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Temporal Rhetoric

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Temporizing and Essentializing the Enemy: A Logological Reading of Finnish Lutheran Clerical War Rhetoric

Abstract
This article looks at the shift between logical and temporal vocabularies, called by Kenneth Burke the temporizing of essence. It combines "logology" with a rhetorical analysis of how it was applied in a concrete historical situation as a means of persuasion. First, I discuss Burke's logology, which is the theory underlying the idea of temporized essence. Second, I turn to the notion in relation to its two main forms, origins and fruition; third, Finnish clerical rhetoric during the Continuation War 1941–44 will be analyzed using ideas drawn on logology.

Keywords
clergy, Finland, logology, Kenneth Burke, the temporizing of essence, war rhetoric

Introduction

Finland's Winter War (1939–40) against the Soviet Union was a defensive conflict, but the so-called Continuation War that broke out in June 1941 was not. This offensive operation demanded a thorough justification, because neither the troops nor the public were unanimous about embarking on an offensive campaign in alliance with Nazi Germany. The Lutheran clergy played an important role in legitimizing the war because the priests had formal power deriving from the peculiar relationship between the Finnish state and the Lutheran Church, whereby they were de jure officials of the state, as well as of the church. When they drew on Christian and biblical imagery to support the war, they reached a receptive audience, as nearly 96 percent of Finns belonged to the Lutheran Church. This article focuses on how Lutheran priests helped legitimate Finland's war against the Soviet Union.

War rhetoric in general is a field of study with an established tradition. The existing research, however, has focused extensively on presidential rhetoric (see Butler 2002; Bostdorff 2011). Here a prominent theme has been the savaging of the enemy, often drawing on the ideas of Kenneth Burke (see Ivie 2005; 2006; Edwards 2008). As regards clergy and war, a common approach has been to examine churches and priests as propagandists who (mis)use religious rhetoric in their justification of war (see Abrams 1969). Research on Europe, in particular, has emphasized German church politics and clerical action (Scholder 1988; Barnett 1992; Bergen 1996; Ericksen 2012).

War and rhetoric is also a prominent theme in Burkeian studies. Indeed, the motto of Kenneth Burke's *A Grammar of Motives* (1969a) is *ad bellum purificandum,* towards the purification of war—which for him was "disease of cooperation" (Burke 1969b: 22). Burke's main motive was to foster dialogue among conflicting voices and to counter fascist tendencies to succumb into "the easy, false clarity of monologue" (Weiser 2008: 64; see also Thames 2012). He thus set out to unmask militaristic and tragic inducements lurking in all symbolic action. However, Burkeian analysis of war rhetoric also has focused on presidential rhetoric (Birdsell 1987; Thompson 2011; Ivie 1974; 2011).

As Harold Lasswell (1971: 97) has pointed out, precautions need to be taken in Christian countries to calm the doubts of those who may give the Bible an "inconvenient," that is, deviating, interpretation. The language of the Bible was familiar to all Finns, something in which they were schooled from childhood, and thus it was not only an indispensable repository of powerful symbolic meanings but also a cache that needed to be carefully guarded. A logological approach illustrates how the powerful nature of religious rhetoric was taken into consideration by the Finnish state in order to make sense of a complex situation and actively

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direct the attitudes and actions of audiences both at home and at the front.

The purpose of the article is twofold. First, I shall discuss one of the most overlooked notions in Burke's writings, namely logology, and present an analysis of Finnish Lutheran clerical war rhetoric based on it. My aim is to show that logology is an efficient method in teasing out ambiguities implicit in war rhetoric and in avoiding perhaps the most common problem pertaining to the topic: the banality of the subject and superficial treatment of 'good' and 'bad' (Booth 2005: 224). Second, I will extend the analysis of war rhetoric to other agents besides political or military leaders. Logological analysis reveals that religious demonization of the enemy is only a step away from dehumanizing one's own fighting troops, and not only with regards to dissenters, for example.

The article proceeds in three parts. First, in order to clarify the power of religious rhetoric, I will present a reading of logology. Second, I will explore a key element of logology, namely the temporizing of essence. Third, the rhetorical construction of the Continuation War by Finnish Lutheran priests will be analyzed using the temporizing of essence.

By and Through Language, Beyond Language—Introducing Logology

From a logological starting point the verbal character of theology, involving statements about the nature of God, is analogous to the observations on the nature of words (Burke 1970: vi, 13–14; 1966: 469). By studying theological language one may analyze language itself as motive, that is, the logic inherent in language (Burke 1970: 1). The essential distinction between the verbal and the nonverbal is in the fact that language introduces the possibility of the negative (Burke 1966: 9–13). All natural conditions are positively, materially what they are. It is only through language that "is not" and "do not" are brought into play (Burke 1966: 10, 420–21). From the negative follows two linguistic principles, perfection and the idea of the supernatural, which constitute the cornerstones of logology.

The negative enables transcendence of the existing and the possibility of always searching for an even better state, either by generalizing or specifying. Definitions for a thing can be manifold, but one can continue *forever* saying what a thing is *not* (Burke 1966: 425; 1970: 19). However, we are doomed to struggle for and strive towards an unattainable goal, for the negative that by its own nature "not enough" or "not there" makes it impossible to attain ultimate perfection or purity, hence humans are "rotten with perfection" (Burke 1966: 19; Betz 1985: 30; Appel 1993: 51–52). As Kenneth Burke states, "the machinery of language is so made that, either rightly or wrongly, either grandly or in fragments, we stretch forth

our hands through love of the farther shore" (1966: 200). However, because we always fall short of ideals made possible by the "not," guilt is an ontological part of being a symbol-using animal.

Transcendence culminates in the supernatural, a realm of otherworldly perfection that is everything that the natural *is not*: immortal, invisible, eternal and infinite. The issue is not the actual existence of the supernatural. Rather, the point is that language entails such an idea. Just as the ontological argument for the existence of God propounds that "reason" (if there is being there must be perfect being) leads to God, the logological argument states that a term is required as a title of titles, when the resources of language are spun out all the way to its *terminus* (Burke 1966: 456). Thus, in logology God is a principle of language: the theological idea of God as the *ens perfectissimum* has a logological analogue in the ways in which terminologies create or imply ways towards perfection, symbolized by God-terms (Burke 1958: 62; 1979: 154).

Although the idea of a transcendent realm involves a "positive" word (which is actually the function of the negative), purity and perfection along the *via negativa* end up being virtually devoid of content— hence the irony that "pure being" is indistinguishable from "nothing" (see Burke 1966: 437). How, then, one may refer to something whose essence is negation? To begin with, in logology there are four realms to which words may refer: words for the natural; words for the socio-political realm; words about words (as in dictionaries); and words for the supernatural. (Burke 1970: 14–15; 1966: 373–76).

The logological gist is that because language by definition cannot express the "ineffable," words about the supernatural can refer only to words themselves (Burke 1970: 15). Precisely for this reason the transcendental must be discussed in terms of the three other orders, via processes of substitution and duplication (Burke 1966: 376; 1979: 157). Consequently, words for the supernatural do not (necessarily) reveal anything about the actual supernatural. The point is, rather, that since the supernatural is a completely linguistic phenomenon, terms for it reveal the principles of language (Burke 1970: 7; 1966: 376).

Because the three orders of terms cover only the everyday use of language, theology in its thoroughness is indispensable. It "goes the full circuit" by including within itself all the orders of language, including the way in which language is used to discuss things in terms of what they are not (Burke 1970: vi, 10, 14–15; 1966: 375, 461; Crucius 1999: 200). Indeed, negative theology is an example *par excellence* of the paradox of the negative (Burke 1970: 18). By the same token, logology reads religious texts not merely as symbolic acts but as texts from which the principles of language can be extracted.

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Two Ways to Temporize Essence and Religious Rhetoric

Logology postulates a theory, according to which there are logical and narrative modes in language (Carter 1992; 1997). The latter posits a beginning and an end, with a progression between them. Narrative vocabulary includes a sequence that proceeds in a temporal order, with the transformational pattern "from what through what to what" (Burke 1973: 70–71). Logical vocabulary, in turn, refers to a simultaneity prevailing among the parts of a syllogism or a cycle of terms, without a requirement for temporal succession (Burke 1969a: 73; 1970: 31).[1] As a result, language includes elements of both becoming and being: it is simultaneously linear and holistic, diachronic and synchronic, temporal and eternal (see Crusius 1999: 105–11).

The temporizing of essence refers to a shift between logical and temporal modes of expression, in which the claimed essence of a given thing or person is derived from either the origin or the fruition (Burke 1969a: 430). In what Kenneth Burke defines as "the historicist form of symbolic regression" (1969a: 430), the essence or the truth is found by looking at the origin. Here the fruition of an idea is seen lying dormant already in its premise or at the starting point of the given account (see Lindsay 1998: 8–9). Thus, if conclusion or end is "logically" present in the beginning, it can be claimed that it is precisely the beginning where the essence is to be found, what comes later is merely maturing of the seed.

In addition, the essence can be defined narratively in terms of its fulfillment (Burke 1969b: 13). Akin to what happens in the physical-biological realm, symbols contain a terministic compulsion, based on the urge to perfection, to bring to fruition the implications of the given set of symbols (Burke 1970: 300; Betz 1985: 30; Carter 1997: 361). Thus symbol use is entelechial: humans have a tendency to act in accordance with a purpose (or a *telos*), that which "moves" a person to act in a certain way is the logic of perfection implicit in the given set of symbols (Benoit 1996: 67; Lindsay 2001: 51; Appel 1993: 57). To use the familiar metaphor, here the essence is not in past moments or "the seed" that a form develops from, but in the fully-ripened fruit—real or imagined (see Burke 1966: 390–91). Thus the essence is to be found in the (assumed) ending of a thing or a person.

Religious rhetoric is particularly powerful since it draws extensively on the temporizing of essence. For instance, when the biblical account

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[1] Burke notes that the three epochs of history by Joachim of Fiore (1145–1202) illustrates the shift by translating the relations among coeternal persons of the Trinity into a temporal series related to the unfolding of history (Burke 1970: 29–34; also 1979: 165–66).

speaks of origins and "firsts": the first day of creation and institution of order, the first man and woman, their rebellion, and the first sacrificial offering, it is always speaking simultaneously of the essence of things here and now (Coupe 2005: 80; Burke 1966: 391). As another example, in cosmogonic myths a heroic deity fights a beast of equivalent magnitude in order to create order to the world. From a logological perspective the cosmogony expresses such antitheses as yes/no, good/evil, order/disorder, and cosmos/chaos in the form of combat (Burke 1966: 386–87).

Symbolic fruition, in turn, is closely related to god-terms and devil-terms, which claim to capture the timeless essence of a given thing, for better or worse (Burke 1969a: 73). Whereas god-terms symbolize goodness and purity, devil-terms embody an absolute evil from which one needs to separate. They lie at the bottom of a hierarchy and symbolize impurity in its "purity" (Weaver 1995: 221–22). The Bible is of course an indispensable repository of powerful symbolic imagery pertaining to the culmination of evil at the end times. As an ominous example, in Hitler's "bastardization of religious patterns of thought" the Jews had the role of a devil-term: they had always stood in the way of German national unity and success (see Burke 1973: 191–220).

Whether going backward to the ancestral or forward to the final, any part of timeless relationships is translatable into the elements of a story, and collapsible back into a set of philosophical principles (Carter 1997: 353). In either case, the rhetorical force of the temporizing essence is that it allows one to build a bridge over the gap between the realm of timeless ideas and the transient and transforming realm of human action—indeed, such progressive form is a significant rhetorical element (Burke 1953: 124). Using the logological approach presented above, we can now approach the benedictions and *anathemata* of religious persuasion by Finnish priests.

The Origins of the Enemy: Bolshevism as Chaos

World War II in the Finnish context is divided into three parts: the defensive Winter War (1939–40), the offensive Continuation War (1941–44) fought in alliance with Germany, and, following the Moscow Armistice, the Lapland War (1944–45) which ousted the German troops from Finland. Whereas Finland was rather unprepared to fight the Winter War and had only poor equipment, the Continuation War testified to the improved status of the Finnish Army. In the Continuation War, five hundred priests worked as chaplains in the army.[2] In addition to chaplains, the

[2] In the Finnish usage "priest" can be used in reference to both the office in general and a person. "Pastor," in turn, is a title of respect referring to the nature of priesthood as spiritual guidance. Finally, "chaplain" is a priest who is attached to a

priest was the most visible representative of the state in daily life during the war among those not on active duty.

In Finnish clerical rhetoric Bolshevism represented the primordial forces of chaos.[3] The cosmogonic struggle between cosmos and chaos is a basic motive in religious thinking. In spatial terms, cosmos is the familiar, inhabited territory and chaos is the unknown and indeterminate space that surrounds it. Metaphorically, the former is "our world": everything outside it is foreign, lacking order or structure, peopled by ghosts, demons, and foreigners. Cosmos is a mode of existence to which the sacred has given structure and order. Chaos, on the other hand, is a liquefied and larval mode of existence, constantly threatening "our" order (Eliade 1961: 29–31).

In the Finnish case chaos was defined as anarchic Asianness, in clear contrast to European order. Finland's eastern border was claimed to be the liminal zone between cosmos and chaos.

> The border between East and West, between chaos and order already attempted to push itself to the Western border of Finland 700 years ago. The people of Finland have had to spend most of their physical and spiritual power securing the eastern border of Western civilization. This battle has reached its climax now when the godless government of Russia has centred there all the enormous resources of the country in order to roll its hordes across the border to wreak havoc in Europe. [...] Our existence, our freedom based on legality and our legal order must not drown in eastern primitivism, lies and spiritual sickness. [...] We know full well that without Christian teaching about the will of God, good and evil, right and wrong, the lives of our people and our homes would drown in chaos (Sormunen 1941a: 2).

This quotation, from a piece written by Bishop Eino Sormunen, illustrates the two main rhetorical strategies of enemy construction used in the cosmos–chaos antithetical pair. The first argument was that the enemy Finland was facing was in a chaotic state, a state of primitive, unpredictable disarray. The second argument was that as such it constantly threatened to dissolve, to sweep away Finnish order based on Christianity. The argument was that the enemy was in the opposite state of being

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secular organization, such as an army. In Lutheranism there is no separate priestly class necessary for salvation. Rather, the ministry of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments is instituted in order to obtain faith through which one is justified (Confessio Augustana IV, V).

[3] The material consists of texts produced by bishops, priests, and chaplains. These texts include sermons, speeches, booklets, devotionals and newspaper articles. I have particularly focused on those rhetorical artifacts that describe the Continuation War and Finland's role in it. All translations are my own.

that—unless it was struck down—would "drown us in a bloody surge of war, sin and sensuality" (Simojoki 1942a: 2; 1942b: 2–3; 1942c: 2).

Asia was the key term symbolizing the chaos that began on the eastern border of Finland. In Western discourse generally, "Asia" is the antithetical pair of the West: it is everything that the West is not. It is the negative other, representing a way of being that tends towards backwardness, primitivism and barbarism (Todorova 1997: 117–39). In a word, Asia is the hostile "other" that denotes emptiness, loss and disaster and as such is constantly threatening to contaminate the pure being of the West (Said 2003: 56; Todorova 1997: 123; Ancheta 1998: 76). Also, Asia and the East are seen in temporal terms as significantly lagging behind Western civilization, which is the apex of human achievement (Todorova 1997: 130).

The Asiatic enemy was seen in terms of formless liquidness: it constituted a scene that boiled and flooded, and thus was about to expand uncontrollably. Using imagery that suited his position, a Finnish naval chaplain stated that Finland's eastern border was "like a beach washed by a great ocean," beyond which "boiled the merciless greed and hatred of Asiatic barbarism." According to him, this chaos had during every generation flooded across the border and tried to drown the Finnish people (Alitalo 1943). In this way the enemy resembled a force of nature, a phenomenon out of human control. Drawing on religious mythology, priests identified the enemy with the chaotic powers that God has vanquished in the creative act and continues to defeat every time order is established. The forces of chaos were incarnated in the enemy, and the war was a repetition of the initial creation that contained and limited the evil (Ricoeur 1969: 197–98; Eliade 1961: 47–48).

Clerical rhetoric presented Bolshevism as the cause of the lack of any kind of cultural or political order. The ideology was presented as the reason why the Soviet Union was "Asiatic" and a threat consisting of hordes that would not only enslave the Finnish people, but overwhelm Finland and drown her under "animalism, chaos, fire and blood." Due to Bolshevism's effect, Finland's enemy was in a primordial state, thus "the bloody waves of war" started by "the surge from the east" could move aimlessly from Soviet territory towards the west and devour its Christian order (Tiivola 1941a: 1; Sormunen 1941b: 1; Simojoki 1942c: 2; see also Alanen 1944a: 2, 4; Utriainen 1942: 2; Lehtonen 1941: 8–13; Editorial 1944a: 1).

Finnish chaplains harnessed the rhetorical topos of Asiatic barbarism; by locating the "essence" of enemy in cultural and historical regression, clerics actively aligned their audience's identity with the Christian West. Soviet soldiers were "ignorant, spiritually blinded hordes" who were said to be fighting with "animalistic rage." Soviet POWs were alleged to practice cannibalism—more evidence of the perceived barbarism of the enemy. It was said that the Bolsheviks were "crueler than the darkest pagans of Africa" and incapable of human feelings towards their own com-

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rades. However, the development that had begun in the purges in which "the Soviet jackals" were executing each other was interpreted as a sign of the imminent doom in which "the barbarians of the east would drown in their own mindlessness." The war was the final, desperate onslaught of the Asiatic masses against Western civilization, freedom and order (Kalpa 1941: 3; Alanen 1944b: 2; Vauramo 1941: 2).

Asiatic barbarism was a useful rhetorical topos in the Finnish context. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries centuries the construction of Finnish national identity and the legitimation of an autonomous state that the Finnish people "deserved" was repeatedly based on the claim that "Finnishness" was a distinct category, not related to Asianness or Russianness but clearly part of the Christian West, contrary to what racial theoriests of the nineteenth century claimed.[4] Against such a background, Bolshevism was seen as an Eastern way of political thinking, one that could not distinguish between peoples and nations or appreciate the state they each deserved. In contrast, Christianity had given Finland her Western order, structure and freedom. As chaos is contagious, Finland as the outpost of Western civilization was in constant danger from the east. Hence, the Soviet Union should be pushed back as far East as possible.

In this way clerical rhetoric drew on the cosmogonic myth, using two modes of temporized essence. First, the narrative translation of opposing principles into a battle allowed the idea of order and disorder to be represented by two nations (see Burke 1966: 395). Second, translating the antithetical principle into a narrative form set the conditions for a purposive development. Hence the purely directionless way in which polar terms logically imply each other could be replaced by teleological patterns, where disorder could be pictured aiming to win over the principle of order (Burke 1966: 387–88). As a result, since a logical relationship always includes a strong element of inevitability, Finnish Lutheran priests intensified the ominous nature of the enemy by transferring a temporal battle between two states to the realm of principles.

The Fruition of Evil: Bolshevism as the Antichrist

Two crucial biblical concepts referring to "endings" are *katechon* and *anomos*. The Bible describes the Antichrist, *anomos*, as the beast that will "come out of the Abyss and go to its destruction" (Rv 17:8). The Antichrist is, however, of crucial importance, since without him the prophecies will not be fulfilled (John 17:12). The coming of the Antichrist is the precondition for the promised redemption which will follow the eschatological

[4] For example, Arthur de Gobineau considered Finns to be members of the "yellow race," which, he claimed, was weak, unintelligent and tended to do practical work (see Kemiläinen 1998).

battle. It will be in accordance with Satan's works in the world, that is, deceitful displays of power and wonder in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, the saved from the unsaved.

However, the Antichrist will not be revealed until "the one who now holds him back" (*katechon*) is taken out of the way (2 Thes 2: 6–12). The *katechon* is appointed by God to restrain the forces of chaos at work in the world and provide political stability and order (Schmitt 2003: 59–62; Ostovich 2007: 64; Meier 1998: 161). When the *katechon* is removed, Christians will recognize the epitome of lawlessness, the Antichrist, based on their knowledge of the lesser evils of today. The "Son of Perdition" will oppose and exalt himself over everything "that is called God or is worshipped" proclaiming himself to be God (2 Thess. 2:1–5).

In clerical apocalyptic rhetoric the Continuation War meant a removal of the *katechon* so that the powers of the Antichrist could be revealed to their full extent before the Antichrist's final destruction, identified as coming in the fields and forests of East Karelia in Finland. *Anomos* in all its power had now in fact been revealed—it was found in Bolshevism. According to Archbishop Erkki Kaila, Finland's tradition as a Christian people guaranteed that Finns intimately knew the dualistic nature of history.

> The Bible depicts the life of mankind in dramatic terms: it is filled with tension as evil has perpetrated the created world and attempts to poison and destroy everything. God is fighting against this dark and evil power, and the battle culminates in moments when it seems that evil will win, but eventually the forces of good miraculously prevail. In this battle every nation and every individual has to decide their sides. It is the Bible that has shown the people of Finland this dramatic tension inherent in worldly life (Kaila 1942: 1–2).

Chaplain Eino Kalpa proclaimed that Russia was the eternal enemy of Finland. The fact that this enmity is perceived as eternal was based on the idea that it had been seized by the spiritual forces of the Antichrist. The Soviet Union, in turn, was seen as the culmination of a long historical process of evil gathering across Finland's eastern border. Now the monster had spawned: the kingdom of the Beast. Thus, as the chaplain proclaimed by referring to the Book of Revelation (12:7), the Continuation War was a part of the war that had broken out in heaven and in which the Archangel Michael and his angels were fighting against the dragon (i.e., the Antichrist) and his minions (Kalpa 1942a: 3; 1942b: 2).

This ideology symbolized the biblical notion of the epitome of evil establishing an abominable idolatrous presence, which in turn was a signal for God and His people to respond (Longman & Reid 1995: 176). Bolshevism had transformed the Soviet Union into "a gigantic kingdom that has used all its political power and organization to systematically attack and rape its enemies in its war against Christ and Christianity," and

poisoned ordinary Russians by enveloping them in "godlessness and new paganism" (Alanen 1941a: 5). Finland, then, had had no choice: she had been forced to rise with weapons against the oppressor for the holiest of values. Hence the war was not actually against a particular state but against "the biblical false power" (Vikatmaa 1942: 3).

> The contours of the Antichrist have been glowing behind the faces of Stalin, Molotov & co. The Apocalypse of John discusses the bloody regime that persecuted Christians, i.e. Rome, as a place in which the throne of Satan is. The kingdom of Rome collapsed, but Christ continued to rule. The throne of Satan has also been located in Moscow – the nest of blasphemy. There the leaders of Bolshevism have been drunk with joy when they have crucified Christ again, stamped His blood under their feet and persecuted Christians in a way that renders the persecutions of Diocletian trivial (Mustonen 1941: 2–3).

As Bishop Juho Mannermaa (1941) declared in a sermon, the spread of "the clearest example of the Antichrist in human history" would have meant the beginning of a new era of persecution, during which "the Christians would have felt the scars from the Russian whip on their bodies" and "the number of martyrs appointed by the Lord would have been fulfilled and the throne of Satan publicly built among us." Christendom in particular would have been turned into "a kingdom of darkness like the present Russia, a kingdom in which people have eternal weeping and gnashing of teeth," as several chaplains pointed out drawing on the Gospel according to St Matthew (8:12) (Rinne 1941a: 1; also Mustonen 1941: 2–3; Pakkala 1941: 1; Suominen 1942: 1).

A common understanding among Finnish priests was that Russians were not essentially demonic, although their backwardness had made them vulnerable to the antichristian ideology. For example, as Bishop Eino Sormunen stressed, by being in a state of war with Russia for a total of one hundred during the last seven hundred years, Finland knew that although the governments and political systems of their eastern neighbor had changed, its character and spirit had not. Thus "the Russian soul" made the Russians incompatible with Western civilization, for a variety of reasons. First, a Russian would be willing to betray even his best friend, no matter what situation one should happen to be in. Second, "Russianness" was based on sado-masochism, that is, the enjoyment of suffering and causing it in others. Third, the Russian soul lacked the creativity and will to make life better. On the contrary, the Russian wants only to rob, enjoy and destroy. Fourth, and most importantly, Russia lacked the state-building ability that in turn guaranteed human beings their highest freedom, that is, life in a nation-sate (Sormunen 1941a; see also Alanen 1941b: 3).

According to Bishop Sormunen, the worst thing about Bolshevism was that it had damaged "the Russian character," which had always easily

adapted itself to external circumstances (Sormunen 1941a). The result was that Bolshevism had stupefied the minds and hearts of Russians and had nurtured wicked "mass creatures" without any personality. It was claimed that the almost twenty-five year Bolshevist tutelage had had a dreadful impact on the soul of the Russian people. It had transformed a backward people into insensitive, heartless and cruel materialistic monsters who lacked "any finer characteristics of man," as Professor Yrjö J. E. Alanen stated (Alanen 1941c: 2; 1942a: 4; Pakkala 1943: 3; Alanen 1944b). Thus, claims of the primitiveness of the enemy were combined with condemnation of the ideology as the fruition of evil: because Russians were primordial creatures, Bolshevism had been especially perilous. Moving between temporality and eternality, the ideology was depicted as powerful enough to have been able to transform the nature of Russian people.

The clerical application of temporized essence entailed a peculiar interpretation of history. Since the essence of the enemy was stated in terms of culmination, Finland's history could be seen teleologically. Finland's history was identified with the spread of Christianity: it was claimed that when Christianity had come to Finland with crusades to the region in the thirteenth century, Finland was introduced into the Christian order. Naturally, this had also revealed Finland's "eternal enemy": the purpose of the Satanic East had supposedly always been to enslave the countries of the West, and for this reason Finland had been a target of destructive raids from "the eastern persecutor" for over 700 years (Sormunen 1941b: 1; Voutilainen 1942: 2; Pinomaa 1941a: 1). Professor Alanen stated that with Bolshevism "20 years ago had begun to loom as a horrific land of red haze" this threat had reached its apex:

> There appeared a regime that resembled the prophecies of Revelations about the kingdom of the Beast more than any other phenomenon during the history of the world. [...] In addition to crude materialism, at the moment in Soviet Russia man has truly replaced God—and not just any man but a blasphemous, obscene and violent man has replaced the righteous and holy God (Alanen 1941b: 3).

Bolshevism was thus the beast that blasphemes God, denies his power and attempts to rise above him. However, Finland had survived for almost eight hundred years and would prevail now (Mannermaa 1941). In the light of Finland's history, the war was more than correcting the wrongs that had taken place during the Russification period[5] or in the Winter War: the war meant a universal transformation, as a part of which Finland would be set

[5] The Russification of Finland (1899–1905 and 1908–17) was a policy of the Russian Empire aimed at limiting the special status of the Grand Duchy of Finland and the termination of its political autonomy and cultural uniqueness. Finland gained independence in 1917 amidst the turmoil of the Bolshevik revolution.

free from "the nightmare that had haunted her throughout her history" (Pinomaa 1941b). Thus Finland's eternal nightmare would end because the moment of doom for "the bloody enemy of mankind and Christ" and "the eternal Pester" had come (Tiivola 1941: 1; Pinomaa 1942).

In this way Finnish priests essentialized and "eternalized" the enemy: Satan was presented as the real source of the Soviet Union's power, through Bolshevism. It was claimed to be the fruition of (biblical) wickedness, the Antichrist. Finland's history as Russia's neighbor was thus far seen as consisting of stages towards the fulfillment of evil, and any historical predicament could be claimed to have been the result of the developing evil across the border. Thus, by moving back and forth between historical sequence and timeless principles, the Continuation War could be seen as the final act of history that would resolve the tension between good and evil.

"Put on the Armour of God"—The Perfection of the Finnish Soldier

Unless adversaries are not of equal status and power, combat is not logically "perfect" (Burke 1966: 384). Accordingly, if an evil enemy is eternal and diabolical, the forces of good that oppose it must be of divine origin. In Finnish clerical rhetoric Finnish soldiers were cast into appropriate roles by using yet another application of the temporizing of essence: the personalizing of essence, in which essential or timeless principles are recast upon persons in time (Burke 1969b: 15–16; Carter 1997: 346). The ideal of a soldier as an imitation of Christ was used by many, but a sermon by MP and Doctor of Theology Paavo Virkkunen at the funeral of MP and Chaplain Väinö Havas in 1941 is a particularly good example of its use:

> The soldier of Christ has understood that living Christianity is first and foremost struggle, a noble fight of faith, a battle that puts into motion all the powers of life. He has the courage and strength to sacrifice not only his inner life but also his life altogether when the utmost sacrifice is demanded. A good soldier of Christ decides his position and obeys his inner demand. He suffers and endures the many denials and pains of a soldier at the front. And wonderfully he shall see that the yoke of Christ is indeed fitting and his burden is light. With the peace of Christ in his heart he will give his final sacrifice, his life, for a great cause as well as for his closest ones. It is through the fallen ones that God creates his light and sheds love in our lives (Virkkunen 1942: 14–18).

Therefore, those who had fallen in the war were deemed to be in a similar situation as Christ in that they had let not only external enemies but also spiritual enemies surround them in order to save their loved ones from the powers of evil.

The armor of God and clothing oneself in Christ were identified with the uniform of the Finnish army. It was claimed that wearing the Finnish uniform was an honor and put heavy demands on the wearer, for it had been worn by "fathers who have liberated Finland from servitude" (Merimaa 1942: 2–3). However, Finns also had another garment that they had received as small children when they were baptized: divine armor. Hence Finnish soldiers had two uniforms that needed to be put to full use in this war. This could be done by the single act of putting on the uniform of the Finnish army, because being a Finnish soldier symbolized putting "on the full armor of God" in order to take "a stand against the devil's schemes" (Eph 6:11). In other words, since the enemy was essentially a representation of the spiritual force of evil, the two uniforms merged into one garment of clothing would ensure persistence (Vihervaara 1943: 2; Vaalas 1941: 180–81).

It was explicitly stated by, amongst others, Chaplain Aimo Nikolainen that "the good fight of faith" (1 Tim. 6: 12) was to be the symbol of the Finnish soldier because a soldier who is faithful and obedient to Christ furthers best the aims of the fatherland (Nikolainen 1941: 3). Since throughout history "the nationally great things that took place were always propelled by faith" (Kalpa 1942d: 8), in addition to the cause of the fatherland, Finnish soldiers shared another aim: they were fighting for God. For this reason Finnish soldiers were "the executioners of God's will and brothers of Christ" (Snellman 1941: 3; Sinnemäki 1941b: 2). It was only soldiers who had "become Christ's own" who could spread the spirit that Finland's holy war demanded (Antila 1942: 7–8; Malmivaara 1942: 120–21).

The living were constantly reminded of the perfection of the Finnish soldier.

> The persecutor has sneaked into the fields of Finland countless times, bringing nothing but destruction and death. This fight is a costly obligation. A people like ours—who have fought numerous times in unanimity for its life—should understand the meaning of the holiest of battles. We have been called to fight for eternal life. What is our relation to this battle? Have we gathered under the cross of Christ? Have we put on the armor of God? Both battles require similar strength, in both eternal life is at stake, both battles are holy, in both battles soldiers of Christ shall prevail. Thus there can be only one aim: fight the good fight of faith (Hyvönen 1941a: 4).

In this way the ideal Finnish soldier was a soldier of faith whose calling, his "inner demand," was to embark courageously on a total battle without hesitating to give the ultimate sacrifice for the ultimate cause. As a chaplain declared, the fallen ones "had the right to hope that those who were still continuing their worldly life would be worthy of the sacrifice of the fallen ones" (Viro 1942: 95).

Through memory of the sacrifice, each generation had and would become aware that freedom always needed to be ransomed. As one chaplain declared, a great future demanded great sacrifices: God used sacrifices to ascertain that every sacrifice given with suffering would "sprout the harvest of blessing" (Hyvönen 1941b: 4; 1941c: 4). So those who were still alive were obliged to teach the importance of mortification to future generations. It was of the utmost importance that Finnish boys and girls would grow up "listening to their heroic fathers' words of world-defeating love from beyond their graves" (Virkkunen 1942: 14–18). Grimly, children could only play if they listen to "the graves of the war heroes preaching" to them about their sacred obligation (Editorial 1944b: 1; see also Jokipii 1942: 71–72; Vuorela 1942: 33–35).

As has been pointed out, in logology the dialectic between perfection and guilt is an integral element of symbolic action. In the Finnish case the "guilt" that the audience was led to feel from being alive (when so many of their compatriots had died) was used in mortification. There is a peculiarly demanding aspect of self-sacrifice where *imitatio Christi* is used as the model. The principle of sacrifice is taken from a perfect victim who sacrifices himself for mankind, with the implication that the closest thing to being God is dying willingly for the love of one's community. Thus, the guilt energizing the mortification of the soldier did not originate from any particular event but from Christ's example, and could be narratively identified with a debt that one allegedly owed to the fatherland. Since those delegated to the role of sacrifice must be "worthy" of sacrifice (Burke 1989: 294–95; Desilet 2006: 49), the sacrificial vessel worthy of fatherland was the soldier of Christ. Obviously, when the essence of debt is atemporal, the symbolic debt can be temporized, that is, narrated, over and over again in virtually every historical situation.

The paradox of the absolute reveals another interesting ambiguity in clerical rhetoric, with claims about purity or the absolute highly problematic. For instance, when the nature of a human is derived from God as a "pure" or "absolute" person, God as a super-person would be impersonal, and the impersonal would be synonymous with the *negation* of personality. This would then mean that "pure personality" would be the same as no personality (Burke 1969a: 35).

Purity (or absoluteness) thus implies negation of the existing, whereas impurity refers to something that can actually exist (Burke 1969a: 21–23). That is, pure being equals not being, whereas what actually exists must necessarily be "impure" (Burke 1969a: 35; 1966: 190). Consequently, claims for purity and the absolute often imply not only "impersonality" but even deeds that are in contradiction to being humane. Considered from the perspective of the paradox, then, it is not surprising that the armor of God put on for the good fight of faith did not remain intact—it might even be stated that a demand of such purity was in fact an invocation of impurity.

A Finnish Betrayal of Christ?

Clerical rhetoric also relied on the temporizing of essence in relation to disobedience. When it began coming clear that the Soviet Union would not be completely defeated by the Axis, the clergy began to scrutinize the "sinfulness" of Finnish soldiers and civilians. They argued that the prolongation of the war had been caused by soldiers and civilians at home who had begun to falter in their internal struggle—the war at the front was dependent on the internal struggle against evil since they were both essentially against the same enemy.

Bishop Sormunen claimed that Deuteronomy, with its recapitulation of Israel's disobedience—the subsequent wandering in the wilderness and the destruction of the generation that had disobeyed God's commandments—offered a fitting analogy for Finland's situation. According to the bishop, Finland's national existence was threatened not only by the violence, wickedness and godlessness of the external enemy but also by internal dangers, notably, a loss of faith and the loss of moral power. The people of Finland had always resisted external threats and internal anxieties by relying on their faith. Now Finland was faced with a choice between life and death: all could be saved, but could also be lost (Sormunen 1943). Here, as in many other speeches and sermons, the defining question was what kind of nation Finland would be: one that is permanently God's instrument, or one that will necessarily be cast aside after it has played its part (Lauha 1943: 95–97).

Senior Chaplain Rolf Tiivola explained the halt of the Finno-German troops' advance during the winter of 1942–43 by describing it as a creative hiatus before "the great crusade against Bolshevism" continued and brought judgment to the Soviet Union. Significantly, Tiivola said that now, when the war against "the external arch-nemesis" was temporarily halted, it was time to focus on the war against internal enemies (Tiivola 1942: 1). This fateful moment of the fatherland required soldiers who would pause and examine their "selfish lives critically" and come to realize that the war was first and foremost "the good fight of the faith" at a personal level (Kalpa 1942c: 2–3; Mikkonen 1941: 2). As a chaplain declared at the front:

> It has been said that we are drawing lines. This is true. The kingdom of Satan is in the east. That is easy to state—it is evident. But it is hard to admit that the realm of Satan is here in the west also. It is within every soldier. We must draw the line within our conscience and proceed on the right side. This is why God sets a time of visitation. This is what ultimately will decide our fate (Närhi 1941).

As the quotation above indicates, at this point the line between internal and external was beginning to be obscured. The Soviet Union was

an example of what happens when the internal battle was lost: God's revenge had come down upon the Russians who had lost the inner struggle. The reasons for God's wrath must be carefully considered, because any people—the Finns as well—might call this divine wrath down upon themselves in the future. The reason for Russia's anguish was alleged to be that the Russians had abandoned Christian moral values. However, it would be fatal to "scream one's lungs out" about the sins of Bolshevism while at the same time forgetting one's own offences against God (Laurila 1941: 2–3). Consequently, repentance was more than urgent—Christ the Warlord was the only hope when surrounded by the powers of death, otherwise all of Finland would face the same judgment as Bolshevism (Sormunen 1941c: 2). Repentance was something Finns had "proudly refrained from doing," and so there was a clear and present danger that also the fate of Finland would be to be "thrown into the darkness" with "all the proud and disobedient children of the 20th century" (Hirvelä 1943: 2–3; Snellman 1943: 3).

An accusation commonly made in clerical rhetoric was that Finns, because of their pride, were guilty of betraying Christ. Victories gained by the army had led to overwhelming pride. What was meant to be the turning point in Finland's history was in fact showing that "God's grace had been spent in vain and that Christ had died in vain." Now not only the sins of the Bolsheviks but also the sins of Finns "cried up to the Heavens" (Leskinen 1942: 2–3; also Klami 1942: 2). A chaplain bewailed the fact that although the war was a holy war against "the bestiality of Bolshevism," the sins of each and every Finn were incriminating in the eyes of the Lord (Häyrinen 1942: 2). Powerful rhetorical imagery was used to rebuke Finns and made it clear to them that they were "pressing a new crown of thorns on Christ's head" (Pietilä 1942: 2–3).

The theme of betraying Christ was vividly depicted by a chaplain in a sermon published in the *Sotilaspappi* (guidelines for military chaplains):

> The people of Finland are living in the most important time of her history. Our army has made wonderful deeds and the home front has fought with superhuman strength. [...] But we tremble and ask: what does Christ say about us? He sees what we are internally. And it is a sight of sorrow. We are an internally sick people. This condition manifests in drunkenness, immorality and selfishness, which are having a victory parade amidst our people. And without repentance it shall be so that the people that saw days of victory on the battlefield will be sucked into a vortex of sin. Jesus is crying when he sees this (J. S. J. 1942: 33).

Guilt rhetoric applied by Finnish priests has a foundation in Lutheran theology. One of the chief articles of the Lutheran creed states that due to the fall of Adam "all men begotten in the natural way are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupis-

cence; and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost" (CA II). In other words, man is essentially a sinner—his (or her) ahistorical essence is that of a transgressor and thus s/he is inherently guilty. In this way original sin from a mythical narrative can be transformed into the essence of man: original sin is essential sin (Burke 1969a: 432–33).

Hence, one of the main Lutheran theological principles was converted into a narrative form that suited the military situation. An essentialist idea of human being as transgressor was applied as a powerful rhetorical instrument in a situation that direly needed an explanation; waiting dormant, it only needed to be clothed consistently with the given historical situation. The claim was intensified by drawing on a logological notion that a mythical event can be viewed as both in time and in principle (Burke 1979: 170). Here Christ's crucifixion was both said to have happened once historically, and to still be going on, in principle. The alleged sins of each and every Finn in a temporal situation re-enacted Christ's crucifixion—hence the claim that Finns were Judases betraying Christ and pressing a new crown of thorns on him. Finland's war was conceived in spiritual terms as part of God's struggle against Satan, and therefore whatever happened in it was directly related to the master dichotomy of Judeo-Christian theology.

Conclusion

Finland's situation has been explained in terms of essences constituting a dual narrative movement. First, since Bolshevism was alleged to be a force of chaos, the origins of the situation could be traced back to the primordial mythical struggle between chaos and cosmos. Second, since Bolshevism was claimed to be the entelechial fruition of biblical wickedness, the Antichrist, any historical predicament of Finland could be claimed to have been the result of the developing evil across the border. As a consequence, Bolshevism as an atemporal evil force was always prior to any of Finland's "temporal" actions.

The Finnish application of the temporized essence in terms of personalization was that the theological *imitatio Christi* motive was connected with the earthly fatherland in order to lead to the "perfection" of the obedient soldier and removal of his "guilt." Ironically, then, entelechy turned into tragedy: a perfect soldier was a dead soldier (Burke 1969a: 39–40; 1969b: 14; see also Ivie 2006: 137). When the military situation changed dramatically, demands of self-sacrifice were further catalyzed by temporizing one of the key tenets of Lutheran theology, the original sin. Drawing on the biblical topos according to which 'we' are under attack from without as well as from within, "the sinful Finns" could be scape-

goated (Ivie 2006: 192). As a grim result, the Finnish soldier was doubly mortified: first as a soldier of Christ, then as a sinner.

Two important notions emerge from this. First, if, for example, Hitler and George W. Bush had used "bastardization of religious thought" in their rhetoric (Ivie 2004; Thompson 2011), in Finland it was priests who relied on such demonizing speech. Although they did not transcend religion like Hitler did in his rhetoric, Finnish priests bent religion to their rhetorical purposes. Second, as shown by my logological analysis, their religious imagery was more complicated and flexible than that of most of their secular colleagues. In addition to demonizing the enemy, Finnish priests called on their own troops to mortify themselves. Thus, whereas for example in Bush's discourse of war the devil-term is international terrorism, in Finnish Lutheran war rhetoric the line dividing "us" from "them" was more ambiguous. Due to the religious idea of spiritual struggle within each individual, Finns were in fact consubstantial with the enemy (Burke 1969a: 21–23). What is more, due to the Lutheran conception of the original sin, Finns had been consubstantial with the enemy since birth. According to Finnish priests, the tragic fact was that during the Continuation War this "evil potentiality" had been actualized, and the war had gone astray (Burke 1969a: 41–43).

In this way the temporizing of essence was used inventively by Finnish priests in order to legitimate the war as a cosmic battle of good versus evil. The most important political consequence of such totalizing rhetoric, drawing on the principles of language itself, was that while affirming the Lutheran doctrine, the Lutheran clergy could remain faithful to a spiritual interpretation of the war; from which followed that the authority of the priests as well as that of the military and political leaders could be left intact. The most significant ethical consequence was that both the enemy and the Finnish soldier were eventually dehumanized—a tragic fact in a religion where the core message is not to kill and to turn the other cheek to, and even love, the enemy.

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