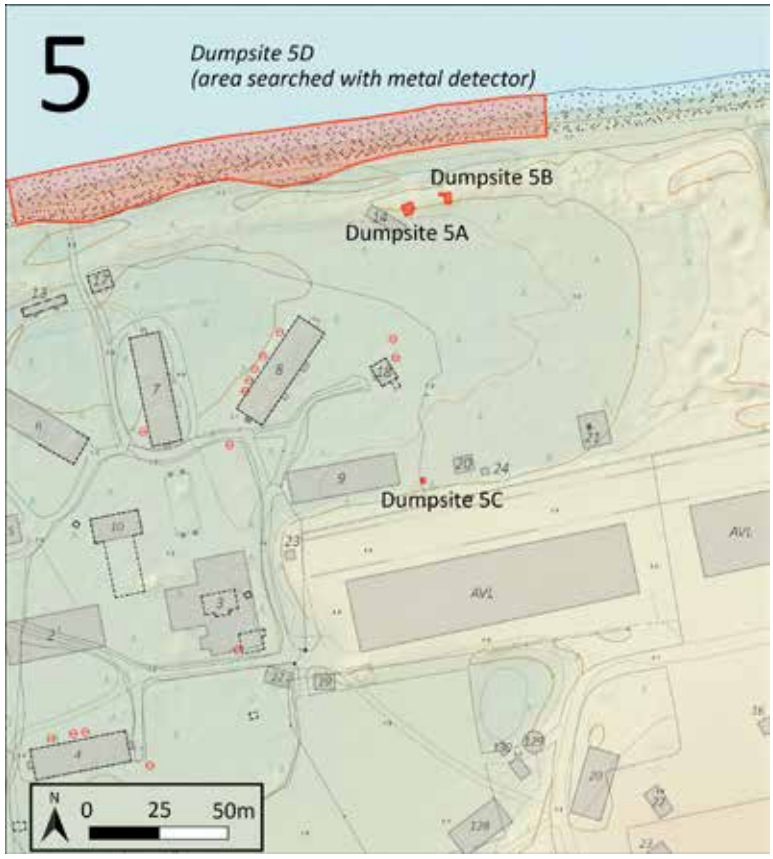
northern beach with lost and discarded artefacts from the 1942–1944 period (Map 15).

Except for the nearby barracks of the Entlausungsdorf, the area has no structures above ground that can be associated with the German transition camp. Deep Soviet dugouts from the 1940–1941 period are plentiful in the easternmost part of the area, but these are now filled with modern trash. A few concrete constructions in the vicinity of the Lotta Svärd canteen situated within the area are also probably remains of Soviet constructions.

7.6.1 Dumpsite 5 A

Dumpsite 5 A was situated immediately to the south of the beach wall and to the northeast of the area of the dismantled Abortbaracke 14 (Map 15, Building 14). The dump can be classified as a pit dumpsite below theground surface. All of the recovered artefacts had been dumped into a narrow Soviet 1940– 1941 period dugout. After the dugout was full of trash it had been covered with a layer of gravel, leaving only a shallow depression visible above ground (Photos 395–396). Whether this was done in the 1942–1944 period or soon after the Second World War could not be determined, but the total lack of post-Second World War finds could point towards the pit having been filled in by the Germans themselves.

The total number of items found during the excavation was 1 207 (Appendix 13). The finds from dumpsite 5 A were extremely varied and quite representative of the materiality of the furlough journey of the German soldiers through Deutsches Lager Hanko. Drink-related items were especially plentiful and formed 63 % of the



Map 15. Area 5. The excavated dumpsites 5 A–C northeast of the Entlausungsdorf and the beach dumpsite area 5 D, which was searched with a metal detector, marked with red. The rainwater wells in the area are marked with red circles. Map by Marjo Karppanen.

Photo 394. Area 5, dumpsites 5 A and 5 B behind the seawall, photographed from the west. Photo Jan Fast.

total amount of finds in the dump (Figure 12). The finds included fragments of at least 61 wine bottles (Photos 400 and 401), 21 beer bottles, and a total of 580 beer bottle caps and many wine bottle corks. Health and hygiene related artefacts were also quite common including broken pocket mirrors, combs, toothpaste tubes, medicine ampoules (Photo 402), hair water, mouthwash, and other types of bottles (Photo 407) and tubes. Exceptionally many cigarette packages and many uniform and other buttons (Photos 405–406) were also found in this dumpsite. Among the more interesting small finds was a metal Edelweiss cap insignia from a Gebirgsjäger cap (Photo 397), a flask with a leather cover containing mosquito repellent (Photo 398), the remains of a book and a newspaper with fully readable text (Photos 398 and 403), a possible fountain pen nib cover (Photo 407), and small paper bags containing delousing powder (Photo 402).

A brass nametag with a Feldpost number inscribed PETER 44443 (Photos 410–411) allows for more detailed research. The number on the tag is a Feldpost number showing that the name tag belonged to a soldier serving in the 3. Kompanie SS-Gebirgs-Pionier-Bataillon. The unit was part of the 6. SS-Gebirgs Division "Nord" and mainly fought in the battles in the Salla–Kantalahti area in northeastern Finland between 1941 and 1944.

Overall, the combination of finds from dumpsite 5 A is very similar to that of dumpsites 1 A–C in the Ukrainerlager on the opposite side of the camp. This is true especially regarding the large amounts of alcohol bottles and beer bottle caps found in the dump. Quite a few iron and aluminium food-ration cans were also found in the dump like in the dumps of the Ukrainerlager (Photo 409). The animal bones found in the dump include vertebra, kneecaps, and rib bones with cut marks from pigs (*Sus scrofa*), a bird bone from a domesticated duck (*Anserinae*) and one bone from a European flounder (*Platichthys flesus*).

7.6.2 Dumpsite 5 B

Dumpsite 5 B was situated just twenty meters to the east of dump site 5 A (Map 15). Like its neighbour this dumpsite was also placed behind the beach wall in a narrow Soviet dugout located just to the south of the beach. The artefacts had been thrown into the open dugout, and when full covered up with a layer of gravel. Only a shallow de-

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Photo 395–411. Dumpsite 5 A in July 2019 before excavation and excavated to level 1, photographed from the north (top), as well as a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

pression in the ground was visible before excavation (Photos 412–413).

Over 800 artefacts were found during the excavation (Photos 414–429; Appendix 14), and the finds from dumpsite 5 B where very similar in composition to those from dumpsite 5 A. Here too the drink-related finds were plentiful, and included large amounts of wine bottles, beer bottle caps, and wine bottle corks, forming 67 % of the total number of finds (Figure 13). Food-related artefacts such as iron food-ration cans (Photos 427–428) and aluminium sardine cans (Photo 429) were however more plentiful in this dump than in dumpsite 5 A. Vertebra, kneecaps, and rib bones from pigs (*Sus scrofa*) and bones from cod (*Gadus morhua*) were also found among the trash from this dumpsite.

Many health and hygiene related items such as broken pocket mirrors (Photos 419 and 422), comb fragments, medical tubes (Photo 420), a pair of broken sunglass frames (Photo 417), and a spent condom (Photo 416) were found as well. The small finds were varied, and included among other things Losantine gas decontamination tablet containers (Photo 418), fragments of honey glass jars (Photo 423), film fragments (Photo 415), harmonicas (Photo 414), newspaper fragments, cigarette packages (Photo 426), a silver chain, a chess piece (Photo 425), and a brass finger ring (Photo 424).

7.6.3 Dumpsite 5 C

Dumpsite 5 C was located in the immediate vicinity of the delousing area, very close to the eastern gable of the collapsed Mannschaftsbaracke 9 (Map 15, Building 9) and just a few meters to the south of the railroad that led to the Entlausungsdorf (Map 15). The dumpsite was excavated in 2019 (Photos 429–430). The dump can be classified as a standard pit dumpsite below the ground surface. No signs of the dump site were visible before excavation. The trash in dumpsite 5 C had been deposited in a 60 cm deep pit and covered with gravel and stones. Whether or not the items had been deposited at the same time or during several separate occasions could not be determined. During the excavation, 632 artefacts were found in the dump (Photos 432–447; Appendix 15).

Artefacts related to drink- and food from the dump formed 76 % of the finds (Figure 14). The finds included different types of iron food-ration cans, wine and beer and other types of alcohol bottles (Photos 433), bottle glass fragments (Photo 439), 185 iron beer bottle caps, and 166 wine bottle corks. The beer bottle caps included one porcelain bottle cap to a German Fohrenburg beer bottle (Photo 434). Aluminium and iron sardine cans were much more common in this dumpsite than in the other dumps of Area 5. Many health and hygiene-related artefacts such as comb fragments (Photos 438 and 445), broken pocket mirrors (Photo 446), soap boxes and Eau de Cologne bottles (Photo 443), newspaper fragments (Photo 440), and a composite plastic cup (Photo 442) were also found. The items related to uniforms and equipment mostly consisted of uniform and Zeltbahn tent canvas buttons. Compared to these finds, smoking as well as personal and leisure-related finds were surprisingly few, with the more interesting ones being a patriotic matchbox cover (Photo 441), a Slovenian Bakelite cigarette box (Photo 435), a few cigarette packages (Photo 447), an empty wallet (Photo 432), and two harmonicas.

A few bones from chicken (*Gallus domesticus*) and hares or rabbits (*Lepus* sp.) were also found in the dump.

The general composition of finds in this dumpsite is very similar to that of dumpsite 1 A in the Ukrainerlager area, and this dumpsite was also situated in the vicinity of the railroad leading to the camp. The location might suggest that at least part of its contents, such as the food-ration cans, might be from the emptying and cleaning of railway cars. The many beer bottle caps in this and dumpsites 5 A and 5 B probably point towards bottles of beer or pilsener bought in the nearby Lotta Svärd canteen.

7.6.4 Dumpsite 5 D

According to a photo found on German eBay, the long rocky beach to the north of the delousing area was used for cleaning duties by German soldiers (Photo 448). Although no German finds could be observed on the surface of the beach a metal detecting survey was carried out there in July 2016 (Photo 449). The finds were plotted on maps with

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Photos 412–429. Dumpsite 5 B just south of the beach wall in July 2019, before excavation and excavated to level 1, photographed from the south (top) and a selection of finds from the dump. Photos Jan Fast.

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Photos 430–447. Dumpsite 5 C during excavation in July 2019 (top), photographed from the northeast, as well as some of the small finds from the excavation. Photos Jan Fast.

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Photos 448–461. Area 5 D. German Gebirgsjäger tidying up on the north beach near the delousing area in 1942 or 1943 (top left). The same beach area was surveyed using a metal detector in June 2016 and many small finds were found. Original photo acquired from German eBay, the other photos Jan Fast.

GPS, and clearly showed that the area used by the German soldiers was restricted to only a short and narrow stretch of the beach to the north of the barracks of the Entlausungsdorf (Map 15).

During the coordinated metal detecting survey of the beach area, 125 small finds were found (Photos 450–461; Figure 15; Appendix 16). Rather surprisingly, and despite the area having probably been used also after the Second World War, almost all of the finds from the beach were German and from the 1942–1944 period. All of the finds were found in sandy soil underneath the 20 cm thick, dense layer of beach pebbles. The reason why the artefacts were found relatively deep in the sand is probably because of wave and ice erosion of the windy beach. The items found under the layer of stones on the beach mostly consisted of uniform buttons (Photos 458 and 461), unspent Mauser rifle cartridges (Photo 459), German and Finnish coins (Photos 450 and 457), shaving razors, and a package for razor blades (Photos 451–452 and 453). Canteen-purchased screw-back badges (Photos 455 and 456), a Finnish Civil Guard Military proficiency badge 2nd class (Photo 454), and a Second World War period tram token from Oslo (Photo 460) were among the more unusual finds from this area.

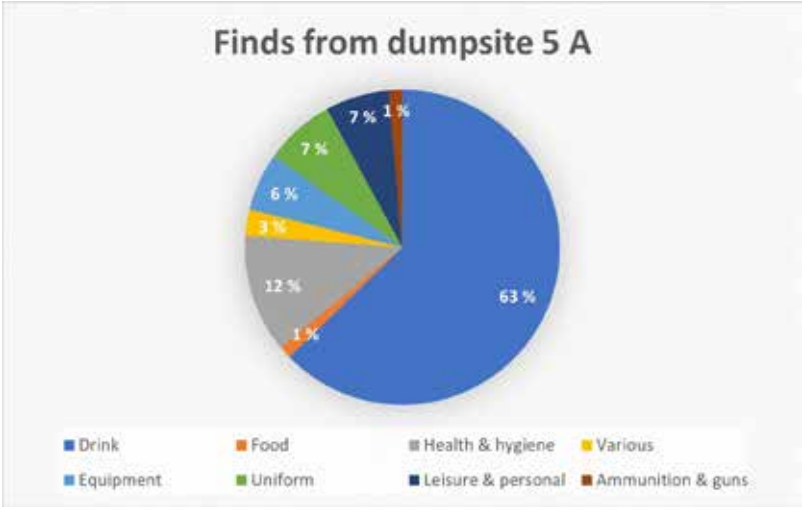
7.6.5 Interpretation of the dumpsites and finds from Area 5

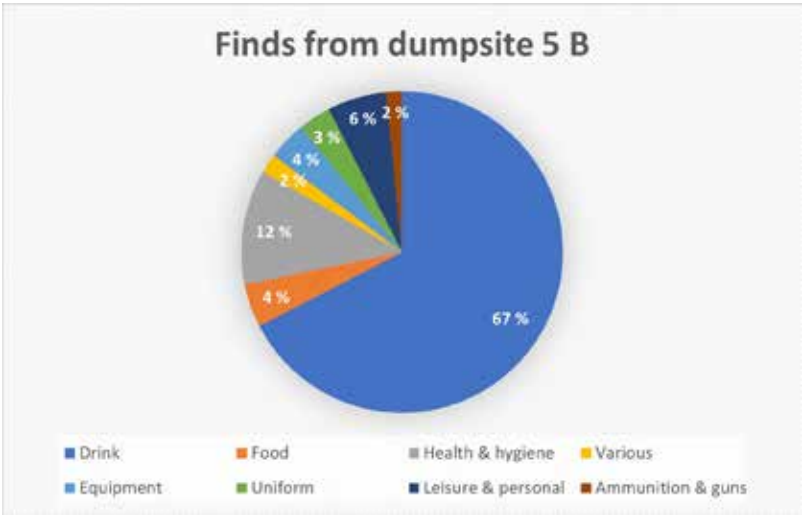
Dumpsites 5 A–C were all below-ground pit dump sites and all of them contained large amounts of mostly food-and drink-related artefacts (Figures 12–14). The many beer bottle caps found in the dumps can probably be associated with the Lotta Svärd canteen, where according to the Lottas, pilsener from local breweries was sold to German soldiers by the crate. The total lack of trash from any more recent use of the area points towards the dumps having been covered up during 1942–1944, or at least very soon after the Second World War period. The overall combination of finds from the pit dumpsites in Area 5 is very similar to the dumpsites in the Ukrainerlager area (Figures 2–4).

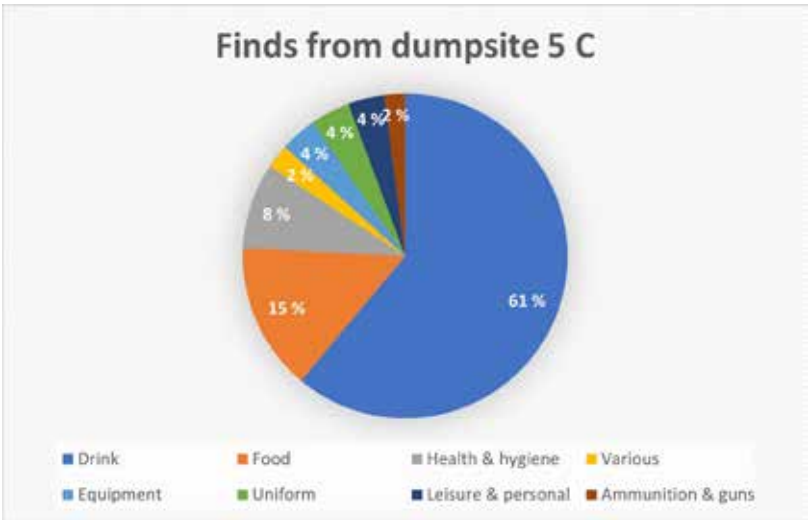
Area 5 D could be classified as a surface dumpsite, but it might be more appropriate to call it an activity area with scattered finds. An original photo found on German eBay shows German Gebirgsjäger shaving and washing themselves on the beach and the finds fit very well with these activities (Photo 448). During the cleaning process small items like coins and uniform buttons were probably lost on the beach. Unfired Mauser rifle cartridges were also discarded on the beach, as soldiers were not allowed to keep any ammunition inside the camp. The total lack of food-and-drink-related artefacts, as well as items like pocket mirror fragments, combs, and many other artefacts so common in other areas of the camp is very striking (Figure 15). It is possible that the beach was kept very clean on purpose, and that trash from the activities on the beach was thrown in dumpsites 5 A and 5 B behind the nearby beach wall. Overall, the finds from Area 5 paint a vivid picture not only of the many different types of activities that were carried out in this part of the camp, but also the home-leave journey as a whole. Whether or not the dumps also contain trash from the railway cars that brought the soldiers to the camp from the north cannot be definitively proved. The total lack of railway-related items compared to those found in the dumpsites of the Ukrainerlager might, however, point towards the fact that the items in the dump mostly relate to activities in the delousing area itself.

7.7 Summary of the excavation finds from Deutsches Lager Hanko

The finds from the dumpsites in the different areas of Deutsches Lager Hanko consist of an exceptionally wide variety of different items that were deposited in the dumps over a relatively short period sometime between 1942 and 1944 (Figure 16). The finds are varied, and both civilian and military in nature, and mostly very easy to identify using available research literature (for instance Mason 2006; Pool & Bock 2010; Pool 2012). The preservation of the items in the sandy soil on the cape is surprisingly good, with even some artefacts made of paper being in a good state of preservation despite having spent some eighty years in the ground. Artefacts made of iron, on the other hand had suffered severely due to the closeness of the







Figures 12–14. Pie diagrams showing the relative amounts of different types of finds from dumpsites 5 A–C.

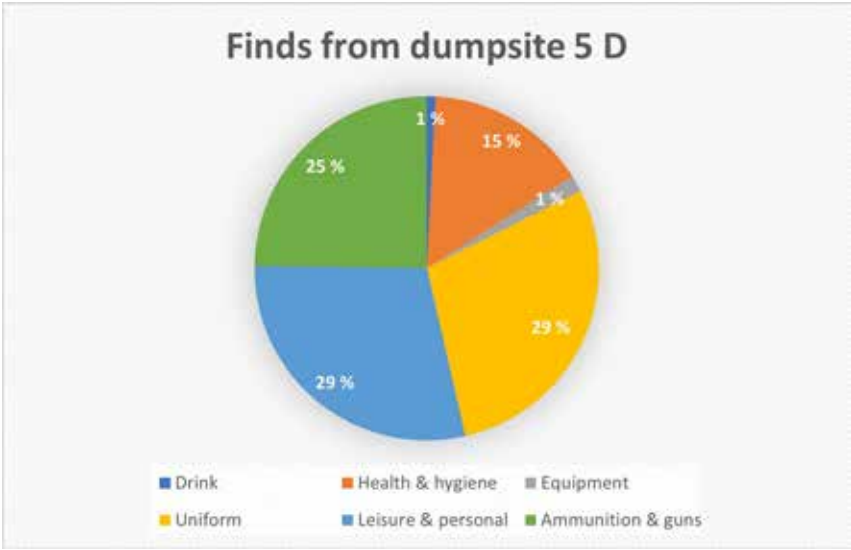


Figure 15. Pie diagram showing the relative amounts of different types of finds from Area 5 D. The composition of finds from this area differed significantly from the finds from the other dumpsites of the camp.

sea, which makes the air and soil salty and adds to the rate of corrosion.

Like on any other archaeological site, the thing that affects the results of the analysis of the finds the most is that the finds in the dump pits, however well preserved, only represent a small selection of the original materiality of the camp. As a result, the dumps of Deutsches Lager Hanko only contain items that were selected to be discarded or lost by the soldiers in the camp. This selection of items means that the finds only offer a very limited view into the total original materiality of, and activities carried out in the camp.

The most important thing to remember when considering the number of finds, is that the land lease contract made between the Finnish and German authorities stated that the Cape Tulliniemi area should be kept clean and that all trash was to be removed from the campgrounds (Silvast 2000: 22). Another thing to consider is that, by the looks of some of the items, it is clear that at least some of the trash of the camp was gotten rid of by burning (see Chapter 7.7.8). The third thing affecting any conclusions drawn from the finds, which must be taken into consideration, is that artefacts may have been removed from the dumpsites and re-used by the local community in Hanko immediately after the Second World War (Karlsson 1991: 110).

Despite these factors an interesting picture emerges when looking at the overall materiality of the camp (Figure 16). To help compare the thousands of artefacts that were found during the excavations of the different dumpsites and areas of the camp, the finds have been categorized into ten different groups. The find groups are: 1) Ammunition and guns, 2) Equipment, 3) Drink, 4) Food, 5) Health and hygiene, 6) Leisure and personal, 7) Religion, 8) Smoking, 9) Uniform, and 10) Various. By researching the artefacts from the dumpsites, we can get an idea of what the life of the German men and women, and the Ukrainian Hilfswillige, was like at the camp during the Second World War (Mason 2006: 8).

7.7.1 Food-related finds

Artefacts that can be associated with food were most plentiful in the dumpsites of Area 1 (dumpsites 1 A–C) and Area 5 (dumpsites 5 A–C), but were also found in smaller amounts in Area 2 (dumpsite 2 A) and Area 4 (dumpsites 4 A–D and 4 F). Most of the items in this category consist of items such as iron food-ration cans, aluminium

and iron sardine cans, porcelain plate fragments, forks, knives and spoons, butter containers, canteen cups, mess kit lids, and burnt and unburnt animal bones. Aluminium Bona Tilsiter collapsable cheese tubes were especially common finds in dumpsite 2 A (Pool & Bock 2010: 46).

During the Second World War, soldiers in the German military received food rations and iron food-ration cans, so called Eiserne Rationen, that were rich in both calories and protein (Pool & Bock 2010: 8). The full ration consisted of a total 250 grams of biscuits, 200 grams of cold meat, 150 grams of preserved vegetables, 25 grams of coffee, and 25 grams of salt. The daily half-iron ration, also called Halbeiserne, for one soldier contained 250 grams of biscuits and 200 grams of preserved meat (US War department 1945: VI–19). The iron food ration cans came in different sizes and were either carried or issued to soldiers in the German army when food cooked in field kitchens was not readily available (Höhne 1939: 232). German soldiers in transit received rudimentary canned meat rations or smoked sausage for the journey (BArch RH 23/8 0025). Large amounts of iron food-ration cans and sardine cans were found in the dumpsites in Areas 1 and 5 on the outskirts of the camp. This could point towards canned food being carried by German soldiers on the train journey and consumed either upon arrival in the camp or in the train cars during the trip. After the journey the cars were emptied by Soviet prisoners of war or Ukrainian Hilfswillige and some of the used cans were then dumped in the dumpsites that were situated close to the railroad track. Canned food could also have been used by the inmates during the final days or months of the camps existence. Most of the iron food-ration cans found in the dumpsites are from food rations that were stored and issued to soldiers on specific orders. Sadly, the poor state of preservation of all the iron food-ration cans found in the camp prevents a more detailed analysis of their contents, as well as the other civilian type of food cans found in the dumpsites.

With the invasion of Norway in 1940, Nazi Germany took control of the Norwegian fish industry, and Norwegian fishing products such as sardines packed in aluminium or iron cans soon found their way to the German soldiers fighting in the far north. As with the iron food-ration cans, sardine cans of different sizes, either Norwegian or

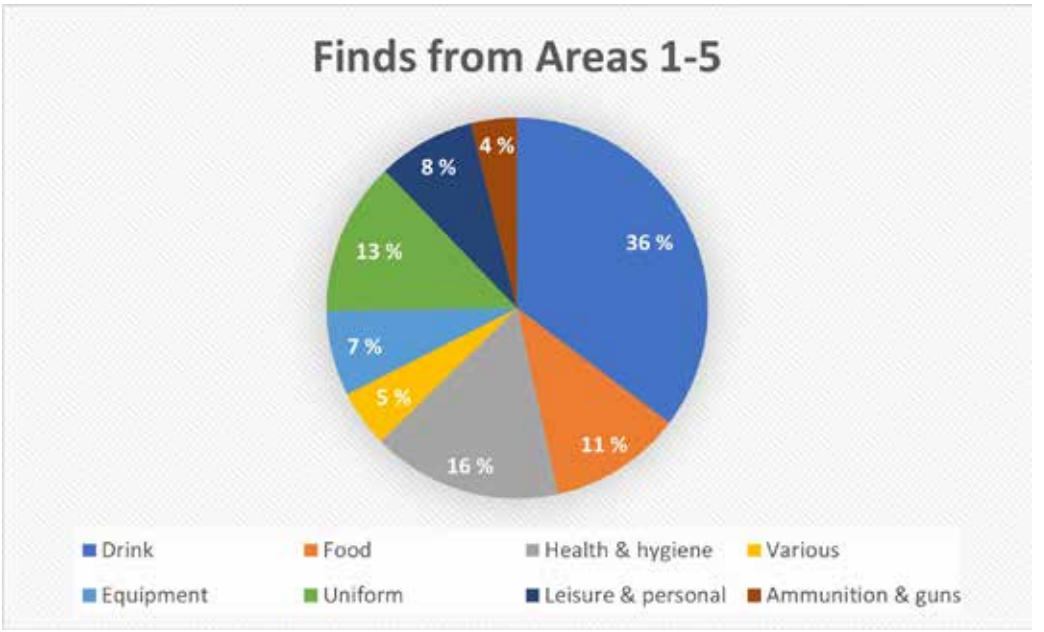


Figure 16. Pie chart showing the relative amounts of different types of finds from all the dumpsites of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Artefacts related to drink, food, and health form 63% of the total amount of finds.

German, were also found in almost every dumpsite of the camp (Pool & Bock 2010: 65).

Unburnt and burnt animal bones were mostly recovered from the dumpsites in Area 1 (dumpsites 1 A–C). These dumpsites included surprisingly large number of bones from a wide variety of different species. The fish bones belonged to pike (*Esox lucius*), perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), cod (*Gadus morhua*), turbot (*Scophthalmus maximus*), herring (*Clupea harengus membras*), and various whitefish (*Cyprinidae*). The bones of undomesticated animals and mammals hunted for their meat and/or fur include grey seal (*Halichoerus grypus*), European hare (*Lepus europaeus*), mountain hare (*Lepus timidus*), and muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*). Bones from hunted birds included common eider (*Somateria mollissima*), goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*), other waterbirds (*Anatidae*) and unidentified birds (*Aves*). Finds of bones from domesticated animals included bones from pigs (*Sus scrofa*), cattle (*Bos taurus*), bones from a young calf from dumpsite 1 B, and possibly also bones from horses (*Equus caballus*), and rabbits (*Lepus* sp. cf. *Oryctolagus cuniculus*) from dumpsite 1 C. Bones from brown rats (*Rattus norvegicus*) were also found in dumpsites 1 A and 1 B in the Ukrainerlager.

Smaller amounts of animal bones were also found in the dumpsites of Area 4 (dumpsites 4 A, 4 D and 4 F) and Area 5 (dumpsites 5 A–C). Compared to the animal bones found in Area 1, the finds from the other dumpsites are quite few and from much fewer species. In dumpsite 4 A only a single bird bone belonging to a red-breasted merganser (*Mergus serrator*) was found but it is unsure whether the find belongs to the find context. In dumpsite 4 D all of the bones were from cattle (*Bos taurus*), with many of the bones showing clear cutmarks. Dumpsite 4 F only contained four animal bones, probably from European fallow deer (*Dama dama*), White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) or a young elk (*Alces alces*). In this dump too one bone from a brown rat (*Rattus norvegicus*) was found.

Dumpsites 5 A and 5 B contained vertebra, kneecaps, and rib bones with cut marks from pigs (*Sus scrofa*), and a bird bone from a domesticated duck (*Anserinae*). Dumpsite 5 A also contained one bone from a European flounder (*Platichthys flesus*), while bones from cod (*Gadus morhua*) were found in dumpsite 5 B. Dumpsite 5 C contained a complete shoulder bone from a hare or rabbit (*Lepus* sp.) similar to that found in dumpsite 1 C in the Ukrainerlager area. The rib bones that were found in this dump are however from a larger animal than a rabbit or hare. A shinbone from a bird that was found in the same dump is from a chicken (*Gallus domesticus*). Dumpsites 2 A and 5 D contained no animal bones whatsoever.

The food-related bone finds suggest that at least part of the inhabitants of the camp had the opportunity to acquire a wide variety of fresh fish, hunted fowl, and mammals from locals. The finds of bones of domesticated animals such as cattle, pig, rabbit, chicken, geese, and possibly also horse had to do with trade of foodstuffs with civilians in the region, although information from interviews with Finnish Lottas also mention German soldiers carrying living piglets on their return from home-leave (Karlsson 1991: 78). It is worth noting that the amounts and composition of bone finds from the southwestern part of the camp differ a lot in both quantity and composition from the bones from the northeastern part of the camp. It seems that the soldiers that were housed in the southwestern Ukrainerlager part of the camp were much more adapted to the use of local food resources, while the inhabitants in the delousing area relied more on traditional domesticated meat and fowl.

The macrofossil analysis of soil samples from dumpsite 1 A did not add much value to the discussion about available food resources. No seeds or remains of edible plants or berries that could have been consumed by the inmates of the camp surfaced. The only plant remains consisted of uncharred seeds of alder (*Alnus* sp.) and pigweed (*Chenopodium album*). The soil however contained larvae from flies (*Stratiomyidae*), which is of course to be expected in an open dump pit containing spent food-ration cans and other food remains, as well as other decomposing organic materials.

7.7.2 Drink-related finds

Alcohol was issued to the German soldiers as part of their rations (US War department 194: VI-19). It was also bought or traded on the furlough journey and with locals. Alcohol in bottles could be issued by the military, but in Deutsches Lager Hanko like elsewhere during the period, civilian style wine and other alcohol bottles were the norm (Pool & Bock 2010: 171). Drinking beer can almost be considered a national pastime in Germany (Pool & Bock 2010: 174). It is therefore no wonder that the most common drink–related artefacts found in the camp were iron beer bottle caps. The large amount of unmarked beer bottle caps, but very few beer bottles, can be explained by the bottles being recirculated, as described in an interview with one of the Lottas of the camp (Karlsson 1991: 80). The need to recycle beer bottles from local breweries was first addressed by the Kommandant Rückwärtiges Armeegebiet in Tornio in northwestern Finland, where the lack of recirculated beer bottles threatened to leave the German troops without beer in 1942 (BArch RH 23/5 0122). Wine bottle corks were also found in the dumps, but not in large quantities, and porcelain bottle caps were very rare. Only three German porcelain bottle caps were found during the excavations, two of them marked Eigentum der Luftwaffe and one for the German brewing company ZAB near Köln. The other porcelain bottle caps were either unmarked or marked with Finnish maker-marks for breweries like Aura, Tammisaari Ekenäs, and Helsingin Virvoke Oy (Photos 306 and 384). Only two German breweries could be identified by the text on the bottles themselves and assigned to the Austrian brewing companies Puntigam and Fohrenburg (Photos 242 and 432–433). Off the-shelf German red wine and white wine bottles, as well as Sekt bottles, were found in most of the dumpsites. Sadly, almost all of them had no or only very faint unreadable remains of the label left. Many other alcohol bottles such as Schnapps, Koskenkorva, Cognac, Benedictiner, and Cointreau liqueur bottles, as well as ceramic Genever bottles were also found in the dumps (Pool & Bock 2010: 177; Photo 253).

Compared to the many alcohol bottles, soft drink bottles were very rare, and only include two lemonade bottles by the Finnish company Pyynikki in Tampere and a Harich Brause Limonade lemonade bottle made in Mürzzuschlag, some 100 km southwest of Vienna, Austria. All of the lemonade bottles were found in dumpsite 1 A. Other artefacts related to drinking include porcelain and plastic cups, iron mugs, simple drinking glasses, schnapps glasses and wine glasses. A glass wine carafe stopper was also among the finds from dumpsite 1 A.

Artefacts related to drinking were common in all of the dumpsites except for the northern beach area 5 D, where only one beer bottle cap was found. Drink-related artefacts were especially common in the dumpsites on the northeastern and southwestern outskirts of Deutsches Lager Hanko, in Area 1, Area 2 and Area 5. This probably has to do with the proximity of the Soldatenheim canteen and the Lotta Svärd canteen to those areas. Alcohol was possibly consumed in larger quantities in the outskirts of the camp and then deposited in the dumps in these areas. It is intriguing to speculate how the two Austrian-made beer bottles and a lemonade bottle made their long way to Hanko. That the bottles were transported to the camp by individual German soldiers is entirely possible.

7.7.3 Health-and-hygiene-related finds

This diverse group of artefacts includes among other things, small items such as combs, pocket mirrors, toothbrushes, toothpaste and medicine tubes, soap boxes, razors, shaving brushes, condoms, sunglass frames, medical ampoules, medical bottles, sun oil bottles, and a few paper bags containing powder against lice. The health and cleanliness of the German soldiers during the war, and especially when going on home-leave, was a high priority, and this is reflected in the many finds belonging to this category from all of the dumpsites of Deutsches Lager Hanko (Figure 16). Health and hygiene related finds were found in all of the dumpsites of the camp but were particularly common in the dumpsites of Area 1 (especially dumpsite 1 A), Area 4, and Area 5. It is not surprising that many finds of this type were found in large amounts in the dumps of the Entlausungs-

dorf, which formed an integral part of the sanitary system of the camp.

Finds that are related to medical care of German soldiers were common in almost all of the dumps, and point towards lesser medical issues being addressed in different areas of the camp. More serious medical conditions were probably treated in the camp hospital, the so-called Revierbaracke (Map 9, Building 89). The trash from the activities performed in the camp hospital was probably transported away from the camp as dictated in the land lease agreement (Silvast 2000: 22). The health-related artefacts form a rather uniform group consisting mainly of medicine bottles, ampoules, and medical tubes. The medical tubes are predominately small white or red tubes that were part of the German soldiers' personal medical kit (Photos 330 and 437). The tubes were made by a variety of different manufacturers in Germany. Tubes containing Frostschutssalbe for treatment of frostbite were the most common, but tubes containing mosquito bite ointment (Mückenshutssalbe), boron ointment (Borsalbe), abrasion ointment (Fusschweissalbe), and salicylic acid ointment (Salicylsalbe) were also found. The medicine bottles are all without text, making it impossible to tell what they once contained. The same applies to all of the broken or intact medicine ampoules, except for one that contained surgical thread. Condoms were only found in areas 4 and 5 (Photos 378 and 416). Most of them are unspent, but the finds also include a couple of spent ones. Condoms were mainly issued to the soldiers to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, not to prevent childbirth. The German army started supplying soldiers with condoms already during the First World War to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (Khan et al. 2013: 14).

Another uniform group of artefacts consists of civilian style hygiene-related items such as soap boxes, metal or Bakelite shaving razor shafts, shaving knives, and shaving brushes (Mason 2006: 40, 47–54, 56–59, 61). A wide variety of different toothpaste tubes were also common finds in many of the dumps but relatively few toothbrushes were found.

Well-used and broken combs and shattered pocket mirrors form another interesting find group. It seems that these items were exchanged for new ones by the soldiers in the camp. Double-sided mirrors with touristic picture motives like the Olympic Stadium in Helsinki, the Finnish National flag, or a picture of a Lotta Svärd member on the backside seem to have been popular with the German soldiers (Photo 322). These kinds of mirrors could possibly have been purchased by the German soldiers during their furlough journeys somewhere in northern Finland, or the Lotta Svärd canteen or the Soldatenheim canteen of the camp.

7.7.4 Uniform-related finds

Dressing in clean and tidy uniforms prior to one's home-leave in Germany was an essential part of the stay in the camp. It is therefore no wonder that hundreds of small uniform-related artefacts such as uniform and cap buttons, belt and collar uniform hooks, cloth fragments, military awards, pins, and dog tags were found in all of the dumpsites of Deutsches Lager Hanko. Several military style shoes and large shoe and boot fragments were also found in some of the dumpsites in Area 1 and Area 5 and speak about maintenance of footwear in the camp.

Almost 200 of the simple pebbled uniform buttons that were commonly used in the many uniforms of the Third Reich, and which can either be from Wehrmacht, Waffen–SS, or Luftwaffe uniforms were found during the excavations. This type of buttons were found mainly in the dumpsites of Area 4 and Area 5 (Photos 345 and 405). Only a single Waffen–SS button could be identified by the SS runes on its back. Among the many uniform buttons, around 15 gilded or simple brass buttons from uniforms of the Kriegsmarine, easily identifiable by their anchor symbol, were also found in the dumpsites (Photos 346–348). Some of the Bakelite buttons found in the dumps are marked with the letters LW, but it is not clear if this marking refers to the Luftwaffe. German metal shoulder board buttons with regimental numbers, along with a few German officer's shoulder board rank pips were recovered in a couple of the dumpsites of Area 4 and Area 5.

A few military buttons from uniforms worn by soldiers from other countries such as Poland and Hungary were also found among the German

finds (Photo 276). These can probably be considered war trophies or souvenirs acquired during the military campaigns in those countries. The exceptionally many uniform-related small finds found in Area 4 might relate to the delousing of soldiers and their uniforms in the nearby Entlausungsanstalt II, while the other finds might just have been lost by the German soldiers staying in the camp during their furlough journeys.

Two Gebirgsjäger Mützenabzeichen cap insignias were also found, one of them from dumpsite 4 F and the other one from dumpsite 5 A (Photo 397). A de-nazified Luftwaffe officer's visor cap eagle was found in dumpsite 1 A, and part of the wreath from a Wehrmacht officer's visor cap was found during the excavation of dumpsite 4 A. Other items belonging to caps mostly consist of metal and Bakelite or composite plastic cap buttons. The military awards found during the excavations consist of a black German wound badge (Verwundetenabzeichen im Schwartz) found in dumpsite 4 F and a sports award (SA Sportabzeichen im Silber) from dumpsite 1 B (Photos 259 and 380).

In addition, a German Labour Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) stickpin and a civilian style mountaineer stickpin were found in dumpsite 1 A (Photos 233–234).

In all, nine standard oval German Erkennungsmarke were found during the excavations (Mason 2006: 100). All of the German dog tags were found in Area 4 (Photos 370 and 381). Only one of the German dog tags was marked; it had belonged to a member of the German civil and military engineering organization Organisation Todt. In addition to the German dog tags, three Finnish late-war dog tags were also found: two of them in dumpsite 4 F and the third one in dumpsite 4 A. One of the Finnish dog tags found in dumpsite 4 F could be assigned to a Finnish prisoner of war camp guard stationed in the Finnish run prisoner of war camp number 9, located in Ajossaari in Kemi northern Finland but information about the owners of two other ones could not be found in Finnish archives.

Uniform-related cloth fragments were extremely rare and small, and usually in a poor state of preservation. Uniform fragments were only found in a few of the dumpsites of Area 1, Area 4 and Area 5. At least some of the fragments are from Heer or possibly Gebirgsjäger uniforms, judging by their distinctive green colour. A black Wehrmacht rank chevron for a private was found in dumpsite 4 D (Photo 359).

7.7.5 Equipment-related finds

Equipment-related artefacts were found in all of the dumpsites of the camp (Figure 16). Items that can be associated with flashlights, such as flat flashlight batteries by a variety of different makers, were the most common type of find in this find group. Flashlight batteries were found in all of the dumpsites except for dumpsites 4 C, 4 E, and 5 D. Flashlight light bulbs and complete flashlights were also found in the dumps. Batteries used in radios were rare, and only three of these were found, all of them in dumpsite 1 A.

Bakelite containers for Losantine gas decontamination tablets were another very common type of artefact found during the excavations. The tablets inside the containers were to be mixed with water and used to prepare a protective liquid after a gas attack. Losantine containers were found in almost every dump except for dumpsites 1 C, 2 A, 4 D, and 5 D (Photos 319, 365–366, and 418). Gasmask-related items such as plastic gas mask lens covers, gas mask container strap-ends and a gas mask shape retainer frame were also found in many of the dumpsites. Other equipment-related finds included various small artefacts such as Bakelite, glass and composite plastic containers for shoe cream and other mostly unidentifiable contents. Bakelite and aluminum canteen cups were also found in all of the different dumpsite areas of the camp. Military equipment-related small finds such as strap ends, tent canvas buttons, buttons from French bread bags, hooks, and grommets were commonly found in almost every dump. A composite plastic whistle was also found in dumpsite 4 F. Work-related artefacts such as tools were extremely rare finds. Only two wrenches and a large axe head were found in dumpsite 1 A.

The equipment-related finds mainly speak of maintenance of the military equipment of the soldiers in the camp. The large amount of Losantine gas decontamination tablet containers can be at-

tributed to the distribution of fresh gas contamination protection tablets to the soldiers, while the many flashlight batteries speak of the need for flashlights in the rather dark camp during the autumn and especially winter months (Mason 2006: 101, 104).

7.7.6 Ammunition-and-gun-related finds

Mauser rifle cartridges and ammo clips were found in all of the dump sites except for dumpsite 2 A, in the Schwesternunterkünfte, Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge, and Stammoffiziersunterkünfte areas of the camp. Gun parts were extremely rare, and only two Mauser rifle muzzle covers were found during the excavations, both from dumpsite 4 F.

The ammunition-related finds mainly consist of unspent and spent Mauser rifle and pistol cartridges and Mauser rifle ammo clips (Photos 285 and 459). A few rifle bullets that had probably broken off some of the unspent cartridges. A couple of German flare cartridges (Photo 363), as well as a few Soviet rifle cartridges and an unfired Thompson machinegun cartridge were also found among the trash in the German dumps.

Judging by the stamps on the German rifle and pistol cartridges, these were made by a wide variety of different factories in Germany over several years. Most, if not all, of the Mauser cartridges that were found in the dumpsites probably had to do with soldiers getting rid of firearms ammunition in the train cars, upon entering the camp, before the delousing, or when cleaning up on the northern beach. The spent Mauser rifle, and pistol cartridges as well as the flare cartridges, are relatively few compared to the unfired ones, and may be associated with shots fired during adjustments of sights or perhaps the firing of warning shots.

7.7.7 Leisure-related and personal finds

The items in this group consist of an extremely varied collection of small finds such as cigarette packages, pencils and fountain pens, ink bottles, erasers, coins, luggage and laundry tags, finger rings, book and newspaper fragments, harmonicas, gaming pieces, film cartridges, and fragments of film, vinyl record fragments, trench-art items, and even Winterhilfswerk items that were sold in Germany as part of a yearly donation drive to help finance charitable work (Photo 341). Personal artefacts were found in every dumpsite but were most plentiful in the dumpsites in Area 4 in the western part of the delousing area (Figures 6–11).

Despite a strong anti-smoking movement in Nazi Germany encouraged by Adolf Hitler himself, smoking pipes or cigarettes were very common in Germany during the Second World War. To prevent lung cancer, attempts were made to regulate smoking among the German soldiers by reducing the number of cigarettes issued to the soldiers in their rations to six free cigarettes per day. The purchase of extra cigarettes was limited to fifty cigarettes per soldier per month. Women of the Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge or German Red Cross were not allowed cigarette rations at all (Proctor 1996: 145). Despite these regulations, based on the finds from the dumpsites smoking still seems to have been a very common way to fight the boredom of life in the camp, and smoking seems to have been a popular pastime for German soldiers during their stay in Deutsches Lager Hanko. Except for dumpsite 4 E, all of the dumpsites in the camp contained one or more smoking or tobacco-related artefacts such as cigarette packages, pipes, mouthpieces, snuff boxes, ashtrays, lighters, containers of lighter fluid and brass matchbox covers. Many different brands of cigarettes could be identified among the finds of cigarette packages but the most popular were "Juno o M. Rund", "Echtorient No. 5", and "Reemtsma Sorte R6". Especially Juno was a popular cigarette brand in Germany during the Second World War. Different types of mouthpieces for cigarettes or pipes, as well as pipe bowls were also commonly found in all of the the dumps. No packages for pipe tobacco were found during the excavations.

The lighters found in the dumpsites are of two different types, the more traditional small, square-shaped metal lighters and artillery shell-shaped lighters which were popular among German soldiers already during the First World War (Mason 2006: 74–75). These lighters were made of a ceramic material with a metal top and were probably

sold in canteens. No matchboxes, but a few brass matchbox covers, were found during the excavations. Most of the matchbox covers are patriotic in style and feature a profile picture of the head of a helmeted Wehrmacht soldier on one side. The metal matchbox covers served a purpose in the field, helping to protect the matchbox in case it got wet (Mason 2006: 74).

The German regime tried to avoid double monetary circulation in the occupied countries (Fonzi 2012: 157). Because of this, the German soldiers were not allowed to carry foreign currency such as Soviet rubles or Finnish marks back to Germany but had to exchange them to so-called Reichskreditkassenscheine. In Deutsches Lager Hanko this was done in the Reichskreditkasse building situated in Bezirk III of the Urlauberlager (Map 5, Building 124). In all, 207 coins were found during the excavations. Most of the coins were found in Area 4 and Area 5 (including the beach area). The main part of the coins were Finnish (105 coins) or German (96 coins) but nine Norwegian, five Soviet, and one French coin were also found. A Finnish banknote with a written text referring to the home-leave journey through Hanko was found and acquired from a personal collection in Sweden (Photo 127). The mostly German and Finnish coins found in the camp were probably lost by the soldiers, but the Finnish 20 mk banknote had possibly been given as a souvenir or as payment for transporting his luggage from the camp to Hanko harbour by a German soldier before boarding the homeward bound troop carrier.

Anti-religious ideologies were common among the leaders of Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Despite this, Germany at the outbreak of the Second World War could still be seen as a Christian nation. According to the census of 1939, 50% of the people were considering themselves Protestant and 40% Roman Catholic (Ericksen & Heschel 1999: 10). Artefacts that relate to religious practices by the German soldiers were rare, and only found in two of the dumpsites of the camp. A brass rosary ring and a fragment of a beaded rosary chain or necklace with a crucifix was recovered from dumpsite 4 A, a silver crucifix near the Entlausungsdorf II structure around dumpsite 4 F, and a fragment of a beaded rosary chain in dumpsite 1 C (Photos 257, 316, 319 and 391). Two Christmas tree ornaments from dumpsite 1 A can also be considered to fall into this find category. The rosary fragments can all be considered to have been lost by soldiers during their furlong-journeys or delousing while the Christmas tree ornaments are probably remains from Christmas celebrations in the camp in 1942 or 1943.

Making trench art items such as rings or boxes is known to have been a common practice among Soviet prisoners of war in the prisoner of war camps in Hanko. Items of this type were also commonly made by soldiers fighting on the different frontlines all over the world during the Second World War. The term trench art itself is somewhat misleading, as the items were not only made in the trenches or by materials found on the battlefield (for more on trench art items see for instance Saunders 2003).

Trench art-related finds were found in dumpsites 1 A and 1 B in Area 1 and dumpsites 4 B and 4 F in Area 4 and consisted of a few complete or half-finished field-made finger rings (Photos 237 and 386) and an ornate brass pendant (Photo 336). Adding to these, a 20 mm shell cartridge from a "Flugzeugabwehrkanone 30" (or 38) light anti-aircraft gun made that had been made into a candle holder was found in dumpsite 4 F. Many of the small pieces of sharply cut, colourful composite plastic fragments from soapboxes and other items were found in the dumpsites of the Ukrainerlager area can be considered leftovers from the making of coloured inlays for a wide variety of different trench art items. It is not possible to say for sure if the trench art items were made by German soldiers or Ukrainian Hilfswillige in the camp although second alternative seems most likely as the finds are so few and mostly concentrated to the Ukrainer Lager. At least no large-scale manufacture of these types of items seems to have taken place in the camp.

7.7.8 Various finds

At first glance the items in this category, such as melted bottle glass, cut rubber, plastic and leather fragments, electric wires and isolators, lightbulbs, iron bars from furnace beds, and railway

track nails could simply be regarded as trash with little or no value for research on the daily life of the camp. A closer look at the artefacts, however, points towards some interesting activities performed by the inhabitants of the camp and the handling of the trash itself.

The melted bottle glass and other glass fragments that were found in several of the dumpsites testify to waste disposal carried out by the burning of trash either in the dumpsites themselves or somewhere else within the camp perimeter. The fact that finds of melted glass were quite scarce indicates that this was not a very common practice, or that bottles only rarely found their way into the trash pyres. The possibility that the melted glass fragments are debris from a fire in some of the barracks can of course not be entirely ruled out either. The badly heat-damaged, bent, and fire-patinated furnace bed iron bars, on the other hand could stem from maintenance of heavily used ovens in locomotives or some of the buildings inside the camp. The bent railway spikes speak of maintenance work on the railway tracks inside the camp.

The exceptionally many cut fragments of rubber, leather, and soles, found especially in dumpsites 1 A–C, can be considered debris indicating work with shoemaking and the maintenance of boots in this area of the camp. It is interesting to note that this kind of activity can be commonly associated with Soviet Prisoners of War, as in the case of the prisoner of war camp Teillager 6 Sværholt in northern Norway (Grabowski et al. 2014: 19). Finds of small tightly wound and twisted pieces of paper, electric wires, and short lengths of electric cable might be considered as tiny pieces of evidence of inmates fighting boredom in the camp.

8 BRINGING WAR HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY TOGETHER

> For the First and Second World Wars, we occupy a unique moment in time – the furthest edge of living memory, the cusp upon which history becomes archaeology (Saunders 2004: 5).

As human beings we often think that we know the present better than the past. This is a belief that we are of course unwilling to abandon because it would call into question our sense of authority over the world in which we live. Where exactly is the boundary between the past and the present for an archaeologist (Bailey Geoff 2007: 32–35)? Do we also think that we know more recent history better than, for instance, the history and events of the 19th or 18th centuries?

The archaeology of modern conflicts offers a unique possibility to research and understand many of the different aspects of the Second World War. It combines traditional war history, memory history, and archaeology into one approach, and looks at events and phenomena that have been left under the radar or forgotten by traditional war history research (Saunders 2004: 1). In the end, the multidisciplinary conflict archaeology research of sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko also helps in protecting the palimpsest of landscapes and architecture of the Second World War for future generations before they are gone forever. Here too we have a unique opportunity, in the sense that we can select what we want to preserve instead of preserving what has been left by chance of a structure or a landscape, which is often the case regarding prehistoric sites.

8.1. A long-lost history waiting to be found

Throughout its history, life in the camp remained mostly hidden from outsiders. This fact alone made it easy to forget when the original delousing area was finally abandoned in the late 1980s. At that point in time, and even today, focus on the history of the Second World War in Finland was mostly on the battles and the frontlines and the history as studied by war historians. The German transition camps in Hanko and other parts of Finland, or the furlough journey of the German soldiers stationed here during the Second World War, has not previously been considered historically significant or interesting.

With the Second World War being so close in time to our own, it is hardly surprising that Second World War sites were not considered archaeological heritage either in the 1980s–1990s. At that time Finnish archaeologists were almost totally preoccupied with the research of prehistoric sites, and no one was thinking about the Second World War as a field of study for archaeologists who wanted to be taken seriously. After the recognition of conflict archaeology as a scientific subdiscipline of archaeology in Finland in the early 21st century the doors for archaeological research of Deutsches Lager Hanko slowly started to open, but as no written history, archive sources, or even general knowledge of the camp in Hanko existed, no archaeologist picked up the bait. The general assumption that we already know everything about the Second World War is widespread, and a question I was frequently asked is what the results of my conflict archaeology research could possibly add to change what we already know about the German presence in Finland between 1942–1944.

However, did we really know everything about Deutsches Lager Hanko, the sea traffic and furlough journeys of the German soldiers through Hanko at the offset of the research? Absolutely not – we only assumed we did. No previous research, and almost no archival material from the mostly forgotten camp, existed, and from this perspective the area of the former German camp was very much like any archaeological site and certainly worth looking in to using all available research methods in the toolkit of modern conflict archae-

ology. One could argue that it is kind of ironic that scientific research on the camp only started when it was almost too late. In more ways than one the site had to become a traditional archaeological site, overgrown and with crumbling constructions, before its true research potential and value was realized. Adding to its mysticality was the almost total lack of even basic general information about what went on in the camp between 1942 and 1944. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that without this last-minute multidisciplinary modern conflict archaeology research, the history of the camp and the German troop transports through Hanko would probably have been lost to time altogether (Photos 462–465).

As of this year, ten years has passed since my first visit to the German transition camp. At that moment in time nobody seemed to care about the future of the crumbling barracks or know anything about what had happened in the area during the Second World War. Standing in the middle of the barracks of the Entlausungsdorf area in silence, I experienced something that other conflict archaeologists have also stumbled and pondered upon, namely the stillness that occurs in so much of archaeological work (Farstadvoll 2023: 5). The stillness and silence of the site inspired me as an archaeologist and transported me back in time, wondering about what life here must have been like during the Second World War. For me, at that time the history of the camp felt like an empty first page of a book just waiting to be written. I had the preliminary research questions in my head and very naively thought that conflict archaeology excavations and archival research would provide the answers. In 2014 I was on fire and hurried into the urgent documentation process and in 2015 continued with traditional conflict archaeology field surveys and trial excavations of promising-looking areas. It was already at this point, during the first years of fieldwork, that I bumped up against the very inherent limits of field archaeology. This will not be a swift nor an easy task, I remember thinking while driving back home to Helsinki one evening after another long and mostly unsuccessful excavation day. The assumption proved to be true in more ways than one in the years to come.

During the excavation seasons spent exploring and excavating the site, it became painstakingly clear that if the research relied mainly on the artefacts that were found in the ground, the story of the camp told in the book would be much shorter and a very different one from the story I had set out to tell in the beginning. The camp and its known setting in the Second World War framework would of course have placed the finds in the right historical period and context; but without, for instance, the original map it would have been impossible to determine which type of buildings stood nearby the dumps and could have been the source of the trash that had been deposited in them. I realized that I had to look into a multitude of other sources for information and material about the camp in order to obtain a more complete picture of the site than the finds found in the ground could give.

As is common in Second World War research in Finland, I first turned to the Finnish and German national archives to obtain more background data for the results of the conflict archaeology excavations. To my great disappointment, and indeed to my surprise both the archives soon proved to lack any detailed information about the history of the camp between 1942–1944. Clearly, all of the most important and detailed archive material pertaining to the camp from 1942 onwards had been kept in the commandant's headquarters in Hanko and were destroyed in the fire of 1943. The rest of the archive material of the headquarters from 1943–1944 had probably either been destroyed or lost in the final stages of the war. On a local level, the Hanko harbour archive formed a good background for the early stages of research. The harbour books from 1942–1944 provided solid, albeit not very detailed, information on the large numbers of troop carriers, German soldiers, and war materiel that passed through Hanko during the Second World War.

As traditional archive research did not seem to provide anything other than small bits and pieces of dispersed information about the camp, I took on a Modern Conflict Approach to the research. This meant turning to many other – and what can also be considered quite unorthodox – ways to search for and trace relevant artefacts such as period photographs taken inside the camp by German

soldiers, personal diaries, memory books, Feldpost letters and other lost and dispersed items that could add to the research of the history of the camp. After painstaking systematic work on a day-to-day basis, these much-needed items were over the years found one-by-one and added to the research.

The artefacts were found all over the world in many different and often very private places such as in estates of former German war veterans and Finnish Lottas and in cherished private collections and private archives. Internet web auction sites like German eBay and Finnish huuto.net proved to be goldmines for the research. Over the years many unique letters and period photographs were obtained for the research from these sites. A more detailed but still very fragmented picture of life in the camp now started to emerge.

My search for artefacts over the internet provided me with contacts to German war veterans and their families, some of which too contributed to the research by allowing me to interview them. I also set out to interview civilians in Hanko about their wartime memories of the camp. Time was however desperately running out, and many of the people that needed to be interviewed were not only very old and fragile but were also very few and increasingly difficult to get in touch with. Although their memories were sometimes vague and may not be considered entirely exact or very trustworthy in a scientific sense, they added a flare of humanity to the overall story of the interactions between German soldiers and civilians in Hanko.

Already from the offset it can be said that the conflict archaeology excavations aimed at finding

Photos 462–465. Mannschaftsbaracke 4 – HBK 64 and the nearby beach photographed in the silence of early winter (top). An abandoned Finnish Second World War period cattle car in northern Finland. Photos Aleksi Rikkinen (top) and Jani Outinen (bottom).

a representative and large selection of the materiality left behind by the German soldiers in the extensive camp area, with a tight budget and a limited five-year time frame imposing some difficulties. To achieve the goal, it was many times necessary to rethink the traditional archaeological excavation and documentation methods that I had traditionally used on prehistoric sites. This meant excavating the dumps using a traditional grid system, but usually moving away from the traditional excavation technique of excavating by soil layers of different thickness that is commonly used in prehistoric sites. The undisturbed pit dumps full of Second World War items were instead considered closed contexts and were excavated by find layers, which meant uncovering a layer of finds in the pit and then documenting, removing, photographing and collecting them. No finds, except for hazardous very sharp window glass fragments and rusty nails, were thrown away.

The finds that were in a very poor state of preservation, such as the mostly identical rusty food-ration cans, can fragments, and bottle glass fragments required another type of approach to the finds post-excavation than what is common in Finnish archaeology. This involved careful consideration when making decisions about where the finds were to be kept for future generations and about what to preserve, conserve, and not to preserve post-excavation. Although there is no law that stipulates about the storage of Second World War finds in Finnish Museum archives, it was decided from the start that the items found during the excavations were important and would be kept by a museum in Hanko. In 2021 a decision was made by the district museum in Raseborg that all Second World War artefacts found in the Hanko area should be stored and kept in the archives of the Hanko Front Museum. As a result of this, and after careful consideration, the documented and sorted finds from the excavations of Deutsches Lager Hanko except for most of the rusty food-ration cans, can fragments and other unidentifiable fragments of trash were deposited in the archives of the Hanko Front Museum in November 2023. The other finds, such as photographs, pocket diaries and letters found during the research are kept in the archives of the Raseborg Museum in Ekenäs.

The items from the excavations of the camp will form part of a large exhibition about the Second World War *Hanko 1941–1944*, which will open in Hanko in September 2025. The finds acquired for the research represent the first complete selection of archaeological finds from a German Second World War camp site in Finland and can form the basis for further research of similar sites in the future.

8.2. A camp on a windy cape

The small town of Hanko has been no stranger to soldiers from foreign countries during its long history. In the 20th century the people of Hanko witnessed German soldiers embark from ships during the First World War and march towards the capital Helsinki (Photo 3). In 1942 when the Second World War entered its later phase, the small harbour town once again welcomed German soldiers on their way to battles, this time on the northernmost front. For a brief period between 14 January 1942 and 11 September 1944, Hanko harbour buzzled with activities, and details of arriving and departing German troops, war materiel, and the troop carriers were documented in the harbour books (Appendix 1).

The ships carrying troops and war materiel were ordinary cargo ships of varying sizes that had been camouflage painted and transformed to carry a cargo consisting not only of war materiel such as vehicles and ammunition but also soldiers and horses. The number of German ships carrying war materiel and troops to Hanko varied from year to year. Between 1942 and 1943 the ships were larger in size, meaning that fewer ships were needed for the transports. The difference in 1944 is staggering, when during a half-year long period over 50 mainly much smaller ships were needed for the transports. In all, 70 different German ships visited Hanko between 14 January 1942–1 September 1944 (Figure 17; Appendix 1). The ships visited Hanko harbour on a very regular basis between 1942 and 1944. The traffic between Hanko and the Baltic ports peaked in 1943, when German ships, mainly carrying soldiers on their home-leave journeys, arrived and departed from Hanko over 300

times. 1944 was also a very busy year, with almost 250 visits in only a half years' time. The war was nearing its end, which is reflected in the amount of war materiel carried by the ships (Figure 18). The ships and their cargo are usually only described in terms of tons of cargo or approximate numbers of soldiers or vehicles on board. Although this documentation is of great importance when trying to assess the volumes of the sea-traffic, they offer very little of value for the understanding of what the sea journey was like for the soldiers and animals on board. Here too modern conflict archaeology research methods can be used to track down finds from a wide variety of different sources on the internet. The letters, photographs, and pocket diary entries of the German soldiers who travelled on the ships offer a unique glimpse into this part of the furlough journey. They offer a personal perspective and add to the general knowledge about the sea-journeys across the Gulf of Finland and in the Baltic Sea during the Second World War.

According to information that can be gathered from these documents, the conditions on board the troop carriers were bearable, and even cheerful, during the mostly swift crossings during spring and summer. The crossings could however be totally unbearable during winter, when rough seas, ice, sea mines, and Soviet submarines made the crossing to ports in the occupied Baltic countries both very slow and hazardous. Sea sickness was a common occurrence during all kinds of weather for many of the German soldiers, many of whom were travelling by ship for the first time in their life (Photos 33–37). The German ship traffic between the Baltic ports and Hanko was a huge undertaking but left only very few remains that can be researched using traditional archaeological methodology. Maritime archaeology research of the wreck sites of cargo ships s/s *Hindenburg* and m/s *Helgoland* could shed some interesting light on the living conditions on board the troop carriers but so far, no large-scale scientific dives to the two wreck sites have been attempted. The reasons for this are obvious, being that dives are both very dangerous and difficult to carry out.

With the war in the north coming to a halt already during its first year in 1941, it became urgent to secure and facilitate the regular transportation of German soldiers travelling on their yearly furlough by building large transition camps in many Finnish towns.

Deutsches Lager Hanko was built on a narrow windy cape in Hanko, in the southernmost part of Finland, in theory a landscape that today can be considered both historic as well as contemporary (Harrison & Schofield 2010: 220). Here it defied

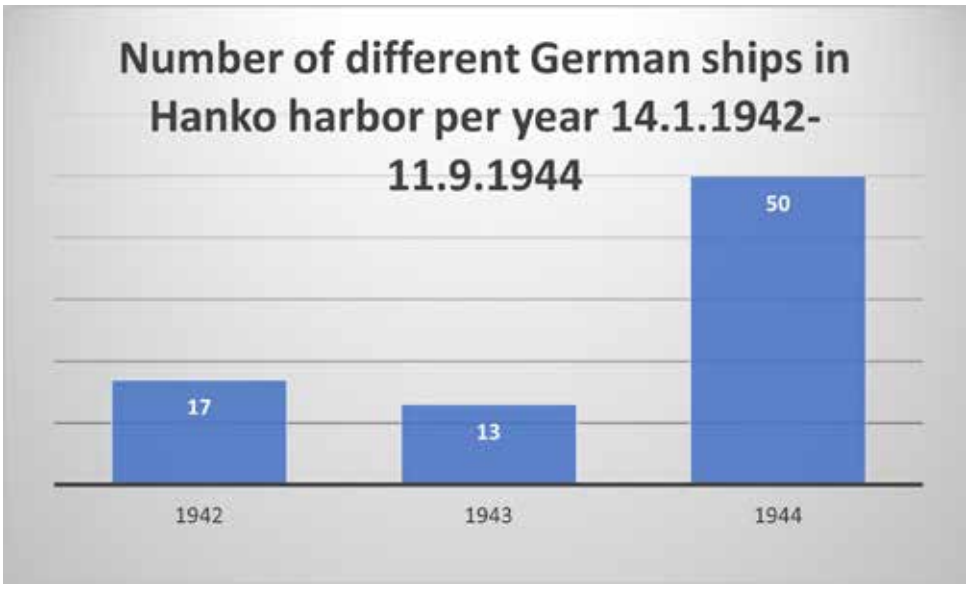


Figure 17. The number of different ships carrying troops per year between 14 January 1942 and 1 September 1944, based on the information in the Hanko harbour books.

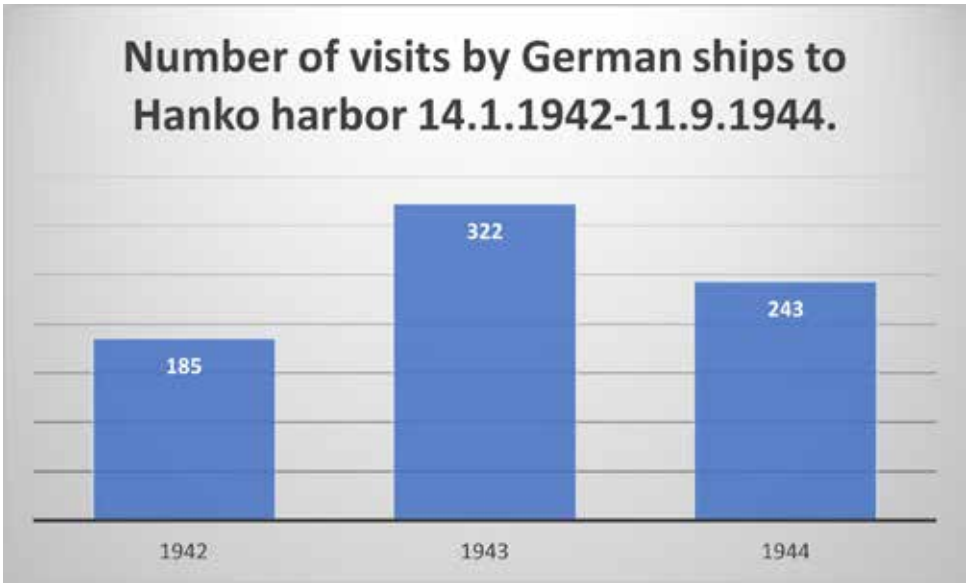


Figure 18. The number of visits of German troop carriers per year between 14 January 1942 and 1 September 1944, based on the information in the Hanko harbour books.

the elements and tried to find ways to adapt to nature and the continuous stream of military personnel travelling through it (Photos 466–467). The camp was like a small child, ever growing and active and at times loud and smelly. The smoke from the burning of firewood in the locomotives, hundreds of heating ovens in the barracks, and pouring from the chimneys in the delousing facilities was poignant night and day, especially during the long winter months.

The delousing of the soldiers arriving in the trains was concentrated in the Entlausungsdorf delousing area, situated at the very end of the railroad track that led to the camp. This self-sufficient area with eight large barracks for housing over 1 000 soldiers, a kitchen, three washing barracks, four lavatories, and two huge delousing facilities could also be used a quarantine area in case of an epidemic in the main camp. This part of the camp was all about effectiveness and was used and manned night and day as steam trains packed with German soldiers arrived in the camp from the north. This part of the camp was also a major recreational area, as the delousing of the large numbers of arriving soldiers and their uniforms could be time consuming. The time spent waiting was used effectively to buy souvenirs or pilsener or other refreshments in the nearby canteen, which was run by three young women from the Finnish Lotta Svärd organization. Items in the canteen could be bought using German or Finnish currency. The beach area north of the delousing facilities was used by the arriving soldiers to clean up, to brush their teeth, and shave after the two-day long train journey, but also to get rid of unfired rifle ammunition, which was forbidden to be carried inside the camp. After a splash of a few drops of Eau de Cologne, some hair water, and combing the soldiers headed for the main camp, called the Urlauberlager.

The architecture of the barracks of German camp can today only be studied in the Entlausungsdorf area which is the only part of the camp were structures from the 1942–1944 period still defy time and the elements. Archaeological research on these large crumbling structures is a dangerous undertaking and can for this reason now mostly only be attempted from a distance. By studying high resolution photos and 3D imaging of drone photos it is possible to differentiate between original and later additions to the structures. Some 1 600 soldiers per day could be deloused in this part

Photos 466–467. German soldiers in a train car upon arrival in Hanko (left) and waiting to board the train to the north in the delousing area of the camp (right). Photos acquired from German eBay by the author.

of the camp, and in their original state the six very large barracks of this area could house a very large number of soldiers. The barracks also seem to have been somewhat better equipped to the conditions on the cape than most of the other barracks in the camp. These barracks were equipped with many brick-clad fireplaces and brick chimneys. As the area was visited by very large numbers of German soldiers, it was assumed that the soil within the delousing area would contain many artefacts from the time of the camp. This was however not the case, and instead the area was found to be almost totally empty of artefacts from the Second World War period, and was instead littered with debris from the 1970s and 1980s. Only a small number of German Second World War buttons and coins were found by the sides of the footpaths that crisscrossed the barracks area. The areas where barracks that had been dismantled once stood were totally empty of finds, which serves as an important reminder that even a large amount of human activity in an area can occur without leaving any archaeological trace. The reason for the lack of German period finds in the Entlausungsdorf barracks area probably has to do with the strict sanitary regulations for this part of the camp, which was probably excessively cleaned during work duties by the German soldiers, as mentioned in some of their letters to their loved ones at home (Chapter 4.3.2.2).

To the south of the Entlausungsdorf, the much smaller and simple wooden barracks in the main camp, that had been planned to be only temporary, grew steadily in number between 1942 and 1944. Their very simple outside appearance reflected the very basic and cramped living conditions on the inside (Photo 468). New groups of soldiers arrived within their walls as soon as the previous ones left, once again filling the worn-out bunkbeds.

Despite the soldiers having been deloused, the battle with body lice, which could cause epidemic typhus, was continuous. The living conditions, with many soldiers interacting and sleeping together in a very cramped space, also increased the spread of other infectious diseases. To keep the soldiers active and to improve the sanitary conditions in the barracks, cleaning duties were probably a very large part of the daily life in this part of the camp. For most of the German soldiers who travelled through Hanko, the experience was very limited to say the least. Like a mirage, the German soldiers could see the town of Hanko in the distance from the decks of the troop carriers and when they went swimming or sunbathing on the sandy southern beach of the cape. The town life was out of their reach, as was most of the women and other earthly pleasures. For the officers administering the camp, its location further away from town

Photo 468. Two Luftwaffe soldiers in the Urlauberlager of Deutsches Lager Hanko, probably in the summer or autumn of 1942. Photo acquired from German eBay by the author.

was considered a good thing for one simple reason: it prevented trouble.

The 28 large lavatories with seating for 204 persons at a time, nine washing barracks with a total of 508 sinks, and two saunas were spread out evenly in the outskirts of different parts of Deutsches Lager Hanko (Map 8; Photo 43). While the number of lavatories can be seen as sufficient for the number of soldiers in the camp, the number of very small washing facilities can be considered insufficient despite the relatively large number of sinks. The only washing barracks that had saunas were reserved for the officers and the female auxiliary helpers from the Weibliches Wehrmahtsgefolge and the German Red Cross who worked in the camp hospital, the Soldatenheim which was the camp's recreational centre, and the canteen. During spring, summer, and autumn the beaches on both sides of the camp were probably used for washing and swimming but during winter keeping clean would have been much more difficult.

Today not a single untouched spot of land from the main part of the camp survives, making traditional archaeological research on this part of the camp practically impossible. The only way to research the daily life in the Urlauberlager is through period photographs, letters and diaries written by the German soldiers and members of the Lottas of the camp. According to information in letters that were sent by German soldiers in the camp and period photographs taken within the camp, life in Deutsches Lager Hanko was much like in staying in any busy terminal or small seaside holiday or camping resort today. The fleeting and mostly rather boring time in the camp was spent enjoying the seascape, going swimming, sunbathing, watching movies in the Soldatenkino movie theatre, shopping for souvenirs in the Lotta Svärd canteen, or performing work duties. Eating and drinking, fighting lice, and writing letters home or to fellow German soldiers fighting on other fronts was also very common. The texts of the Feldpost letters were short and strictly regulated. As a result, the real content of the letters had to be hidden between the lines. The most important part of the letter was often limited to the three short words "Ich bin gesund" which could also be translated to "I'm alive".

Transit camps had their own landscapes of the senses, and these can and should be studied from the perspective of Sensory Anthropology. In a chapter titled "Extreme Sensescapes" in a book by Kelvin E.Y. Low (2023), he makes many interesting remarks on how war affects a person's

sensibilities and how the soldiers' senses serve as catalysts for feelings of fear and insecurity as well as security. Many of professor Low's observations are valid for understanding the importance of the sensory experiences of the men and women who stayed in the camp.

Deutsches Lager Hanko was a crowded meeting place for soldiers from different units of the German army, offering an effective environment for the spreading of rumours and stories from the different frontlines and life back home in Germany. The stories told by soldiers on the move were not always happy ones and added to the anxiety and fear felt by some of the men and women in the camp.

The daily routines of the camp and the beauty of the surrounding nature provided at least some sort of stability and a feeling of security for the inmates. The mood swings from the overwhelming feeling of excitement upon departure from Hanko towards the hometowns and villages in Germany, or the sadness and homesickness when travelling back to the frontlines, was probably felt by every man and woman who passed through the camp. The soundscape of the Urlauberlager was as if of Germany had been comprised into one small space. A wide variety of different German dialects, and also other European languages could be heard all over the camp where soldiers were telling their stories.

Playing instruments, or records on gramophones, and singing songs together or while marching outside the camp was common. Simple portable harmonicas were popular with the German soldiers during the Second World War (Mason 2006: 136–138). Sounds of harmonicas could be heard in the barracks of the camp, or almost anywhere where soldiers gathered. All of these sounds formed rich and sensuous sonic repositories. The whizzes of arriving and departing trains ran through the air night and day. Nature provided its own background music. During early spring the air was full of sounds from migratory birds arriving from the south. Many of them were, like the German soldiers on their way to the far north. The starry skies during the long autumn and winter nights provided the setting for a very different mood, when in the total darkness the only sounds that could be heard were those of the waves hitting the beach and a light breeze through the hundred-year-old pine trees. In autumn, winter, and spring storms ripped over the cape, breaking open windows and making the barracks squeak and squeal in agony. The winter of 1942 was very cold (Hotakainen 2010: 56). At times the freezing winds coming in from the north reminded the soldiers of what was to come when it was time for them to return to the frontlines of the Eismeerfront.

The many activities performed by the soldiers in the camp accumulated vast amounts of a wide variety of different types of trash which could cause sanitary and other problems. The trash mainly consisted of drink-and food-related as well as health and hygiene articles but also included small items such as buttons from uniforms and military equipment, spent and unspent firearms cartridges, and various other small personal items. Overall, the finds are very similar to those of other German camp sites in Finland or northern Norway (see, for instance, Farstadvoll et al. 2022). Of all the trash probably the food-related items such as animal remains, or uncleaned or half empty food-ration cans were considered the most harmful as they attracted brown rats and flies. Consumption of alcohol was allowed in the camp, and the number of empty bottles must have been very large. At least some of the drink-related artefacts such as beer bottles from local breweries, and possibly also some other bottles were re-circulated, but wine and schnapps bottles were regularly discarded in the dumps or in trash heaps. According to the lease agreement all of the trash should have been removed from the area of the camp, but it seems that in the outskirts of the camp, especially in the Ukrainerlager area and in the outer perimeter of the Entlausungsdorf area, this rule was at times broken and some of the trash was thrown into Soviet dugouts and left open or covered with a layer of gravel. Sometimes smaller trash was collected in buckets and simply spread out on the ground surface. A few of the finds from the dumpsites point towards at least some of them having been used in 1944, and possibly even during the very last months of the camps existence. Eighty years later these dumps would prove extremely valuable to the archaeological research on the materiality of the camp.

The finds from the different dumpsites of Deutsches Lager Hanko together paint a uniform picture of the activities carried out by the men and women in the camp, and centre on basic human behaviour such as keeping clean and eating and occasionally also drinking and smoking. Although this was much like could be expected from the start based on the finds from other German Second World sites in Northern Finland and other Nordic countries, the finds are important on a local level and in the information, they convey about life in this camp situated in the south of Finland far away from the frontlines in the north. The Finnish made barracks of the camp and many finds of porcelain artefacts from the Finnish company Arabia and bottles from Finnish and local breweries show how interconnected the German war effort was with many Finnish companies. On the other hand, the animal bones from the dumpsites show that the German soldiers interacted with the local community to get more varied food resources. The people of Hanko also found other ways to interact with the German soldiers in the camp. The contacts took wide variety of different forms and occurred in many different areas outside and inside the camp perimeter, like for instance the camp gate were pilsner and letter paper was sold to the Germans, on the cliffs near the southern beach were fish was sold, on road the from the harbour to the camp during the arrival and departure of the soldiers by ship to Germany, and in the Lotta Svärd canteen. Based on information gathered through interviews the people of Hanko and the German soldiers interacted in many different but mostly positive ways that benefitted both. Negative experiences of course also occurred but as it appears not in a large scale. When the war in the north neared its close and the German troops left Hanko many of the friendships and contacts between German soldiers and locals continued with letters being sent in both directions over decades. A few young women also left Hanko for an unknown future in the war-torn towns in Europe some of them never to return to Hanko again.

The complete set of archaeologically excavated artefacts from the German camp also serves as a basis for exhibitions and more detailed research on the finds in the future. Like so often with finds from archaeological contexts, many of the items themselves often raise more questions than they provide answers. Despite the possibility of connecting the finds to a well-known historical time-period and to the known use of the area, many of the excavation finds from the site still refuse to talk and share the intimate stories that I had set out to find in the beginning of my research. It is only by combining the finds found in the ground and the finds from other sources and the known general history of the camp that the story of the camp can be told. I can gladly admit that if I had tried to write the history of the camp based only on the finds found in the ground, and without knowing the historical background of the site, I would probably have been totally lost. The beauty of modern conflict archaeology lies just here, in being able to combine finds from a wide variety of different sources to tell a historically objective and truthful story, and while still leaving many intriguing mysteries and fascinating details to be solved later.

After the Germans abandoned the camp in September 1944, most of the barracks in the camp were in poor condition after two years of very hard use. After the war there was shortage of almost everything in Finland, and despite their condition by the early 1950s almost all of the barracks had been sold to new owners, dismantled and transported away from the area or demolished. Many of the barracks such as for instance the Soldatenkino, saw new use either in Hanko or in other towns in southern Finland. Even the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki had a barracks from Deutsches Lager Hanko placed in its inner yard. The fate of the large barracks in the delousing area was very different from those in the other parts of the camp. From 1944 onwards these barracks were used as a temporary internment camp for former Soviet Prisoners of War arriving to Hanko from a prisoner of war camp in Kemi in northern Finland. The Soviet prisoners of war only stayed in the camp in Hanko for a short while before being transported back to the Soviet Union on trains (Photos 469–470).

After the Soviet prisoners of war had left, the area served as a quarantine camp for all Finnish soldiers who had been imprisoned in the Soviet Union from 1941–1944. Some of the Finnish sol-


Photos 469–470. Soviet prisoners of war in the delousing area to the west of Baracke 5 during an inspection in the autumn of 1944. Photo SA-kuva.

diers were given too sturdy food upon arrival, resulting in sickness and even death (Saraste 2024: 93). Once the Finnish soldiers had left for their homesteads, sailors on Finnish merchant ships who had been interned by the Germans in the last stages of the Second World War started arriving to the same barracks. The hard-luck sailors were soon followed by groups of Finnish women who had left Finland with the retreating German troops and had decided to return to Finland. The women were suspected of being sympathetic with nazi ideologies and were interrogated by the Finnish State Police in the camp before being allowed to return to their homes all over Finland (Heiskanen 2018: 203).

From 1950 to 1960 the barracks were used as a correctional facility for female prisoners who were serving sentences for minor felonies (Photo 471). The Second World War buildings in the former delousing area were now repaired, and some of them partly rebuilt. A few new buildings, including a guardhouse, a large woodshed, a storage building equipped with cells, and a small dining hall was built in the area (Photo 138).

The dining hall caught fire and burned to the ground in March 1953, but otherwise the area was kept in good condition (*Hangötidningen,* 21 March and 24 March 1956). The ten-year long period of the correctional facility on Cape Tulliniemi made a lasting impression on the people of Hanko and many stories and memories still circulate about supposed strange and scandalous events that went on in the isolated "prison for female convicts" on the cape. During the excavations and surveys of the area, however, not a single artefact that could be attributed to this intriguing time-period could be found.

In its final stage from the 1960s to the 1970s, Baracke 8 in the delousing area was rebuilt and used to house civilian families (Photo 472). The rest of the barracks in the area were mainly used as workshops and storage facilities by the Finnish Defense Forces. Civilians were also housed in the northernmost Offiziersunterkunft barracks in the German staff officers living area (Baracke 118, Map 12). In both areas several dumpsites containing trash from this time period remain which forms an interesting Contemporary Archaeology research object for the future.

During its last years of active use in the 1980s, the area was used as a military training ground by the Finnish Defence Forces. By this stage the roofs of many of the barracks that had been left unattended had started to cave in and reservists were allowed to break off firewood from the crumbling structures to warm their tents. The military exercise activities accumulated a lot of different types

Photo 471. Mannschaftsbaracke 4–HBK 64 in the delousing area photographed in the 1950s when it saw use as a part of a correctional facility for female prisoners. Photo Hanko Museum.

Photo 472. A child with an evacuation sled standing outside the Waschbaracke 18 in the late 1950s. Photo from the family archive of Mr. Risto Lehto.

of trash, such as spent rifle cartridges, in the Entlausungsdorf area.

After the last military exercise, silence fell over the remaining barracks and nature soon started to take over. The roofs of Mannschaftsbaracke 5 and Mannschaftsbaracke 6, and possibly also Mannschaftsaracke 9, were the first to cave in, leaving the interiors and outer walls subject to the harsh elements of the cape. Only the partly rebuilt barracks Mannschaftsbaracke 4 – HBK 64, Baracke 7, and Baracke 8, along with the Waschbaracke 18 and the Abortbaracke 12 and 13, defied nature and time until the scientific research on Deutsches Lager Hanko started in 2014. As of 2024 the roofs of all of the barracks have caved in, and it is only a question of time before all of the structures have been reduced to rubble.

9 CONCLUSIONS

Almost every German soldier that was stationed in Finland between 1942–1944 visited Deutsches Lager Hanko at some point in their military service. The camp and the nearby harbour were much like transit terminals, where large numbers of soldiers came and went but mostly stayed for only a brief time between arrival and departure from Hanko by train or ship.

The Finnish-made barracks of the camp were designed to be temporary, and only provided very basic, likely lice-infested accommodation for the passing soldiers, despite the delousing process that all soldiers had to go through before entering the main camp. To provide activities for the bored inhabitants and to improve the sanitary conditions, the daily routines in the camp involved regular cleaning duties. As a result of the large amounts of soldiers passing through, large amounts of trash accumulated in the camp but were transported away from the area as stated in the lease agreement with the Finnish authorities. In five different areas on the outskirts of the camp this rule was sometimes broken, with selected discarded trash thrown into former Soviet dugouts or spread out on the ground surface. Perhaps not surprisingly, based on the excavation finds from these dumpsites life in the camp mainly centered around food, alcohol, health, and leisure. It is however only by adding other types of finds, studies of the remaining architecture, the surrounding nature, as well as other types of multidisciplinary research, that the history and the many stories and fates connected to the camp can be researched.

During their stay in the camp the soldiers mostly spent their time sleeping, eating, drinking smoking, reading, playing boardgames, listening to or playing music, or writing letters back home. They made short visits to the Soldatenheim, the canteens, and the movie theatre of the camp, and took walks on the beaches and the cliffs of the cape, which provided another type of escape from the general boredom in the camp. The joys of the town of Hanko were mostly reserved for the soldiers who ran the camp and lived in Hanko on a year-round basis. Probably because of this, the general order and discipline in the camp was good, and disturbances caused by German soldiers in Hanko were almost non-existent. The contacts with locals provided the inhabitants of the camp with pilsener, fresh fish, and meat. Locals also helped with the transports of the soldiers' luggage from the camp to the harbour and back in return for compensation in money, bread, cigarettes, or sweets.

Deutsches Lager Hanko was not just a camp, it was a daily meeting point for thousands of German soldiers and female auxiliaries serving in different parts of the frontlines of the Second World war for a short period time. In the camp the joyfulness of soldiers travelling on home leave was dampened by stories told by soldiers returning from furlough. The long journey from the north took two days and was undertaken in simple cattle cars were the soldiers slept side-by-side on simple wooden sleeping platforms with a metal stove in the centre providing the only heat source. The sea crossings from Hanko to Baltic harbours such as Reval, Libau, and Stettin were equally uncomfortable. During winter or bad weather, the soldiers were transported to their destination in the cargo holds of the large troop carriers. Wearing a life jacket was mandatory and reminded the soldiers about the constant danger of hitting a mine or being subjected to an attack from the air.

Modern Conflict Archaeology is a powerful tool in the research of recent historical events, including remains from the 20th century like Second World War sites that lack objectively documented historical or archival sources. It offers an expansive toolkit that goes beyond the one used in traditional archaeological research and can also involve new methods of finding artefacts that for one reason or another have not made their way to war

museums or national archives. To find these lost items the modern conflict archaeologist can turn to crowdsourcing, to find people to interview or relatives of soldiers whose estates may contain valuable artefacts such as letters, photographs, memory books, or diaries. Searches with different keywords on Internet web auction sites such as eBay can also produce interesting artefacts that can fill in the gaps between the items found in the ground and are relevant for research, most of which can be acquired for the price of just a couple of euros (Photo 473).

If modern conflict archaeology is combined with memory history, weather history, photographic art research, professional photography, topographical studies, anthropology, as well as social and natural history, a much more complete narrative of Second World War sites and events can be achieved than by using traditional archive research alone. Osteology and macrofossil analysis can also add greatly to conflict archaeology research and find answers to questions about available food or other natural resources and vegetation of Second World War camp sites much like they do for prehistoric dwelling sites.

The dark history of modern conflicts interests many people on a global level. The reasons for this interest can vary a lot from person to person, from a writer seeking inspiration to write a new book to local schoolchildren studying the history of their hometown. Community archaeology and citizen science excavations of sites like Deutsches Lager Hanko is one way to meet that interest and study the tragic events in a unique way by offering a hands-on experience. Conflict archaeology and community archaeology field schools can be used to gather data and research material on Second World War sites much in the same manner as regular archaeology field schools do on prehistoric sites. The pedagogic excavations should also be used to allow people to reflect and learn from their experiences. The modern conflict archaeology research of Deutsches Lager Hanko increases the knowledge of and interest in the Second World War among the public, especially among schoolchildren. The excavation finds, which mostly consist of mundane everyday civilian artefacts, offer a new and almost totally overlooked glimpse into the materiality of the Second World War and life in the German camp behind the frontlines. The finds from the excavations of the camp bring a touch of humanity and sense of individual experience to this quite recent conflict and provoke relevant discussions and thoughts about the role of ordinary humans caught up in a World War. As concluded by Spanish conflict archaeologist Alfredo González-Ruibal in his book *The Archaeology of the Spanish Civil War:* "Fragments, small details are not just evocative: they may tell the very truth of the war" (González-Ruibal 2020: 3).

The results and finds from the archaeological excavations can and should be presented to the public in exhibitions after the excavation. The nature of the find material allows for several new ways to present the results of the research, as many of the artefacts found during the excavations do not need to be treated quite as delicately and be protected from possible damage done by visitors, as is the case with more fragile and valuable prehistoric finds. Photographic art exhibitions made by school students or professional photographers, whether focusing on the research process, the finds, or other aspects of the field work, is another way of presenting the Second World War history of a site and reaches out to a different audience than traditional museum exhibitions.

The modern conflict archaeology research of Deutsches Lager Hanko and the logistics of the German troop transports through Hanko brings a mostly forgotten and neglected part of the Second World War to the fore. Deutsches Lager Hanko and Hanko harbour were an important and integral part of the logistics of Hitler's war in the far north. The research into the Second World War German transition camp also adds a new momentum to Modern Conflict Archaeology research in Finland, a country particularly rich in a wide variety of well-preserved remains from the Second World War.

The protected nature reserve area of Cape Tulliniemi is a prime example of a palimpsest landscape composed of a mosaic of different man-made and natural landforms from different time periods. It still retains many interesting unexplored research areas and multidisciplinary research topics where Modern Conflict Archaeology

and Contemporary Archaeology could meet. This is particularly true concerning archaeological and social history research on the use of the area before 1942 and after September 1944, when the German military presence in Hanko ended. By adding a community archaeology dimension and presenting the research results in innovative ways in public exhibitions, the more recent history of the cape could be brought alive in fascinating ways.

Still, at this moment the battlefields, airfields, camp sites, and other constructions from the Second World War are not considered protected cultural heritage sites in Finland, because of their young age. As a result, the sites are systematically looted by metal detectorists and rapidly destroyed by land use. Research on camps like Deutsches Lager Hanko and other Second World War sites in Finland raises the awareness of these sites and highlight the important research and tourism potential. They are also places for the remembrance of and reflection on the tragedies of the Second World War (Photo 473). The crumbling remains of the German transition camp in Hanko are important parts of the cultural landscape and should be protected and preserved for future generations in the same way as prehistoric dwelling sites and medieval villages or building foundations from the 18th century.

Photo 473. *Sterbebild* death card of German corporal Josef Bock killed during the battles in northern Finland in July 1944. The verse on the card is connected to the sea crossing on a troop carrier that never came. Original death card acquired by the author from German eBay.

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APPENDIX 1

GERMAN CARGO SHIPS VISITING HANKO HARBOUR 14 JANUARY 1942 – 1 SEPTEMBER 1944

A

S/s *Adler* (five times in 1943).
S/s *Aldebaran* (four times 1942–1943).
M/s *Alkaid* (one time in 1942).
S/s *Almut* (three times in 1944).
S/s *Annelis Christophersen* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Ariadne* (99 times 1942–1944).
M/s *Askari* (one time in 1943).

B

S/s *Braunsberg* (two times in 1944).
S/s *Brake* (two times in 1944).
S/s *Bremerhaven* (112 times 1942–1944).

C

S/s *Charlotte* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Charlotte Cords* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Clara L.M. Russ* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Colman* (one time in 1944).

D

S/s *Dona Ahnens* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Donau* (three times in 1944).
S/s *Drechtdijk* (six times 1943–1944).

E

M/s *Eberhart Essberger* (one time 1944).
M/s *Eisvogel* (icebreaker) (one time in 1944).

G

M/s *Gondias* (five times in 1943).
M/s *Gotenland* (39 times 1943–1944).
M/s *Gotha* (21 times in 1942).
S/s *Gumbinnen* (one time in 1944).

H

S/s *Hans Leonhard* (two times in 1944).
S/s *Hans Riekmen* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Haparanda* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Hindenburg* (one time in 1942).

I

M/seg. *Ingrid* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Iller* (58 times 1942–1944).
S/s *Isar* (22 times 1943–1944).

J

S/s *Johannes C. Russ* (one time in 1944).

L

S/s *Landsee* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Lappland* (three times in 1943).
S/s *Las Palmas* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Leda* (seven times in 1943).

M

M/s *Malgache* (three times in 1943).
M/s *Mar Del Plata* (one time in 1944).

M/s *Marie Leonhardt* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Marie Siedler* (nine times in 1944).
M/s *Maersk Stig* (eight times in 1944).
S/s *Martha Holm* (two times in 1944).
S/s *Martha Russ* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Moero* (six times in 1944).
M/s *Moltkefels* (15 times 1942, 1944).
S/s *Muansa* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Mülheim-Ruhr* (one time in 1944).

N

M/s *Neidenfels* (nine times 1942, 1944).
M/s *Netsenden* (four times in 1944).
M/s *Netzlegen* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Neptun* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Nordenham* (133 times 1942–1944).
S/s *Nordfahrt* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Nordwind* (two times in 1944).

O

M/s *Ostland* (eight times in 1942).
S/s *Ottenberg* (one time in 1944).

P

M/s *Palatia* (two times in 1942).
M/s *Peter Wessel* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Philipp Heineken* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Phoenieia* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Pillau* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Pollux* (one time in 1944).
M/s *Porto Alegre* (11 times in 1942).
S/s *Poseidon* (two times in 1944).
S/s *Possehl* (one time in 1944).

R

S/s *Regina* (14 times in 1944).
S/s *Robert Sauber* (one time in 1944).

S

S/s *Stormarn* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Südsee* (one time in 1944).

T

M/s *Telde* (22 times in 1942).
S/s *Trautenfels* (two times in 1942).
S/s *Theda Fritzen* (one time in 1944).
S/s *Togo* (two times in 1944).

U

M/s *Ulanga* (one time in 1942).
S/s *Urundi* (11 times 1942, 1944).

W

M/s *Warthe* (26 times 1942–1943).
M/s *Wartheland* (17 times 1943–1944).
S/s *Wolsum* (four times in 1943).

APPENDIX 2

NUMBER OF BARRACKS AND OTHER ARCHITECTURE OF DEUTSCHES LAGER HANKO IN MARCH 1944

ENTLAUSUNGSDORF

4 Abortbaracke (buildings 12–15).
3 Baracke (buildings 6–8, unknown use).
1 Baracke Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge (building 20).
1 Bauhütte (building 19).
2 Entlausungsanstalt (buildings 1–2).
1 Gepäckbaracke (building 3).
1 Lotta-Kantine Erika (Lotta Svärd canteen building 21).
1 Küche (building 10).
3 Mannschaftsbaracke (buildings 4–5, 9).
1 Platzkartenkontrolle (building 23).
1 Trafo-kaus (building 22).
3 Waschbaracke (buildings 11, 17–18).

UKRAINERLAGER

1 Abortbaracke (building 140).
7 Finnenzelt (buildings 135–139, 141–142).
3 Baracke (buildings 143–145, unknown use).

URLAUBERLAGER

26 Abortbaracke (buildings 5–6, 16, 19, 22, 26–27, 42, 45, 63–64,
66–67, 84, 86, 107, 110, 113, 119, 122, 125–126, 130, 132–133,
147).
3 Armee Verplegungslager (marked with the text AVL. on the original map).
9 Baracke (buildings 43–44, 91, 102, 127, 129, 131, 148–150), unknown use.
2 Baracke Deutsches Rotes Kreutz (buildings 112, 114).
1 Baracke Heeres-Betreeungs-Abteilung 10 (building 76).
1 Baracke Weibliches Wehrmachtsgefolge (building 111).
1 Finnische Kantine (building 128).
1 Geschäftzimmerbaracke (building 28).
1 Kraftstofflager (building 95).
2 Kraftwagenbaracke (buildings 30–31).
2 Lagerraum (buildings 50, 108).
63 Mannschaftsbaracke (buildings 1–3, 7–11, 13–15, 17–18, 24, 32–35,
37–38, 40–41, 46–49, 51–52, 57–62, 68–69, 72–75, 77–80, 90, 92–
94, 96–101, 103–105).
2 Mannschaftsspeisesäle (buildings 55–56).
5 Offiziersunterkunfte (buildings 86, 87, 116, 120–121).
1 Offiziersspeisesaal (building 115).
4 Pferdestallbaracke (buildings 20, 21, 23, 25).
1 Reichskreditkasse (building 123).
1 Revieraracke (building 89).
2 Sauna (buildings 65, 117).
1 Soldatenheim (building 109).
1 Soldatenkino (building 124).
1 Stammoffiziersunterkunft (building 118).
1 Verpflegungsbaracke (building 82).
1 Wache (building 29).
9 Waschbaracke (buildings 4, 12, 36, 39, 70–71, 85, 88, 106).
2 Wirtschaftsbaracke (buildings 53–54).

APPENDIX 3
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 1 A

Ammunition & guns

Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	7
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	5
Pistol cartridge (spent)	3
Rifle bullet	4
Rifle cartridge (spent)	5
Rifle cartridge (unspent)	2

Drink

Beer bottle	18
Beer bottle cap	477
Beverage bottle	12
Carafe glass stopper	1
Cup (porcelain)	7
Drinking glass	5
Genever bottle	2
Mug (metal)	6
Schnapps bottle	8
Schnapps glass	3
Sekt bottle	1
Water bucket	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	20
Wine bottle 1 l	3
Wine bottle cork	3

Equipment

Axe head	1
Bakelite container (large)	1
Bakelite container (small)	4
Bakelite container cap	1
Bread bag button (French)	2
Canteen cup	2
Esbit pocket cooker	1
Flashlight	4
Flashlight battery	24
Gasmask container strap end	1
Gasmask lens cover	4
Gasmask shape retainer frame	1
Losantine container	5
Mess tin, lid or handle	5
Metal container (round, large)	2
Metal container (round, small)	8
Metal container (square, small)	8
Plastic container	6
Plastic cover	1
Radio battery	4
Strap end	7
Tent peg	3
Zeltbahn grommet	6
Y-strap front hook	1
Wrench	2

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Bowl (iron)	1
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	1
Cheese foil (Tilsiter)	2
Condensed milk container	1
Food can for fish (aluminium)	19
Food can for fish (iron)	31
Food can (iron)	198
Fork	2
Honey jar	1
Glass jar	21
Kettle	1
Knife	3
Spoon-fork combo	4
Pan/-lid (iron)	6
Plate (porcelain)	3
Spice strainer	3
Scoop	1
Spoon	7

Health & hygiene

Ampoule	4
Ampoule cap	1
Aspirin container	1
Comb	43
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Comb (licecomb)	1
Glass container	1
Hair water bottle	2
Medicine bottle	18
Medicine bottle cap	1
Harmonica	1
Medicine tube	26
Perfume bottle	21
Pocket mirror	24
Razor	13
Razor package	2
Shaving brush	2
Shoe polish container	9
Soap box	9
Sunglasses	1
Sun oil bottle	1
Toothbrush	6
Toothpaste powder bottle	1
Toothpaste tube	39
Toothpaste tube cap	3

Leisure & Personal

Ashtray	2
Christmas ornament	2
Cigarette package (paper)	35
Cigarette case (metal)	2
Civilian Edelweiss pin	1
Coin (Finnish)	6
Coin (German)	12
Coin (Norwegian)	1
Coin (Soviet)	2
Fountain pen	1
Fountain pen nib cover	1
Gaming piece	1
Ink bottle	1
Lock	5
Lighter	2
Lighter fluid container	1
Luggage tag	1
Matchbox cover (brass)	2
Mouthpiece	21
Newspaper fragment	5
Pencil	4
Pipe	6
Pocketknife	6
Safety needle	1
Suitcase name tag	1
Suitcase corner cover	3
Trench art item	4
Vinyl record fragment.	1
Watch fragment	1

Uniform

Button (German)	8
Button (metal)	17
Button (plastic)	9
Button (cardboard)	10
Cloth fragment	3
Clothing tag	1
Cockade (Soviet)	1
Luftwaffe visor cap eagle	1
RAD pin	1
Shoe	2

Various

Cut rubber	13
Cut plastic fragment	17
Furnace bed part	6
Leather fragment	24
Melted glass fragment	54
Railway spike	14

APPENDIX 4
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 1 B

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	2
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	7
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	5
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	1
Rifle bullet	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	2

Drink

Beer bottle	2
Beer bottle cap (metal)	114
Beverage bottle	1
Cup (metal)	1
Cup (plastic)	2
Cup (porcelain)	1
Drinking glass	1
Genever bottle	1
Mug (porcelain)	1
Schnapps bottle	3
Wine bottle 0,75 l	9
Wine bottle cork	30

Equipment

Bakelite container cap	1
Flashlight	3
Flashlight battery	3
Flashlight lightbulb	5
Gas mask container strap end	1
Gas mask lens cover	1
Headset part	1
Losantine container	2
Mess tin, -lid or -handle	1
Metal container (round, large)	2
Metal container (round, small)	5
Metal container (square, small)	8
Plastic container	1
Plastic cover	2
Strap end	4

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Food can for fish (aluminium)	10
Food can (iron)	110
Honey jar	1
Glass jar	6
Knife	3
Plate (porcelain)	2
Spoon	6
Spoon-fork combo	4

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	1
Aspirin container	1
Comb	13
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Comb (lice comb)	1
Medicine bottle	1
Medicine bottle cap	1
Medicine tube	3
Perfume bottle	8
Plastic mirror frame	1
Pocket mirror	16
Razor	10
Shaving brush	2
Shoe polish container	4
Soap box	5
Sunglasses	2
Toothbrush	5
Toothpaste tube	7
Toothpaste tube cap	3

Leisure & Personal

Cigarette package (paper)	2
Cigarette case (metal)	2
Coin (Finnish)	2
Coin (German)	5
Fountain pen nib cov.	1
Gaming piece	1
Harmonica	2
Ink bottle	1
Lighter	4
Lighter fluid container	1
Mouthpiece	7
Newspaper fragment	5
Pencil	3
Rosary chain	1
Vinyl record fragm.	1

Uniform

Button (German)	3
Button (metal)	5
Button (plastic)	3
Button (cardboard)	1
Cloth fragment	1
S.A. sports badge	1
Shoe	2

Various

Cut rubber	1
Cut plastic fragment	31
Furnace bed part	4
Leather fragment	6
Melted glass fragment	16

APPENDIX 5
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 1 C

Ammunition & guns

Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	3
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	2

Drink

Beer bottle	2
Beer bottle cap (metal)	108
Beverage bottle	3
Drinking glass	1
Mug (metal)	1
Schnapps bottle	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	2
Wine bottle cork	7

Equipment

Bakelite container cap	1
Bread bag button (French)	1
Butter container	2
Flashlight battery	11
Gas mask shape retainer frame	1
Mess tin, lid or handle	1
Metal container (round, small)	3
Plastic cover	1
Strap end	2
Zeltbahn button	3

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	1
Cheese foil (Tilsiter)	1
Food can for fish (aluminium)	7
Food can for fish (iron)	19
Food can (iron)	76
Glass jar	1
Knife	4
Spoon-fork combo	1
Plate (porcelain)	1

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	4
Comb	6
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Medicine bottle	1
Medicine bottle cap	4
Perfume bottle	13
Pocket mirror	13
Shoe polish container	1
Soap box	4
Sunglasses	2
Toothbrush	2
Toothpaste tube	3

Leisure & Personal

Cigarette package (paper)	23
Coin (Finnish)	3
Coin (German)	5
Fountain pen	1
Gaming piece	1
Harmonica	1
Key	2
Lock	2
Lighter	3
Lighter fluid container	1
Matchbox cover (brass)	1
Mouthpiece	6
Pencil	2
Safety needle	1
Watch fragment	1

Uniform

Button (German)	4
Button (Polish)	1
Button (metal)	9
Button (plastic)	1
Cloth fragment	2
Shoe	2
Uniform hook	1

Various

Cut rubber	3
Cut plastic fragment	17
Furnace bed part	4
Melted glass fragment	3

APPENDIX 6
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 2 A

Equipment

Canteen cup	1
Flashlight battery	2
Flashlight lightbulb	2

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	3
Comb	1
Glass container	1
Hair water bottle	1

Drink

Beer bottle	1
Beer bottle cap (metal)	295
Beverage bottle	5
Bottle cap (porcelain)	1
Cup (porcelain)	6
Drinking glass	3
Genever bottle	2
Mug (metal)	1
Schnapps bottle	1
Schnapps glass	2
Sect bottle	2
Tea pot	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	10
Wine bottle 1 l	24
Wine bottle cork	12

Food

Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	139
Food can for cucumber (iron)	3
Food can for fish (aluminium)	11
Food can (iron)	67
Glass jar	3
Glass bowl/plate	1
Plate (porcelain)	6

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	3
Comb	1
Glass container	1
Hair water bottle	1
Medicine bottle	2
Medicine tube	1
Perfume bottle	6
Pocket mirror	2
Razor	1
Shoe polish container	3
Toothpaste tube	4

Leisure

Coin (German)	1
Ink bottle	1
Newspaper fragment	1
Vinyl record (fragm.)	2
Flowerpot	1
Cigarette package (paper)	33

Uniform

Button (metal)	1

Various

Plastic cover	1
Leather fragment	1
Melted glass fragment	3

APPENDIX 7
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 A

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	77
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	6
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	4
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	9
Rifle bullet	4
Rifle cartridge (spent)	1
Thompson mg cartridge (spent)	1

Equipment

Bakelite container (large)	2
Bakelite container (small)	2
Bakelite container cap	2
Butter container	2
Canteen cup	1
Flashlight battery	14
Gasmask lens cover	6
ID tag marked (Finnish)	1
Losantine container	26
Plastic cover	7
Round metal container (small)	1
Snap hook	1
Strap end	4
Square metal container (small)	1
Zeltbahn button	107
Zeltbahn grommet	18

Drink

Beer bottle	6
Beer bottle cap (metal)	50
Bottle cap (porcelain)	2
Cup (porcelain)	1
Liqueur bottle	1
Tea strainer	4
Wine bottle 0,75 l	3

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	1
Food can for fish (aluminium)	5
Food can for fish (iron)	2
Glass jar	2
Spoon	1

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	21
Ampoule cap	60
Comb	196
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	2
Condom	14
Medicine tube	61
Medicine tube cap	11
Mirror fragment	31
Mouthwash bottle	1
Perfume bottle	4
Pivot crown	1
Pocket mirror	29
Razor	3
Shoe polish container	3
Soap box	41
Sunglasses	3
Toothbrush	2
Toothpaste tube	7
Toothpaste tube cap	2
Tooth implant	2

Leisure & Personal

Crucifix	1
Coin (Finnish)	42
Coin (German)	32
Coin (Norwegian)	2

Cufflink	1
Eraser	18
Finger ring	1
Fountain pen nib	2
Fountain pen nib cov.	2
Gaming piece	15
Mouthpiece	20
Name tag	2
Pencil	22
Pendant	2
Pipe	1
Rosary chain	1
Rosary ring	1
Safety needle	1
Watch band	1
Winterhilfswerk item	1

Uniform

Badge (canteen purchase)	6
Belt hook	3
Button (French)	9
Button (German)	109
Button (Kriegsmarine)	3
Button (Luftwaffe)	5
Button (metal)	246
Button (plastic)	220
Button (cardboard)	26
Cloth fragment	2
Shoulder board button	3
Uniform hook	1

Various

Cut rubber	4
Electric wire	4
Leather fragment	19
Melted glass fragment	5

APPENDIX 8
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 B

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	14
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	1
Rifle bullet	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	2

Equipment

Butter container	1
Flashlight battery	7
Gasmask container strap end	2
Losantine container	4
Plastic cover	2
Round metal container (small)	1
Square metal container (small)	1
Zeltbahn grommet	1

Drink

Beer bottle	3
Beer bottle cap (metal)	5
Beverage bottle	1
Bottle cap (porcelain)	2
Cup (porcelain)	3
Wine bottle 0,75 l	2
Wine bottle cork	1

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Food can for fish (aluminium)	2
Spoon	1

Health and hygiene

Ampoule cap	4
Comb	46
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Condom	1
Medicine bottle	5
Medicine tube	6
Perfume bottle	1
Pocket mirror	10
Soap box	7
Toothbrush	1
Toothpaste tube	5

Leisure & Personal

Coin (Finnish)	6
Coin (German)	2
Coin (Soviet)	1
Finger ring	1
Field made item	1
Gaming piece	1
Mouthpiece	4
Pencil	1
Pendant	1
Rosary chain	1
Winterhilfswerk item	1

Uniform

Belt hook	1
Button (French)	1
Button (German)	13
Button (Kriegsmarine)	1
Button (Luftwaffe)	2
Button (metal)	45
Button (plastic)	14

Button (cardboard)	10
Shoulder board button	1

Various

Furnace part	2
Leather fragment	8
Melted glass fragment	10

APPENDIX 9
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 C

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	11
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	6
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	1
Pistol bullet	1
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	4
Rifle cartridge (unspent)	1

Equipment

Bakelite container (large)	1
Bakelite container cap	1
Flashlight	1
Gasmask container strap end	1
Losantine container	5
Plastic container	2
Strap end	1

Drink

Beer bottle cap (metal)	3
Cup (plastic)	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	1

Food

Food can for fish (aluminium)	2
Glass jar	1

Health and hygiene

Comb	7
Medicine bottle cap	1
Pivot crown	1
Razor	1
Soap box	3
Toothbrush	1
Tooth implant	1

Leisure & Personal

Mouthpiece	2

Uniform

No uniform related items

Various

Cut rubber	1
Leather fragment	9
Light bulb	1

APPENDIX 10
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 D

Ammunition & guns

Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	1
Pistol cartridge (spent)	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	1
Rifle cartridge (unspent)	1

Equipment

Canteen cup	2
Flashlight battery	1
ID tag blank (German)	3
Round metal container (small)	1
Strap end	1
Zeltbahn button	1

Drink

Beer bottle	4

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Food can for fish (aluminium)	2
Spoon-fork combo	1

Health & hygiene

Ampoule cap	1
Comb	4
Condom	1
Medicine tube	6
Mirror frame (plastic)	1
Pocket mirror	1
Soap box	2
Toothbrush	2

Leisure & Personal

Coin (Finnish)	2
Field made item	1
Finger ring	2
Lighter	1
Mouthpiece	1
Newspaper fragment	1
Statue fragment (metal)	1

Uniform

Badge (canteen purchase)	6
Belt hook	1
Button (German)	3
Button (Kriegsmarine)	2
Button (metal)	6
Button (plastic)	6
Button (cardboard)	4

Various

Furnace part	1
Leather fragment	7
Light bulb	1
Railway spike	1

APPENDIX 11
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 E

Ammunition & guns

Flare cartridge	1
Mauser clip	2

Equipment

ID tag blank (German)	1
Losantine container	1
Round metal container (small)	1
Zeltbahn button	1

Drink

Beer bottle	1
Bottle cap (porcelain)	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	1
Wine bottle cork	4

Food

Glass jar	1

Health & hygiene

Ampoule	1
Ampoule cap	1
Aspirin container	1
Comb	1
Medicine bottle	7
Medicine bottle cap	1
Medicine tube cap	4
Perfume bottle	11
Pocket mirror	1
Toothpaste tube	2
Toothpaste tube cap	1

Leisure & Personal

Book	1
Coin (Finnish)	11
Coin (German)	3
Flowerpot	1
Newspaper fragment	1

Uniform

Belt hook	3
Button (French)	1
Button (German Heer)	3
Button (Kriegsmarine)	2
Button (metal)	9
Button (plastic)	2
Button (cardboard)	3
Cloth fragment	2
Heel iron	1
Heer rank chevron (cloth)	1

Various

Cut rubber	1
Leather fragment	9
Light bulb	1

APPENDIX 12
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 4 F

Ammunition & guns

Flare cartridge	1
Fuse	2
Mauser clip	14
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	32
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	16
Muzzle cover	2
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	3
Pistol cartridge (spent)	1
Rifle cartridge (unspent)	2
Thompson mg cartridge (spent)	1

Equipment

Bakelite container (small)	2
Bakelite container cap	1
Butter container	1
Canteen cup	43
Flashlight	1
Flashlight battery	18
Gas mask container strap end	3
ID tag marked (Finnish)	2
ID tag blank (German)	4
ID tag marked (German)	1
Losantine container	9
Round metal container (small)	12
Strap end	6
Zeltbahn button	8
Zeltbahn grommet	1
Whistle	1
Y-strap front hook	1

Drink

Beer bottle	7
Beer bottle cap (metal)	52
Beverage bottle	2
Bottle cap (porcelain)	2
Cup (metal)	1
Cup (porcelain)	7
Drinking glass	4
Genever bottle	2
Schnapps bottle	3
Tea strainer	1
Wine bottle 0,75 l	10

Food

Animal bones (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	2
Food can for fish (aluminium)	1
Fork	1
Hunting decoy fragment	1
Glass jar	5
Glass bowl/plate	1
Plate (porcelain)	5
Spoon	8
Spoon-fork combo	2

Health & hygiene

Ampoule	6
Ampoule cap	4
Aspirin container	1
Comb	23
Condom	1
Hair water bottle	2
Medicine bottle	8
Medicine bottle cap	2
Medicine tube	8
Medicine tube cap	1
Perfume bottle	11
Pocket mirror	4
Razor	2
Shoe polish container	7

Soap box	2
Sunglasses	1
Toothpaste powder bottle	1
Toothpaste tube	7
Toothpaste tube cap	2

Leisure & Personal

Coin (French)	1
Coin (German)	14
Coin (Soviet)	1
Film cartridge	1
Film fragment	3
Finger ring	1
Field made item	2
Fountain pen	2
Fountain pen nib	1
Fountain pen nib cov.	1
Gaming piece	7
Harmonica	1
Ink bottle	5
Key	1
Letter opener	1
Lighter	1
Lighter fluid container	1
Mouthpiece	7
Name tag	2
Pencil	1
Pendant	1
Pocketknife	2
Silver chain	1
Snuff box	1
Stocking clip	1
Toy	2
Whetstone	2

Uniform

Belt hook	4
Button (Finnish)	2
Button (French)	4
Button (German Heer)	14
Button (Hungarian)	2
Button (Kriegsmarine)	3
Button (SS)	1
Button (metal)	51
Button (plastic)	12
Button (cardboard)	2
Cloth fragment	4
Shoulderboard button	1
Uniform hook	1
Wound badge	1

Various

Cut rubber	2
Leather fragment	17
Melted glass fragment	18

APPENDIX 13
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 5 A

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	7
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	6
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	2
Rifle cartridge (spent)	1

Drink

Beer bottle	21
Beer bottle cap (metal)	580
Beverage bottle	4
Bottle cap (porcelain)	3
Cup (plastic)	3
Cup (porcelain)	2
Drinking glass	1
Genever bottle	3
Schnapps bottle	3
Sect bottle	3
Wine bottle 0,75 l	61
Wine bottle cork	43

Equipment

Bakelite container (large)	1
Bakelite container (small)	3
Bakelite container cap	1
Canteen cup	1
Flashlight battery	14
Flashlight lightbulb	1
Gasmask container strap end	2
Gasmask lens cover	2
Leather strap	1
Losantine container	3
Metal container (round, small)	5
Plastic cover	5
Strap end	3
Zeltbahn button	25
Zeltbahn grommet	1
Y-strap front hook	1

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	7
Food can for fish (aluminium)	3
Honey jar	1
Glass jar	1
Plate (porcelain)	3

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	11
Ampoule cap	4
Comb	39
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Condom	2
Delousing powder	3
Medicine tube	6
Mirror fragment	45
Mirror frame (plastic)	1
Mosquito repellant bottle	1
Perfume bottle	6
Pocket mirror	2
Razor	1
Razor package	1
Soap box	4
Sunglasses	1
Toothbrush	3
Toothpaste tube	10

Leisure & Personal

Book	2
Coin (Finnish)	5

Coin (German)	6
Coin (Norwegian)	2
Cigarette package (paper)	40
Eraser	1
Finger ring	1
Fountain pen	1
Fountain pen nib cov.	1
Harmonica	1
Mouthpiece	8
Newspaper fragment	5
Pocketknife	1

Uniform

Badge (canteen purchase)	1
Belt hook	4
Button (German)	11
Button (Kriegsmarine)	1
Button (metal)	36
Button (plastic)	19
Button (cardboard)	9
Cloth fragment	1
Gebirgsjäger cap badge	1
Heel iron	1

Various

Cut rubber	4
Electric cable	3
Electric isolator	3
Lead seal	1
Leather fragment	17
Lightswitch	1
Railway spike	2

APPENDIX 14
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 5 B

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	5
Mauser practice cartridge	2
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	6

Drink

Beer bottle	4
Beer bottle cap (metal)	473
Beverage bottle	1
Cup (porcelain)	2
Wine bottle 0,75 l	8
Wine bottle cork	66

Equipment

Bakelite container (small)	1
Canteen cup	1
Flashlight battery	7
Gasmask lens cover	1
Losantine container	2
Metal container (round, small)	6
Metal container (square, small)	1
Plastic container	4
Plastic cover	1
Pliers	1
Zeltbahn button	7

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	6
Food can for fish (aluminium)	4
Food can for fish (iron)	9
Food can (iron)	14
Honey jar	1
Glass jar	2

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	7
Ampoule cap	3
Comb	14
Condom	1
Medicine bottle	2
Medicine tube	8
Mirror fragment	30
Perfume bottle	2
Pocket mirror	1
Shoe polish container	2
Soap box	4
Sunglasses	2
Toothpaste tube	12
Toothpaste tube cap	6

Leisure & Personal

Coin (Finnish)	5
Coin (German)	4
Coin (Norwegian)	1
Cigarette package (cardboard)	21
Eraser	1
Film fragment	1
Finger ring	1
Gaming piece	1
Harmonica	3
Mouthpiece	2
Newspaper fragment	4
Pocketknife	1
Silver chain	1
Suitcase corner	3
Watch strap (metal)	2

Uniform

Badge (canteen purchase)	1
Belt hook	1
Button (German Heer)	3
Button (metal)	15
Button (cardboard)	6
Cloth fragment	1

Various

Leather fragment	10
Melted glass fragment	5
Furnace part	1

APPENDIX 15
LIST OF FINDS FROM DUMPSITE 5 C

Ammunition & guns

Mauser clip	2
Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	4
Mauser rifle cartridge (spent)	1
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	1
Pistol cartridge (spent)	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	4

Drink

Beer bottle	5
Beer bottle cap (metal)	185
Beverage bottle	1
Bottle cap (porcelain)	1
Cointreau bottle	1
Cup (plastic)	1
Cup (porcelain)	2
Drinking glass	1
Genever bottle	1
Liqueur bottle	1
Schnapps bottle	3
Wine bottle 0,75 l	18
Wine bottle cork	166

Equipment

Canteen cup	1
Flashlight battery	3
Losantine container	1
Metal container (round, small)	2
Plastic container	2
Plastic cover	1
Ski-binding	1
Zeltbahn button	11
Y-strap front hook	1

Food

Animal bone (fragment)	X
Cheese tube (Tilsiter)	4
Food can for fish (aluminium)	17
Food can for fish (iron)	36
Food can (iron)	27
Glass jar	2
Glass bowl/plate	1
Plate (porcelain)	2
Spoon	4

Health and hygiene

Ampoule	2
Comb	17
Comb (hairclip/-pin, -comb.)	1
Condom	1
Hair water bottle	1
Medicine bottle	2
Medicine tube	2
Mirror fragment	11
Perfume bottle	7
Pocket mirror	1
Shaving brush	1
Shoe polish container	2
Soap box	5
Sunglasses	1
Toothpaste tube	1

Leisure & Personal

Book	3
Coin (Finnish)	3
Coin (German)	1
Coin (Norwegian)	2
Cigarette package (paper)	7
Cigarrette package (bakelite)	1

Harmonica	2
Mouthpiece	1
Newspaper fragment	1
Wallet	1

Uniform

Belt hook	1
Button (German)	4
Button (metal)	8
Button (plastic)	7
Button (cardboard)	3
Cloth fragment	1
Shoe	1

Various

Electric cable	1
Leather fragment	7
Lightbulb	1
Melted glass fragment	6

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Mauser rifle cartridge (unspent)	15
Pistol bullet	1
Pistol cartridge (unspent)	1
Rifle cartridge (spent)	3
Rifle cartridge (unspent)	3
Rifle practice cartridge (unspent)	3

Drink

Bottle cap (porcelain)	1

Equipment

Zeltbahn grommet	2

Health and hygiene

Comb	1
Razor	2
Shoe polish container	7
Toothpaste tube	9

Leisure & Personal

Coin (Finnish)	20
Coin (German)	11
Coin (Norwegian)	1
Harmonica	1
Lighter	1
Pocketknife	1
Tram token	1

Uniform

Badge (canteen purchase)	3
Button (German)	3
Button (Kriegsmarine)	2
Button (metal)	13
Button (cardboard)	2

APPENDIX 17
GLOSSARY

A

Achtzylinder	Temporary toilet hung outside the gunwale of a troop carrier
Armee Verpflegungs Lager (AVL)	German army provisions storage building

B

Baracke	Barrack
Bauinspektor	Building inspector
Beamte	German civil servant
Beobachter	Navigator (airplane)
Besichtigung	Inspection
Bordschütze	Gunner (airplane)

D

Deutsches Lager Hanko	German transition camp in Hanko
Dienstgebrauch	Service use
DRK Schwester	Female member of the German Red Cross

E

Edelweiss	Flower symbol of the Gebirgsjäger (Wehrmacht and Waffen SS)
Eisbär-Stellung	A German defensive position in northern Norway
Eiserne Ration	German iron canned food ration
Eismeerfront	Frontline on the shores of the Polar Sea
Eismeerstrasse	Road to the frontlines on the shores of the Polar Sea
Entlausung	Delousing
Entlausungsdorf	Delousing area of the German camp
Erholungsurlaub	Recreation furlong
Erkennungsmarke	Dog tag

F

Feldgendarmerie	Military police unit
Feldluftpark	German airfield
Feldpost	Field post
Finnenzelt	Plywood tent
Flugzeugführer	Pilot

Frontbewährung	Front duty
Frontleitstelle	Forward directing station for personnel in transit
Fronturlaub	Front leave

G

Gebirgsartillerie	Mountain artillery
Gefreiter	German enlisted soldier
Genesungsurlaub	Recovery leave
Gepäck	Baggage

H

Hauptmann	Captain
Heer	German army
Heeresbetreeungseinheit	Army supply unit
Heimaturlaub	Home leave
Helferin	German female auxiliary helper
Hilfswillige	Auxiliary volunteer
Hitler-Jugend	Youth organization of the Nazi Party in Germany

K

Kolonnenhof	Convoy yard
Kriegsurlaubschein	Furlong permit document

L

Lagerführer	Camp leader
Landwirtschaftshilfe	Farm aid
Leutnant	Lieutenant
Luftwaffe	German air forces
Losantine	Gas decontamination agent
Lotta Svärd	Finnish voluntary auxiliary paramilitary organisation for women.
Lyngen-Stellung	German defensive line in northern Norway

M

Mannschaftsbaracke	Soldiers barracks
Marschverpflegung	Food ration issued for troops on the move
Muli	Mule

N

Nachkommando	Unit designatd to sort out the logistics and other problems that arise due to a unit leaving, and which remains in the old place when the unit transfers elsewhere.
Nordfront	The German frontline in northern Norway and northern Finland

O

Oberfeldwebel	Staff sergeant
Oberleutnant	First lieutenant
Oberstabsintendent	Senior staff officer
Operation Barbarossa	Code name for the German attack on the Soviet Union
Operation Silberfuchs	Code name for a joint German–Finnish military operation to cut off and capture the key Soviet port of Murmansk.
Operationsbahn Finnland	German railway network in Finland
Ordnungskompanie	Order company
Organisation Todt	German civil and military engineering organization
Ortskommandantur	Local commandants' headquarters
Ostfront	Eastern front

R

Reichsrundfunk	National network of German regional public radio and television broadcasting companies
Restkommando	Rear detachment
Revierbaracke	Hospital barracks
Reichsarbeitsdienst	Paramilitary organization in Nazi Germany meant to lessen the effects of unemployment on the German economy, militarize the workforce and indoctrinate it with Nazi ideology.
Reichskreditkassenschein	Temporary currency issued to German soldiers in the occupied countries

S

Soldatenkino	Cinema theatre exclusively for German soldiers
Sonderurlaub	Special furlough
SS-Hauptsturmführer	Captain
SS-Sturmmann	Lance corporal
SS-Unterscharführer	Regimental Sergeant Major
Stammoffizier	Staff officer
Stuka	German dive bomber and ground-attack aircraft
Sturmbock-Stellung	German fortified defensive line in northwestern Finland and northern Norway

T

Transportbewegung Schneehase	German war materiel transports in Finland 1940-1941

U

Uffizier	Officer
Ukrainerlager	Camp for Ukrainian auxiliary volunteers
Unterkunft	Accommodation
Urlaub	Furlough

Urlauberzug	Furlough train
Urlaubfahrt	Furlough journey
Urlaubsperre	Furlough lockout

V

Vorkommando	Advance Detachment.

W

Waffenbruderschaft	Brotherhood in arms
Waffen SS	The combat branch of the Nazi Party's paramilitary SS organization
Wehrmacht	German ground forces
Weihnacht	Christmas
Weibliche	
Wehrmachtsgefolge	German armed forces auxiliaries
Wirtschaftsbaracke	Kitchen, sanitary or mess hall barracks

Y

Überfahrt	Sea journey across the Gulf of Finland

Z

Zahlmeisterei	Paymasters office
Zeltbahn	Tent canvas

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Maps

Figures

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