



## German and Austrian occupant literature on the Sami in Norway and Lapland – “Harmless” minority, a resource, and well-off “reindeer kings”

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*In previous research on the history of the Second World War in Finland and Norway, relations between the German and Austrian occupying forces and the Sami people have generally been considered to be good. The occupant gaze upon the Sami has been interpreted as exoticizing and “touristic”. Historical encounters and the Sami position in the literary discourse are discussed and explained in this article, using a selection of German and Austrian wartime and post-war literature. The discursive reading the sources bear evidence of multiple ways of relating to the Sami, from benign to racializing; from demeaning to one filled with surprise at unveiling a well-off, yet “primitive” minority. The Sami were positioned in a complex way in the Nazi racial hierarchies, which were multiple, some aspects of which appeared to enable the occupants to posit a benign gaze upon the minority. The authors echoed Nordic research on the Sami, and the hierarchies produced there as well. The weight that race had on perceptions of the Sami is discussed, whilst other socio-economic factors are analysed as well.*

**Keywords:** the Sami; Second World War; Finland; Lapland; Norway; minorities; German and Austrian literature

## Introduction: the social and cultural history of the Second World War

In this article I shall study the ways in which the Sami were gazed upon and hierarchized in German and Austrian literature, military fiction and memoirs written by soldiers serving in Norway and Finland. The focus is on the preconditions, ideological background and literary encounters, and whether and to what extent Nazi racial ideologies influenced these encounters. The sources are used to contrast and explain the concept of the mostly warm and friendly occupant-local population relations, which is a well-established ‘fact’ in research relating to Finland and Norway in wartime. (Eriksen and Halvorsen 1987, 26, 47, 51, 64–65; Junila 2000, *passim*; Sindt 2008, *passim*.) How were the Sami positioned in the literature? Were relations only good? Are there clues in the literary discourse which could be identified as background factors that enabled the soldiers to build benign and other kinds of relations? There is no room for an exhaustive study of this topic, but glimpses of relations that are provided in the literary discourse on the Sami are expected to demonstrate a greater variation in how the Sami were gazed upon and categorized than is usually assumed. The focus is solely on the German-Austrian gaze: the Sami point of view is not studied.

Interpretations of Norwegian history of war and occupation have long had a solid foundation in victim representations, in the need to mark shared attitudes concerning the occupation, as well as the tone set in the numerous “reckonings” (“*oppgjører*”) against traitors, and the “victory” resulting in an almost total national consensus that followed the occupation. The resulting national narrative has been constructed around “heroes” and “traitors”, of which it was the former with which there was a need to identify. A consensus narrative emerged in historiography, which later evolved into a need for revision, by looking into the elements in the occupation history that breached the consensus, and the groups that did not share the experience of euphoria after the war. Moralizing tendencies were typical of the earlier studies, at the cost of a more understanding analysis of the intentions of various actors and phenomena. (Emberland and Kott 2013, 492; Soleim 2009, 203–204.) The point of view of the “enemy”, the occupier, in the numerous relations behind the front, has remained somewhat monolithic. It is to this, and the even less studied aspect of the Sami and the war, that this article aims to contribute.

Researchers have recently been engaging in a debate as to whether racial ideology alone was the driving force among the German troops in the war, especially with regard to the war crimes committed. The denial of the significance of Nazi ideology by Sönke Neitzel and Harald Welzel (2012 [2011]) has been criticized. (E.g. Chapoutot 2018, *passim*; Sørli 2015, 23–24.) In her critique of race-centered explanations of Nazi ideologies, Dr. Sevasti Trubeta has pointed to the significance of readily-available stereotypes of the socio-economic and socio-cultural “faults” which various folk-groups possessed in Nazi imageries and societies. The biological/physiological aspects never appeared alone in any historical racial discourse, but the collective socio-cultural behavior patterns and race very often complemented one another, with varying, and even equally determining weight. These faults could be, and very often were racialized, but the physical presence of these groups intensified the alarmist racial discourse and made it more topical. This ideological and political context justified persecution and liquidation. This related to groups with a long presence in Europe, such as the Roma

(viewed as “scroungers”, a criminal, anti-social and work-shy burden on the community, Trubeta 2003, 495–514), and most definitely the Jews.

Another point that Trubeta makes is the general difficulty of typologizing Nazi racial concepts: the Nazis used their concepts inconsequently and changed their contents depending on political context and need. They seldom followed the “scientific contents” of the definitions of the folk-groups, but rather the ideological and political purposes which they served. The definitions were very often inconsistent, incoherent and “ultimately absurd”, but always political. The political aspect is visible in the way that the definitions were very often reliant on the level of collaboration which the leadership of the folk-group showed to the Nazis. This widens the conceptual and contextual field from which occupier racial thoughts and practices can be examined, not claiming monocausal explanations (everything being based on racism) or denying the role of certain elements (e.g. race) from their explanatory potential. This allows multi-causal explanation and the employment of larger cultural and social factors in explanation. (Trubeta 2003, 505.) In what follows, one particular interest is pursued: the extent to which, and how decisively, race determined the position of the Sami in the literary field, and in the encounters experienced and depicted. Were there other factors at play?

The genre comprising personal experiences of war has focused on brutalities conducted and the motivation for war crimes behind the front (Neitzel and Welzer 2012 [2011], 13ff et passim; Sørli 2015, passim), recently in Finland as well (Karjalainen 2019, 78–79; Holmila 2019, 81–83). While this genre has made valuable contributions to understanding the grass-roots of the war, our case is different – the way that relationships between the locals and the troops were to most extend cooperative and friendly, yet stigmatized after the war, is well-established in Finnish research. The Norwegian home front experience, seen in comparison with other occupied countries in Europe, was not as dramatic. [1] The aspect of more careful re-contextualizing, re-conceptualizing and a wider search for motivations and ways to frame certain “nationality problems” that the Nazi officials dealt with, and efforts to grasp the multiple ideological and scientific foundations, and their numerous practical manifestations, is another exercise that might deepen our understanding of Nazi and occupier encounters and imagery of certain groups of people. This is not about denying the draconian, violent and oppressive aspects of the Nazi regime, of course, but trying to perceive the historical encounters in their own right, trying to understand the diachronic and synchronic contexts that affect these encounters, and trying to discover their context-specific multiplicity through comparisons as well.

A new war and society school of military history has emerged in Norway, from the 1990s onwards, where war history has disengaged from the depictions of strategy and battles, and the relation between societal issues and the military systems has become of interest instead. The background, experience, feelings and actions of individual soldiers, and of other groups in society, have become of interest as well, following a larger turn towards the lower levels of society. (Sørli 2015, 18, 21–22.) In Finnish historiography, traditional military history, concentrating on battles and strategy, was criticized by a new generation of researchers, who launched numerous studies of New Military History from the 2000s onwards. New sets of actors and methods were brought

to the focus of attention, and aspects of giving meaning to and administering the war experience were studied. Following initial enthusiasm and copious research, Finnish research on the Second World War has begun to criticize the concept of New Military History as not necessarily something “new”, and as being a continuation of the existing tradition of the social history of war, dating from the 1990s. Finnish historians of war prefer simply the term “social and cultural history of war”, as a genre disengaging from plain military history and widening the scope of inquiry into the society at war. (Kinnunen and Kivimäki 2006, 10–15; Kinnunen and Kivimäki 2018, 373–374; Taskinen 2018, 385–386; Sindt 2008, 11–12.) This article belongs to this genre, as the focus is on encounters in society, rather than military campaigns, and also given the focus on literary encounters.

The German presence in Lapland has been studied by Maria Lähteenmäki (1999), and especially by Marianne Junila (2000). Concerning Norwegian occupation history, Ruth Sindt has studied the everyday life of the German troops and relations with the local people in Kirkenes/Kirkkonieni in the most serious depth and with theoretical stringency. While she has used oral sources, due to limitations of time and project budget I could not utilize such sources, and I have therefore studied the literary encounters. I have also focused on racial characterizations more than Sindt did. (Sindt 2008, *passim*.) The topic of the Sami and the Second World War has been studied by Bjørg Evjen (2015; with Lehtola, 2019) and Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2012; 2019), but a focused study on German perceptions and opinions is lacking.

The area in focus here was formally a resource and military administrative area, *Rückwärtiges Armeegebiet* (rear army area) for *AOK Norwegen* (*Armeeoberkommando*, Army High Command Norway), a German-Soviet front section reaching from southeast Lapland to the Arctic Ocean, where the German-Austrian troops had a strategical goal of reaching Murmansk and cutting off supplies from the Allies to the Soviet Union. The commandant of the region had a responsibility for securing the rear, guarding prisoners of war, and controlling the German troops and anti-partisan activity. (Silvennoinen 2008, 229; Sindt 2008, 3.) The geographical region covered in this study is delimited by both the presence of the occupant troops and that of the Sami, an indigenous minority. The ethnonym used in the 1940s was mostly “Lapp”, which is nowadays considered pejorative and substituted with the ethnonym “Sami”. In what follows, I shall mostly use the ethnonyms used by the authors, as one analytical tool to reveal the inbuilt hierarchies. The domicile of the Sami, which stretches from southern Norway to the Kola Peninsula, covering major parts of Sweden and northernmost Finland, was to a great extent under German occupation or military responsibility from 1940-1941 onwards. During this time, the Sami societies were still predominantly practising traditional subsistence forms, agriculture, reindeer herding and fishing. State integration was well underway and the Sami were exposed to numerous aspects of Nordic nation- and state-building. These processes had weakened the usage and command over the Sami languages. The resulting modernizing traits were one aspect that interested majority actors, including the occupiers.

Literature on the European North written in German has proven German and Austrian interest in the Sami: every book that I have managed to locate, even one juvenile book [2], provides short glimpses and depictions of encounters with the Sami. Recent

historiography on the Second World War reveals frustration with the narratives and administration of memory produced by the servicemen after the war. In the case of the German and Austrian soldiers, as Dr. Ruth Sindt has pointed out, the war memories and narratives produced at the interviews served the purpose of addressing the question of guilt. This led her informants in some cases to stress positive and welcoming contact with civilians. (Sindt 2008, 90, 103–110; Junila 2000, 16–21.) I have included one Austrian war memoir in my sample of books, backed up by Austrian texts produced during the war. All the reservations apply concerning the “correctness” of what is presented in this source group, traditionally deemed as one-sided and thoroughly unreliable (Popkin 2005, 19–27).

In part to deal with this problem, the main focus will be on books/sources with the most immediate closeness to the historical encounters. This is not in pursuit of extracting the most “objective” or historically “correct” presentation of the encounters, but in order to find out the most immediate ways to write about the Sami, the reactions and opinions they aroused, during the Nazi regime and the war in the north. The books written in wartime (Jacobs 1941, Majewski et al 1943, and Weinberger 1943) belong to the genre of war memoirs. Two of the books (Wustmann 1941 and Strohmeyer 1940) belong to the genre of travel literature, with no immediate connection to the war, but published during it. Since they provide material on the Sami, as part of the German literary discourse, they are used as sources as well. The war memoirs follow the form of travel literature as well.

As semi-documentary fiction, with a lesser distance in time and no lost war for the authors to deal with, the books published during the war might be expected to have a greater correspondence to the historical situation depicted in the book than the later publications. However this may be – and it most likely varies tremendously from one book to another – the war memoirs and travel literature provide *valid* information (though varying in reliability), more nuanced social evidence, testimony and insights (rather than systematically-generated knowledge) on the encounters, the purposes of entering into relationships with the Sami, values and ideas among the soldiers, and the soldiers’ experiences behind the lines, than other sources generated by the military forces in wartime are able to do. (Lewis, Rodgers and Woolcock 2008, 201–209.) I am searching for the subjective-normative: how attitudes towards and perceptions of the Sami unfold and are built into the literary discourse; how the Sami (and the Germans and the Austrians) are given meaning, not the referential truth of the campaigns of war (Varpio 2005, 28–29). Sources have been subjected to a discursive reading, in search of categorizations, representations and hierarchizations, ways of talking, writing about and situating the Sami. The most successful use of these books is in relativizing the most monolithic notions of German racial attitudes.

### **The positive imagery of the Sami, its background and ways of dealing with the findings**

German-speaking Europe can point to a long history of literary interest in the Sami. Early German literature on the Sami delivered an exoticizing, mystifying (through shamanism), romanticizing (through being connected to nature) and on occasion negatively-loaded hierarchical image of the Sami. *Germania* (c. 98) by Tacitus was



widely read as part of Latin tuition in German high schools, and *Lapponia* (1673) by Johannes Schefferus was the first major contribution in German to this genre of studies of the Sami; *Iter Lapponicum* (1732) by Carl von Linné was also widely referred to. This resulted in a wide distribution of highly primordializing imagery of the Sami. After the First World War, tourism was one field of activity that enabled encounters in the Sami domicile, and the literary production of these encounters. The Sami were typically represented as reindeer nomads, and were not allowed to have a voice in the books. The Second World War led to more numerous contacts, which resulted in the continuation of literary tendencies to romanticize the North and the Sami in, for example, the memoirs of German and Austrian soldiers. According to Ludger Müller-Wille, this literary tradition stands out as exoticizing and racializing in its take on the Sami (sporting a long-lived and curious tendency to label certain racial and cultural traits of the Sami as “Eskimo” traits), constructing a natural hierarchy, with sharp divisions between cultured and uncivilized, primitive people, (Eriksen and Halvorsen 1987, 65; Müller-Wille 2007, 294–296, 298–301.) but lacking the aggressiveness directed to other groups that were coded as racial threats to the Germanic race.

In the Third Reich, literature was one of the fields through which the regime presented its programmes of re-educating the German people. The regime presented lists of preferred literature to reading audiences and libraries. In these lists, war literature was present in a high percentage. This genre was meant to channel the ideal of being willing to sacrifice oneself to the Third Reich. The genre was actively subsidized by the regime and it was intended as a substitute for the favourite literature on Wild West and detective themes, genres which did not promote heroism to a sufficient degree. The new genre and the key authors were popular among readers. (Kuparinen 1998, 243–244.)

The anthropological gaze upon the Sami in Europe and, for example, in Finland was milder, owing to the compassion felt towards the harmless nomads due to their harsh fate and treatment, because of the “civilized” traits detected, and because of the widespread idea of their inevitable biological and/or cultural disappearance. German anthropological research and discourse was harsh and stringent, for example in their biologicizing division between “natural people” and “cultured people” (“*Naturvolk*”, “*Kulturvolk*”), with some liberal exceptions (e.g. Rudolf Virchow, though not throughout his career), which grew extreme in both its pseudo-scientific nature and implementation during the Nazi era. In the late nineteenth-century discourse on the Sami, the starting-point was the low status of a “*Naturvolk*”, with all its stereotypical emblems, such as a weakness for alcohol, short posture and the “darker” aesthetics of their appearance. There were, however, numerous elements which worked for the benefit of the Sami and elevated them in the hierarchies of that time. For example, in the context of the “living exhibitions” of the Sami, which were popular in Germany and Europe in the late nineteenth century, the Sami appeared Christian, they demonstrated intelligence and various capacities, such as (higher) morals (than expected), wealth (especially if they were reindeer Sami), being literate, (some) education and “good parenting”, manifesting the capacity to maintain an emotional bond between parents and children. In 1876, at a Hamburg exhibition, the Sami were represented as “benign/good-natured” (“*gutmüthigen*”), “harmless” (“*harmlosen*”; authentic spellings in both instances), as well as being “a good father” and the Sami lady present being “tactful”. Sometimes their poor treatment in Norway was mentioned, and sometimes

they were categorized as people capable of development, (Baglo 2017, 62, 65, 76, 111, 114, 158ff, 170–171, 176, 218, 220.) a capacity that could as easily be taken away in the scientific discourse of that time.

In the Nazi discourse, at worst, the “primitive” people were compared to animals, but their beauty and wholesomeness resulting from the natural freedom they enjoyed could be coded positively as well. This wholesomeness was based on the idea of being in direct contact with nature, which held a strong position as a guiding principle in Nazi ideology, and which could signify that the people were untouched by the Western-Judeo-Christian ideas which the Germans fought against. (Chapoutot 2018, 59, 103) “Primitiveness” can be coded in different ways (Koponen, Seitsonen and Koskinen-Koivisto 2018): one finds stereotypical depictions of nature-bound creatures (“*Geschöpf*”), fearful, yet in a childlike way curious of the inspecting Germans, showing signs of both slyness and good-natured childishness. Among the markers of low civilization were a low level of education and greediness. (Jacobs 1941, 50–53.) The connection to nature was coded on some occasions as positive authenticity and pureness in occupant imagery; by contrast, the Norwegian imagery of the “primitiveness” of the Sami had a more aggressive, identity-building tone, where the lower “Other” was used to construct their own national identity. [3]

The Sami appeared in a positive and matter-of-fact light in Austrian publications before and during the war. The articles were written by journalists and scholars whose approach could be characterized as a layman-anthropological interest. In the mostly positive travel reports, the authors tended to portray themselves as earning the friendship of the Sami, as well as gaining access to zones of trust, after which the reporter/author could present himself as an expert on the Sami. (Jacobs 1941, 61.) This turned the discourse into positive. The Sami were presented as a rich, persistent and viable folk. In wartime, it was typical to present the Sami as socializing with the occupants. The gaze is mostly exoticizing, and in spite of the propaganda function there are no signs of aggressive racialization. [4]

During the occupation, benefits sought from the Sami targeted “primitive” resources and factors, above all reindeer. The deterministic Nazi scheme of history, based on the pursuit on the part of each race to travel to and occupy the best “space” (“*Raum*”) and possibilities for sustaining oneself economically (*Erhaltungsbedingungen*). The better-equipped folks had proceeded towards state formations, while numerous tribes had remained as victims in distant regions, in an unequal battle against the higher races. (Blaum 1938, 49.) In Nazi imagery, it is in this distant past that the Sami potentially belonged, and it would serve them best to be left there. The apparently “primitive” position of the Sami matched the Nazi worldview without dissonance. In addition to an effortless positioning in the niches imagined by the Nazis for such folks, the implication is one of weakness, and therefore a lesser threat.

As the troops were exposed to the elements on the Eismeer (Arctic Ocean) Front, German war propaganda and the memoirs did not hide the difficulties (as they were conquered). The environment was depicted quite openly as hostile (yet possible to overcome) towards the German troops, who found themselves surrounded by the “loneliness” of the forests, the enemy, whom the environment favoured, and millions

of mosquitoes. This opened up to positive characterizations of the Finnish soldiers, who might have been untouched by Central European city life, but they could master life in the forests. Being “natural people”, however uncultured, was suddenly essential for survival, something that was coded positively, following initial doubts. This is also one recurring detail mentioned in Finnish histories of the Continuation War on the Northern Front. (Junila 2000, 100–106; Lähteenmäki 1999, 91–92.) This partial reliance on the skills of the other people would also have included, at least potentially, the Sami soldiers in service at the front, but I did not find such explications.

As in the above-mentioned “Eskimo” naming, the authors were in habit of giving the Sami nicknames that varied in tone. In his diary, priest and now POW camp guard Johannes Martin Hennig described his final contact, which took place after the German capitulation. He reports on a visit to a “Sami king”, identified as Andreas Iversen, a king in the same way as Isak in Knut Hamsun’s *Markens grøde* (1917, English translation “*Growth of the Soil*”): the idealized peasant (Arntzen 2009, 16). All the people who live here, apart from one family, are his children. The whole “village” is “his” (quotation marks as in the original, Hennig 2002, 174). This conception of the “Sami king” is in this case not ironic: the naming follows the local Norwegian habit, while the reference to sexual morals among the Sami makes the passage ambiguous. These kinds of nicknames could be bestowed in an ironic and chuckling tone as well: An old “Lapp”, bearing the marks of a life spent in wilderness in his face, was named as “Oberlapp” in a chance encounter (Kräutler and Springenschmid 1978 [1962], 364). Rudolf Jacobs names an old Sami man a “reindeer king, or Lapp petty prince” (“*Reintierkönig, oder Lappenfürsch*”) in a passage that is otherwise condescending and comes close to mocking the antics of the man. On another occasion, the author Jacobs and his comrades are very decidedly denied access by an elderly Sami woman to her house. The encounter is depicted in the same humorous tone, but it does not lack pejorative denominations of the old woman, nor of her residence (“*stinkenden Palast*”, a “stinking palace”). The tone of the depiction is in this instance dependent on the way the author was encountered. (Jacobs 1941, 50–54, 61–62.) Before going further, it is worth noting the way in which the authors utilized the Sami in positioning themselves in the hierarchies.

## **OKW on Finnish prehistory and the Sami – enter the racial comparisons**

The High Command of the Wehrmacht (*Oberkommando des Wehrmacht*, OKW) produced a series of course books on the occupied areas, introducing German soldiers to the geography, history, culture and language of each country. In the book concerning Finland, the Sami are presented as a folk group which was “harassed” into the north by advancing Finnish tribes during the sixteenth-century colonization of inland regions, which prior to this had been under the usage of the nomadic Lapps. The Finns were conveniently in possession of Germanic racial and cultural features, such as agriculture, implying a higher economic and cultural potency. Reindeer husbandry and the early twentieth-century doubling of the number of reindeer is reported. A lengthy passage on the Lapps is included in a chapter on the population of Finland. The Lapps are few, but an interesting folk living in Finland. They belong to an “ancient European” or eastern race, deriving from the European stem population (the categorization is a mild one). Their main means of living, fishing and hunting, as well as their few reindeer, are



known to the authors. The historical asset in the Sami’s possession, fur, is mentioned, but the resulting takeover of the lands and taxation is represented as a relationship based on subjugation, which the Sami had compensated for by populating northern Sweden and mid-Norway. (Wehrmachtin...2006, 54, 62, 99–100, 117.) The presentation of the pre- and early history was up to date, and revealed the use of Finnish sources of knowledge. In retrospect, the image conveyed was partially historically incorrect and racializing, building hierarchies between the folk groups.

The passage on the annual cycle of nomadic reindeer herding was also up to date and stressed the hardship, and therefore the immensity, of the undertaking, adding an aspect of awe to the mastering of the animals, the harsh surroundings and the numerous details of nomadic life. The discussion on the choice of settlement sites is topped off by mentioning the way that the well-off Sami rent accommodation in country houses during the course of the nomadic year, and the wealth of the larger-scale reindeer owners is emphasized. The rest of the Sami are mentioned as living in a non-monetary exchange economy; also that, in spite of the Lutheran faith, they still continue to worship their ancient spirits of nature. The Sami would also have given up their own language long ago, replacing it with an ancient form of Finnish. They are also in the process of more recent assimilation concerning their means of living, to which they have adapted while living among the Finns. This concerns especially the few Skolt Sami, living off fishing and gold-panning (*sic!*), populating mostly the Kolttaköngäs along the Paats River (the varying level of authorial expertise exhibits the most defects in this discussion). (Wehrmachtin...2006, 99–102)

Aside from the sharp politico-economic hierarchy constructed through taxation and the “weaker” subsistence form, the tone of writing about the Sami is positive and the main comparisons are made between the Germans and the Finns, in favour of the former. The Finland-internal comparison, and the obvious fact to the German reader of the greater cultural and political potency of the Finns in comparison with the Sami, is not explicated further in the book. The tone is sharper in a passage dealing with the racial constellation of Finland, which shows a tendency to present the Finns as a mostly Nordic and “Central and Northern European” race, with Eastern Baltic and mixed races as well. This was a very generous estimate of the matter – less positive categorizations of the Finns as a race were numerous (Isaksson 2001, *passim*). Here, the Sami are represented as an anomaly, as one of the “darker” race variants in Finland. To ensure the racial purity of the Finns, the Sami are also excluded from the Finno-Ugrian linguistic kinship, and mixing of the races with the Sami is meant to be almost non-existent. The heavy stress on the peasant way of life is represented as having the same distinctive effect on the Sami, who were only wandering around in search of good pastureland and did not cultivate the land. (Wehrmachtin...2006, 104–105, 113, 175–178)

The OKW course book on Finland is exceptional, since it explicates numerous aspects of race thinking in Nazi Germany and activates them in connection with the Sami. In some hierarchies of the races presented in Nazi Germany, the “dark races”, among them the Roma and the “Blacks”, ranked lowest (Friedlander 1997, 27–60). The Sami were in most descriptions, for example that of the famous Virchow, hierarchized as a Mongol race. What was exceptional in the German variant of race thinking was the idea of

*categorical* difference and the impossibility of crossing the racial boundary. Race-blending was not an option, but an administered problem (hence the tendency to stress the non-existent blending of races in Finland). The way in which racial attitudes formed the basis of a political programme and a societal form, where anti-Jew practices became a reality, shared and believed in by members of society, was also exceptional. Practices of segregation and subjugation, as well as (German-induced) destruction, hunger and misery among the Jews and Slavs in the occupied areas, seemingly legitimized the categorical difference. So did the (race-)scientific foundation, the normative foundation in legislation and the new “particular moral”, which reserved the goodwill of the people to their own praised Aryan community and justified the mistreatment of the rest, which concerned most pressingly the biggest negatively-loaded societal “problem”, the Jews. (Neitzel and Welzer 2012 [2011], 41, 46–49; Sørli 2015, 245.) The course book is void of voices of subjugation and mistreatment, and their legitimation. Nor could the Germans present racially-based societal ideas or programmes in a non-occupied country. In fact, the racializing voice is to a great extent a Finnish voice.

The book included a “Guide to Finnish and Lappish languages”, more comprehensive concerning the Finnish language. Here, the linguistic kinship could not be denied, but the racial connection was denied, as was typical of that time (this was a tendency in the Finnish research used as a source for the book in question): the Sami had adopted a Finno-Ugric language (called “Finnish” in the book) from a racially separate and linguistically higher Finnish group, as a substitute for their ancient language. The contexts in which communication was expected to take place were more numerous in the Finnish section, varying from military to technically and culturally advanced urban milieux. The editor’s choice of the contexts in which communication would likely to take place with the Sami show a tendency to place the Sami in the context of nature. Sample sentences are concerned with basic greetings and asking directions in a natural environment (the exception being roads), accommodation and nutrition (as well as the whereabouts of the priest), thus serving immediate military and personal needs behind the front. This is not surprising and there are numerous reasons for this: the editorial knowledge of the Sami language was meagre; it was expected that there would be less of a need for Sami language skills; the book had stressed the ongoing loss of language among the Sami; and the imbalance of the imagery of the Sami, as less urban and nature-bound, demonstrates the level of German understanding and knowledge regarding the conditions in the actual living areas of the Sami. The gaze is also thoroughly instrumental, seeing the Sami as one of the assets to be utilized in the war situation. (Wehrmachtin... 2006, 230–295)

### **Racialized depictions by soldiers at the front – a shrunken creature of nature**

The German soldiers met the Sami in passing, and their most eye-catching features entered the representations. These concerned the depictions that concentrated on military life, which had a tendency to downplay incidents behind the front. One example is given in *Das Gelbe Edelweiss*, a chronicle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Mountain Army by Andreas Weinberger (1943). The road to the new front in North Norway, following campaigns in Greece and Crete, was a trip to a truly unknown and foreign place. The land was indeed a “distant unknown land”. On their way north, through Finland, the

writer notes that there are numerous examples of blond-haired people, whose faces one would expect to meet in Bavaria or in Prussia, while here and there one saw strongly-protruding cheekbones, which made a foreign impression. Sometimes the monotony of the forests was breached by settlement, but as the forests and signs of agricultural settlement disappeared, so did most signs of life, not counting isolated birds and reindeer. The land was the opposite of what the troops had been accustomed to so far: void, desolate, foreign and definitely barren, an impression amplified by the predominance of dwarf birch in the landscape. The tundra landscape of the front was even more barren: “Nothing” (“*Nichts*”), an “un-land” (“*Unland*”) of naked stone and blinding snowstorms: a land in which nobody survives the winter, as the Finnish officers warned them. (Weinberger 1943, 237–238, 242, 244–275.)

In Weinberger’s book, reindeer and the Sami receive brief attention: on their way through Finnish Lapland a reindeer was met by the road, accompanied by a group of “small men and women”, whose colourful clothing merits fleeting interest and a description, followed by the meaning they carry for the soldiers in mentally locating themselves within the northern landscape. [5] Weinberger uses the most stereotypical and the most eye-catching markers, reindeer and Sami clothing, in depicting the Sami, while it is only “smallness” that depicts their racial characteristics.

His book served as a means to build fighting spirit for the Army depicted, where the difficulties encountered and conquered (which are by no means belittled) result in an ever-strengthening belief in the final victory predicted and promised by the Führer. The individual is sacrificed for the sake of the community and the Führer in constructing a unit (“...*ein Geist und ein Leib geworden*”, “...becoming one spirit and one body”) that faced zoomorphized, vodka-fueled and commissar-driven “masses” from the east. (Weinberger 1943, 298–302.) The Russians have a greater role in the discourse of this thoroughly Nazified book, providing the rationale and legitimacy for the German presence and their quest up in the north, while the Sami are merely an exotic element, passed briefly in the landscape and targeted with lesser racializing aggressiveness than the Russians.

Some Germans revealed considerable knowledge of the biology, nutrition, habits, uses, annual cycle, predator threat and administration, as well as other aspects, of reindeer herding (and liked to brag about their knowledge, as well). One example comes from a book *Front am Polarkreis*, mostly dealing with the Salla Front (in southeastern Lapland), and with numerous “war reporters” (*Kriegsberichte*), with General Weinberger as the only recognizable author. The general takes the opportunity to point out how the state authorities had also entered the wilderness (mostly linked with “primitiveness” and “poverty” [6]) because of reindeer herding, which was presented as a highly monetarized business that was taxed accordingly. However, reindeer positioned the people tending them mostly on the lower steps of modernization. Reindeer herding had traits that were perhaps exotic, but archaic practices and products: slaughtering *in situ*, and the production of “modest” and “small” utensils, and their continuous use, was juxtaposed with the German leather industry processes in which the reindeer hides were processed into “masterly” quality products. (Majewski et al 1943, 153–157.)

In the same book, the roads had brought modernization, or civilization, to Lapland. The Sami were on the brink of modernization as well, as their level of schooling had risen. The Sami still populated the lower strata of society: the boys ended up as builders and road-builders, and the Sami girls worked for the “colonizers” (“Kolonisten”) by carrying out various (agricultural) tasks. The editors of the book had been wrongly advised in claiming that there had not been nomadic families in Lapland for a hundred years, a reference to the border closures (in 1852 and 1889, to exclude foreign stocks from the pastures), which did not however end the nomadic lifestyle in some parts of Lapland. Weinberger reproduced the notion of poor (due to non-profitable sea-fishing with a low catch) “coastal Lapps” (Küstenlappen), ridden with “degeneration and vodka”. The other Sami groups, Reindeer Sami and Forest Sami, were presented in a better light. (Majewski et al 1943, 158–160.) In memoirs and works of fiction the Sami, showing modern traits alongside the traditional, attracted German interest and generated laughter among the observers [7]; the main tendency, however, appeared to be that of the modern Sami appearing as an anomaly, and genuine nomadic traits were favoured. [8]

In this book, “Mongoloid” racial characters were listed: short posture, elongated (“*länglich*”) brown eyes, marked cheekbones and a darkish skin colour. The Sami love of colours in their clothing was stronger than among other “*Naturvölker*”, but the authors were also aware of the significance and the codes used in Sami clothing, denoting for example their place of origin. In general, the Sami were “native people” (“*Ureinwohner*”), and therefore existed outside of civilization. (Majewski et al 1943, 160.)

Germans had greater prior knowledge of the Russians (the quality and perspectives of this knowledge was another matter). German ignorance of the Sami is evidenced by Erich Wustmann, who laments how the “Lapps” are less well-known than the Indians and the “Austral- und Afrikaner” to German reading audiences, due to a lack of existing literature on the subject that would reveal the contemporary condition of the “Lapps” in its totality. This is as much a depiction of the existing knowledge and legitimation for his own book project, and his position as a knowledge producer. But Wustmann also reveals the obvious, the group in which the Sami were categorized: the indigenous, the tribal, the primitive. (Wustmann 1941, 7.)

The nomadic Sami were characterized in memoirs by M. Kräutler and Karl Springenschmid as “odd creations of nature” (“*wunderliche Geschöpfe*”), dwarf-like, dark-skinned, brown-eyed, but also quick-witted and rich in fantasy. Every effort to civilize the Sami had failed, and would do so in the future as well. Their total dependency on the reindeer meant that as a folk they were vulnerable and heading towards their own disappearance, while the authors believed that the relationship between the Sami and the reindeer was extraordinarily deep and warm, and the significance of the reindeer was versatile to the folk. The way the Sami followed the reindeer in their lifestyle placed them low in the contemporaneous hierarchies. (Kräutler and Springenschmid 1978 [1962], 120–121.)

Austrian authors also made racial comparisons between “Nordlander” (the Norwegian population living in the county of Nordland) and the Sami. The racial origin of the Sami

was unknown (which was true at the time, in the sense that it was a debated issue). The population of Nordland characterized many “Germanic” racial features – blondness, tallness, etc. – whereas the “Lapp” was dark (“*dunkel*”), chidlike and compliant (“*kindlichnachgiebig*”), obedient/submissive (“*unterwürfig*”), but due to their nature-mysticism they could make a charming impression. Perhaps they were the last atrophied remains of a disappearing folk-race (“*der letzte verkümmerte Rest einer untergegangenen Menschenrasse*”)? The encounter with the level of hygiene one was capable of sustaining in nomadic life had been a ruthless shock to the Austrians – the “innate uncleanness” (“*angeborenen Unsauberkeit*”) placed the Sami so low in cultural hierarchies that the Austrians thought they were placed on the edge of the world, and that of humanity as well. A degrading proverb that the sensitive Austrians had come up with, “only touch the Lapp with pliers!” (“*Lappen nur mit der Beisszange anfassen!*”), may possibly reveal a negotiation of sexual barriers, as well as the level to which military locker-room talk could sink. (Kräutler and Springenschmid 1978 [1962], 121–122.)]

### **The hierarchies between Sami groups in travel literature**

Authors did not usually differentiate between the different Sami groups they encountered and in most cases used the general ethnonym “Lapp”, in some cases also “Sami”. The Sami groups they could potentially meet were numerous, comprising the South Sami, the Reindeer Sami groups from Sweden, the majority group (Northern) Sami, and the Aanaar and the Skolt Sami. The three last-mentioned Sami groups were to be found in the Finnish Sami domicile and were mobilized by some authors in their comparisons (Lehtola 2002 [1997], 64, 66).

Curt Strohmeyer produced a travel book of the whole Finnish-Russian border and spent some time with two Sami individuals. In an otherwise positive book, racializing aspects emerge only in relation to the Sami. A Sami woman in the southernmost Sami area (Purnumukka) is used to illustrate both the richness of Sami material culture and their old religion, and the inescapable tragedy and looming destruction facing the Sami people, who are living with one foot in the traditional era and the other in modern times. The reliance on reindeer culture is represented as a solution for the survival of the folk. On the other hand, the Sami are depicted as socio-culturally lower than the Finns in the book, living north of the cultivation border and in deeper primitiveness, as measured for example by their housing and utensils. The only racial characteristic mentioned is “far eastern serenity”, but Strohmeyer also echoes the fear of degeneration in a lengthy lament over the new habit of marrying and reproducing with much too close relatives, or with poor “Skolt Sami woman” (“*Koltlappin*”), identified as grounds for aversion and a source of degeneration. The first-mentioned habit would have been restricted by the old Sami religion, but was tolerated to a great extent by Christianity. Alcohol is mentioned as another risk. (Strohmeyer 1940, 57–58.)

The depiction of the Skolt Sami, represented by one unidentified man in a chapter of its own, is just as negative. The Skolt Sami are portrayed as uneducated poor fishermen, living a sedentary life, who seldom show any sign of goals in their life. They have no aims or culture. Strohmeyer read from their (i.e. his) face(s) the “Russian landscape” and “Asiatic indifference”, though also being full of human kindness, as well as



childlike compliance. The way that the Reindeer Sami felt an aversion towards the Skolt Sami is repeated. The chapter shows no sign of hope for this folk, who, perhaps fatefully, have also taken up employment at the nearby harbour and in road construction work. The chapter is illustrated with a close-up picture of the face of the Skolt Sami, who served as a rower for Strohmeyer, and as the source of his physiognomic [9] ponderings. (Strohmeyer 1940, 65–66) Wustmann was also ruthless against the ignorant and poor “touristified” Skolt Sami at Boris Gleb (and contrasts them briefly with the Suenjel Sami, the latter being more “genuine”), while the Skolt Sami in general were positioned in the eastern racial and cultural sphere, with a dubious closeness to Russian culture, in “primitiveness” and “wilderness”. They should so remain, otherwise modernization could wreak havoc among them. The encounters with the Suenjel Sami could be surprisingly positive, but the problem was the Slavonic types encountered, as well as the low level of hygiene. Wustmann was, however, relieved to find that most of the Skolt Sami were “order-loving and clean”. (Wustmann 1941, 91–95.)

The German literary production regarding the Sami reveals that the interest in knowledge was high and work on the Sami was thorough. It relied not only on physiognomic glimpses, but also on a variety of other sources. The Finnish literary discourses of racial decline and general cultural level are discernible, pointing as well to the dangers of modernity. Another source of thoughts on dangerous modernity was Lappological research, which was used as a source for the different Sami categories; this interested the Germans and was used to position the Skolt and Sea Sami as being lower than the nomadic Sami. (Lehtola 2005, 88; Wustheim 1941, 9, 85.) This means that the encounters were not necessarily dictated alone by Nazi discourse or thinking on race. It played a part, but the encounters, and therefore the discourse on the Sami as well, were also conditioned by local contexts and discourses. Among the influences and discourses there were also positive ones. The influence of Finnish discourses may be detectable in the way that Erich Wustmann writes about the “noble” culture moving towards its inevitable disappearance. His admiration for the rich reindeer Sami seems genuine and he shows an understanding attitude in his depiction of the sporadic nature of the paid labour undertaken by the Sami and the multiple sources of income, as well as the major role of the Sami women in housekeeping terms. He lends explanatory force to both race – references to purity and “mixed/mongrel race” (“*Mischlings*”) are easy to find – and the circumstances and elements to which the Sami were exposed. Expressions of Sami religiosity, the ecstasy of the Laestadian meetings, and the continued offerings to the ancient gods at offering sites were presented without negativity. The great exceptions were alcohol consumption, which aroused worry about impoverishment (“*Verelendung*”); the limited possibilities of maintaining personal hygiene offered by nomadic life, especially in wintertime, were also presented with aversion. (Wustheim 1941, 11, 17, 19–20, 34, 37–40, 44, 72.)

When in Suonikylä, the winter village of the celebrated “pure” Skolt, or Suenjel Sami, the tone is neutral in the depiction of material culture. Concerning their racial origin, the Skolt Sami of the village are labelled as unknown, yet mixed with Samojeds, Zyrians and Slavonic peoples, but the most striking racial feature is their origin via inbreeding (this aspect is denied in most of the studies of the Skolt Sami). The Skolt Sami are therefore the “loneliest folk in the world”. Here Wustmann demonstrates his distance from the cult of the pure races, even though his findings are substantially

wrong. The tone of his writing is curious in the depictions of sauna habits, ways of sharing all goods communally and the dances arranged by the Skolt Sami while dwelling in the winter village. In the end, the life of the Skolt Sami as a whole is labelled as “modest”, signifying lower in cultural sophistication (literacy appeared to be scarce), but not lacking in interesting and charming details. For Wustmann, cultural purity and originality were important – the Aanaar Sami appeared “uninteresting” to him, since they had given up their Sami cultural emblems. (Wustheim 1941, 110–114, 121.)

## Conclusions

Knut Einar Eriksen and Terje Halvorsen have concluded that the Sami were gazed upon by the Germans differently to the latter’s perceptions of the “*Untermensch*”, the Jews and Slavs. This is credited to the lack of racial positioning in the German Nazi racial hierarchies and the possibility of laying a “touristic” gaze on the “colourful” and “exotic” group. This notion is based, for example, on numerous photographs from wartime, where the occupiers posed with the Sami. Authors admit that there were some Germans who thought of the Sami as subhuman (“*Untermensch*”). (Eriksen and Halvorsen 1987, 65.) In what follows, I wish to deepen the discussion on the variations and reasons for the different perceptions of the Sami among German-Austrian troops, as revealed in the literary fields.

There existed a diversity of ways of gazing upon the Sami, on a spectrum including military, eugenic, benevolent, instrumental, romantic, sexualizing, condescending and chuckling. The discourse on the Sami was enlightened, informed and scientific [10], open, positive and, when racializing, stringent and anti-eastern. The Sami served the instrumental needs of German identity-building and superiority as well but, especially in relation to reindeer herding, the authors could not always hide their sense of awe.

The Sami were not, and did not strike the authors as poor, ragged, crazy or apathetic from hunger, as did the Jews and the Slavs in the eastern occupied areas (Sørli 2015, 245–246). Nor was the most obvious source of dissonance to the Nazi understanding, that of Reindeer Sami wealth, as in-your-face as was that of the old, well-off Jewish population in Germany, which provoked programmes of “Aryanization” regarding property, businesses and the national economy during the 1930s (D’Almeida 2007). Sami wealth was visible in an unoccupied niche and did not appear as a “parasite” to the Third Reich; it was of lesser value because, for example, it was impossible for the Germans to administer, besides being a source of nutrition, where the Sami had to be taken into consideration as serious middlemen. This is one reason for the lack of dehumanizing indoctrination in the Nazi discourse on the Sami, which enabled the Nazis, and the occupier soldiers, to extend an exoticizing gaze to the Sami. This is also an aspect that would potentially go unnoticed if the focus in analyzing Nazi encounters was on race alone.

The racial positions of the Sami could be numerous as well, since they were fleeting, and as numerous as were the hierarchies they were placed in. In the following I shall compare their positions to those attributed to the Roma. One similarity between the Roma and Sami imageries, and their position in the Nazi mind-set, was in the threat they posed to pure Germanic blood. In principle, the Sami may be seen to fall into the

categories of “strange species” (*Fremdartig*), “strange races” (*Fremdrassig*) and “non-native” in which the Roma were categorized. A programme of separation and segregation, ordered by the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood, was applied to the Sami, at least in principle, in Norway [11]. This programme meant that the fate of these strange folk groups was dependent on their “ability to be Germanized”: segregative and race-biological/eugenic measures were reserved for those showing a non-compliant, non-civilizing inclination (Ritter 1938, 87). Like the Roma, the reindeer-herding Sami breached Nazi sentiments in their ambulating, non-settled subsistence form, understood stereotypically and in a hierarchizing manner as nomadic. For the Nazis, a settled way of life was a principle constituting both the right to life (*Lebensberechtigung*) and the right to homeland (*Heimatberechtigung*). Unlike the Sami, the Roma were characterized in near-dehumanizing connotations as “hordes”. “The dishonest folk” (*das unehrliche Volk*), resisting assimilation and efforts to civilize them, had also already existed (and been mistreated) in several ways for centuries on German soil, so the foundations for this negative imagery were deeply rooted in German imagery. (Ritter 1938, 74–76; Trubeta 2003, 497–499.)

There was a perceived difference in the economic benefit and value of the lifestyles of the people. While the Roma relied on the goodwill of the German people they met while roaming the country, practising their seemingly disorganized odd jobs, small-scale trade and other more curious undertakings (Ritter 1938, 72), the Sami possessed and nurtured a valuable asset, reindeer. The interest was based on the partial dependence of the troops on societies behind the lines. Reindeer could simultaneously have a different effect if considered through the ideological and scientific lenses of the times: reindeer denoted primitiveness and the inevitable disappearance of the folk (Kräutler and Springenschmid 1978 [1962], 120–121). On the other hand, Nazi ideology showed an exclusive tolerance to people of other races pursuing life forms that nature and their race/blood had allegedly given them (Chapoutot 2018, 92): reindeer herding, the iconic Sami means of living, may have enjoyed such a “natural” position in some German minds.

The Roma were considered as a politically and economically “harmless”, sometimes “valueless” group. This “harmlessness” was sometimes coupled with the zone of “primitiveness”. In the case of the Roma, this “primitiveness” was sometimes coded as positive (traits of “Noble Savage” imagery) and sometimes in a condescending fashion (e.g. Rudolf Höss: the trusting children who showed a high adaptability to the many horrendous aspects of living conditions in Auschwitz). Sometimes the primitiveness was coded negatively and their unwillingness and/or incapacity to grow away from the level of “asocial Man” was scorned upon. Being at the level of primitive “nature folk” was used as a general stamp to signify residing in the lowest of existing cultures. Because of their subsistence form the Sami ranked low in the Social Evolutionist categories, but this constituted a lesser threat on the home front. The Sami do not figure in the texts as criminals, or as antisocial, nor were they pathologized as communicators of illness, as the Roma were. (Ritter 1938, 78,83; Trubeta 2003, 504.) The Roma also made disturbing intrusions into modern spheres, something that the Sami seemingly did not do, thus making them less dissonant to Nazi understanding, which in itself an escaping historical entity, burdened with inconsequences and secretive double

standards (D’Almeida 2007, *passim*). While both groups were radical deviants from Nazi norms, the “relevance” of the Roma was lower and, more decisively, the level of harm and obstacle they posed to the “new order” was perceived as higher than in the case of the Sami. This perceived level of obstacle was fatal to the Roma, and connected their fate to that of the Jews. (Trubeta 2003, 507 et *passim*.)

In Nordland, there exists local lore about the Sami fearing and predicting a looming Sami holocaust (Soleim, Nergård and Andersen 2015, 194). No indications have been found that the Sami were to have been collectively the target of the holocaust, nor policies of racial cleansing. Researchers have not found lists of Sami people, as there were lists of the Jews to be arrested and deported, collated by the Nasjonal Samling (Elstad 2016). The Sami were treated in the same manner as majority groups: harshly, if they breached the one-sided trust, and as something that had to be taken into consideration in order to maintain functioning relations with the population on the home front. Hence, the obvious differences in racial and socio-cultural outlook could and had to be overlooked, and the opinions thereof were communicated, mostly, in less public, intra-occupier forums, of which the literary sources provide glimpses. The opinions were degrading, and at worst eugenic-racializing, more so than research so far has indicated, but not aggressive, and definitely not genocidal.

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## Endnotes

[1] In spite of the German presence and Nasjonal Samling-led reorganization of sections of administrative structures according to the “Fører” principle, explaining the “normality” reigning in Norwegian administrative life has occupied Norwegian historians. See Flo 2015, 12.

[2] Odd Sami habits were made fun of in wartime literature, here in a chapter on “Lapp customs”, ”*Lappenbrauch*”, in a juvenile book (authors translation): “We are sitting in a little Guest house such one often finds in Finland and witness for the first time how the Lapps drink their coffee. They pour the hot beverege from the cup to the saucer and slurp it from there noisily. On our war-path, which has led us across Europe, we have learned many odd customs. We look at the Lapps drinking coffee in their multicoloured clothing and elbow each other, and try to hide our laughter” “Wir sitzen in einer kleinen Gasttube, wie man sie in Finnland auf dem Lande häufig findet, und sehen zum erstenmal, wie die Lappen Kaffee trinken. Sie schütten das heisse Getränk von der Schale auf die untertasse und schlürfen es von dort geräuschvoll ein. Auf dem

Kriegspfad, der uns kreuz und quer durch Europa führte, lernten wir viele seltsame Bräuche kennen. Beim Anblick der buntgekleideten, kaffeetrinkenden Lappen stossen wir uns gegenseitig mit Ellbogen an und lachen versteckt.» Piehlsberger 1943, 11–12.

[3] This is most blatant in the race studies and physical anthropology. See e.g. Bryn, Halfdan: *Menneskerasene og deres utviklingshistorie*, Olaf Norli forlag, Oslo 1925, passim.

[4] I wish to thank Professor Ulrike Spring for informing me of the digitalized collection ANNO – Austrian Newspapers Online. Works sourced via this collection include McMurphy, Oliver, *Puoris! Puoris! Wiener Magazin*, Heft Oktober 1938; touristic encounters for example with poet Johan Thury (*sic!*), Narvik, *Front und Heimat*, heft 3, 1940; *Besuch bei der Deutschen Polarzeitung*, *Das interessante Blatt*, 4.6.1941.

[5] “...small men and women dressed in black robes, the hems of which are adorned with yellow and red stripes. They are the Lapps. Then it dawns upon the soldiers that they now find themselves in Lapland. ” “...kleine Männer und Frauen dabei mit schwarzen Kuttengewändern, die Säume mit gelben und roten Streifen geschmückt. Das sind Lappen. Da fällt es den Jägern ein, dass sie ja nun in Lappland sind.” Weinberger 1943, 246.

[6] Was die Wildmark Finnlands erzählt, *Lappland-Kurier* 17.10.1942.

[7] As was the case in Jacobs 1941, when the three soldiers stopped at a cafe somewhere in the “tundra” and were served coffee and cakes, with gramophone music, by a beautiful, black-haired Sami girl. The Sami children in the school dormitory (either in Kautokeino or in Karasjok: Jacobs cannot specify where he finds himself) lived between the nomadic life and modern conveniences, together with the parents’ fear of education spoiling the children and putting them off the traditional way of life. Jacobs 1941, 56-57, 63-68.

[8] *Lappland-Kurier* 20.2.1942, Jacobs, Rudolf: 500 Renniere als Mitgift. Even though he is reported to have a bank account at a bank in Tromsø, and be childishly excited about issues of wealth, the rich “Lappen Nils” is compared favourably to his daughter, “die Lappenprinzessin” Laila, who in her vanity has abandoned nomadic ways and imitates the modern fashions. She endures mocking laughter from Norwegians and displacement among her nomad peers.

[9] Physiognomy belonged to the methods of serious racial science and examples of its usage are found in layman texts as well. This method was based on the intuitive analysis of the racial affinity of the individual, based at first glance on the facial characteristics of the person analysed. Isaksson 2001, 122.

[10] When an author was informed and scientific, the Sami could be written about in a matter-of-fact manner. The Sami appear as “nomadic” folk, which, even if rather substantially ill-informed, shows an acquaintance with contemporaneous studies. What is also typical is an interest in Indo-Germanic folks, alongside and in comparison with the “Saamevolk”. *Die ersten Menschen in Finnland*, *Lappland-Kurier* 2.12.1942.



[11] Heinrich Himmler had a vision of a segregating policy for the racially pure nomadic Sami, in order to protect Norwegian blood. *Roughthvedt* 2010, 315-316.

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