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Jouni Tilli

The Continuation War as a Metanoic Moment

A Burkean Reading of Lutheran Hierocratic Rhetoric

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Editors
Jussi Kotkavirta
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä
Pekka Olsbo, Harri Hirvi
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ABSTRACT

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Summary
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The study explores an aspect of the Continuation War 1941–1944 that has received surprisingly little attention, although the war in general is one of the most debated topics in the history of Finland. Accordingly, the research tackles the rhetorical problem of how Lutheran priests applied religious and biblical typologies in order to support the war effort of the Finnish state. My interpretation of priestly power consists of two steps. Firstly, the theological concept of metanoia is used to frame an explanation of how clergy purported to change minds in order to prepare the audience for action. Secondly, Kenneth Burke's theory of symbolic action is applied in rhetorical analysis of clerical texts.

As the research shows, the Continuation War was "emplotted" using an application of the biblical drama. More specifically, the clergy relied on six *typoi*: apocalypse, holy war & crusade, election & mission, jeremiad, the war within, obedience & mortification. Hence the substantial change from eschatological expectations, holy war and crusading to lamentations of individual and collective sinfulness could be carried out using a rhetorical structure that was familiar to all Finns. And most importantly, without questioning the authority of the church or the state, whilst the military-political situation changed dramatically.

The primary material consists of texts produced by bishops, chaplains and other priests. These texts include sermons, speeches, devotionals and newspaper articles. The method is textual analysis, manifested in the application of a reading strategy that examines the usage of biblical and religious imagery that were used in interpreting the Finnish situation.

Keywords: The Continuation War, Kenneth Burke, symbolic action, rhetoric, metanoia, clergy

Author's address Jouni Tilli
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
/ political science
P. O. Box 35, FI-40014
University of Jyväskylä

Supervisor Professor Mika Ojakangas
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
/ political science
P. O. Box 35, FI-40014
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers Professor Clarke Rountree
Department of Communication Arts
The University of Alabama
342 Morton Hall
University of Alabama in Huntsville
Huntsville, AL 35899
The United States

University Lecturer Mika Luoma-aho
PhD, Department of Social Sciences
P.O. Box 122, 96101 Rovaniemi
University of Lapland

Opponent Professor Clarke Rountree

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CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Continuation War, priests and rhetoric

The nature of Finland's Continuation War[1] was dramatically defined at the beginning of July 1941 by Marshall C. G. E. Mannerheim in his famous Order of the Day:

> I summon You to join me in a holy war against our nation's enemy. Deceased war heroes will rise from beneath summery mounds to join us today, when we firmly set out on a crusade alongside and as comrades-in-arms with the mighty German army to create a secure future for Finland. Brothers-in-arms! Follow me for this final time – now, when the people of Karelia will rise again and Finland's new morning is dawning. (Mannerheim 1970, 116.)

The war that had begun on 25th June was a holy war, a crusade. More than that, the war was seen in an eschatological light, particularly by Lutheran priests. It was the final battle for Finland's new morning. In this research I will examine the rhetoric used by the Finnish Lutheran clergy in the Continuation War.

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1 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, after the Moscow Armistice, the Lapland War (1944–45) to oust the German troops from Finland. An offensive campaign embarked on quite closely in connection with the German Operation Barbarossa, the Continuation War is one of the most studied and discussed events of recent history in Finland. Whereas Finland was rather unprepared to fight the Winter War and had only defective equipment, the Continuation War testified to the improved status of the Finnish Army. Historiography has presented Finland in the Second World War in many terms – from being driftwood tossed to and fro by the stream of events to being a small country pragmatically directed by its political and military leaders. Only towards the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century have academics begun to examine critically the neglected dimensions of the Continuation War. For example, the fact that Finland built concentration camps for certain ethnic groups and co-operated with the Gestapo and the SS in extraditing (or even eradicating) those groups has now been acknowledged as part of the Continuation War. (See for example Browning 2008; Worthen 2009; Holmila 2009; Silvennoinen 2009; Kinnunen & Kivimäki 2012.)

The Lutheran clergy were in an important position when the war was legitimated to different audiences, for the priest had formal power deriving from the fact that, due to the peculiar relationship between the Finnish state and the Lutheran Church, he was *de jure* an official of the state as well as of the church. In addition, Christian and biblical imagery was recognized by virtually all of the population, thus offering a nomenclature of effective topoi. As for example organizational changes which I shall discuss later and state support for the work of the clergy testify, the clergy were conceived as playing a central role in interpreting the Continuation War in terms favorable to Finland.

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. As Harold Lasswell pointed out as early as the 1920s, in Christian countries precautions need to be taken to calm the doubts of those who may give the Bible an "inconvenient", i.e. deviating, interpretation. Thus it is expedient to circulate as widely as possible the arguments of those preachers and priests who are willing to explain how one can both follow Jesus and kill one's enemies – and there will always be enough theological leaders ready to undertake this (Lasswell 1971, 97).

In 1941 the church and the clergy embarked on the task conscientiously. A chaplain ruminated in his diary on the eve of war on June 25th 1941:

> It may be difficult to convince the soldiers about the justification of this war – if the war comes. Why so? Because *we* [priests] should be convinced first. We know that the present turn of events seems to be of advantage to our country. But is it *right* – that is not easy to say. (Viro 1975, 34. Emphasis in original.)

The passage indicates that although the war that was about to begin could be considered acceptable and even advantageous politically, morally – which in this case meant theologically – this was not necessarily the case. More specifically, the issue is how the Continuation War between the states of Finland and the Soviet Union could be justified publicly in relation to a religion whose core message is not to kill, to turn the other cheek to – and even love – the enemy. How the clergy approached this question rhetorically constitutes the main research question of this research.

The Finnish clergy in the Continuation War is a topic that has been examined from perspectives that either take the rhetorical aspect as given or attempt to overlook it. The political dimension of the clergy is more often than not associated with the fact that the Lutheran Church was de facto the state church during the wartime, and thus the priest was "an official of the state" in addition to having his pastoral post. Owing to the concept that the state is the sphere of the political, the political activity of priests has been analysed in terms of their participation in parliamentary politics (for example Koskiaho 1966). Granted, this aspect of the politics of the Lutheran clergy is important, but it does not give sufficient attention to an element that constitutes in my opinion

the most significant dimension of clerical politics: the content of their proclamation.

Church historians, for their part, have examined the topic from an organizational perspective. Professor Eino Murtorinne, for example, studied the relationship of the Lutheran Church of Finland and the churches of Germany during the Winter War and the Continuation War (see Murtorinne 1975) as well as the impact National Socialism and its policies on church and religion had on cooperation with Nordic churches in the 1930s (see Murtorinne 1972). Murtorinne's perspective is church-historical, which means that although he takes political aspects into consideration in his seminal research, they are mainly associated with church and state as organizations. Similarly, a study by Hannu Ojalehto (1979) dealt with the development of the organizational position of the clergy and their experiences during the Winter War and the Continuation War.

The surface of clerical rhetoric has been scratched by media researchers Touko Perko and Esko Salminen. Salminen (1976) focuses on propaganda and information aimed at troops in action during the Continuation War, whereas Perko (1974) examines the work of propaganda officers at headquarters in relation to the home front. As far as clerical rhetoric is concerned, the emphasis in their studies is mainly on crusader and holy war rhetoric as themes in Finnish propaganda work, as well as the role of priests in propaganda divisions. Although they are informative pieces of research, they lack any systematic analysis of clerical rhetoric. In addition, more specific research has been conducted on various topics pertaining to the Lutheran hierocracy and the Continuation War. Timo Vuori (2011), for instance, examines in his recent dissertation the factors that gave rise to the office of Field Bishop in the years 1939–1944. Martti Hölsä (2006), in turn, analyses in his dissertation the establishment of primary education (which had a strong Finno-Christian emphasis) in the occupied East Karelia in 1941–1944.

A renowned Finnish professor of theology and bishop, Erkki Kansanaho (1991, 197–211), argues that political ideas about Greater Finland and annexing East Karelia were present during the Continuation War but that their role was relatively unimportant among the clergy. In a similar vein he claims that religious motives for the war, expressed in ideas such as Finland being a bulwark of Western civilization, or of a holy war and a crusade, were little more than poor propaganda imagery. Kansanaho emphasizes that such politico-religious rhetoric was exaggerated and that for example a "crusading mentality" was not common among Finnish soldiers or chaplains. The professor is adamant in his interpretation that "hooray-patriotism" and aggressive political ideas about the aims of the war were adopted by only a few enthusiasts.

There thus seems to be at least a modest discrepancy between the interpretations presented by existing research on the topic of the rhetoric of Lutheran priests. Whereas Perko and Salminen emphasize themes such as holy war and crusading, Erkki Kansanaho sees the role of clerical rhetoric as more or

less inconsequential. The differences are a symptom of a tendency to see the Lutheran clergy either almost solely as propagandists or as an apolitical group of men who "did what they had to do". The purpose of this research is to contribute to the above-mentioned debate and examine the clergy during the Continuation War from a perspective that focuses on their rhetoric.

Driven by the hope of reconquering with Hitler's Germany areas lost in the Winter War, in early 1941 the Ministry of Defense began a complete re-organization of the state information and propaganda system. (Salminen 1976, 37–38; Ojalehto 1979, 22.) Information and propaganda were concentrated under one department functioning under Army headquarters. The department was divided into 5 branches (Salminen 1976, 40–44) and it was in this department that military chaplains were deployed. Basically, the work of the clergy in the army was in three fields: 1) preaching, teaching and pastoral care, 2) propaganda and information, and 3) evacuation of the deceased, in which the chaplain was an important link between home and the front. There were approximately 500 chaplains in the army, almost 480 of them Lutheran. 280 were positioned among the fighting troops, and altogether 23 were killed in action. The military chaplainry was led by Field Bishop Johannes Björklund.[2] (Salminen 1976, 56; Ojalehto 1979, 157; Kansanaho 1991, 165–173, 263.)

At the beginning of the war chaplains were obliged to embark on so-called secular information work. Besides the fact that they already felt burdened by the shortage of time and resources, not all chaplains were content with the inevitable mixing of the spiritual and the secular. As a result of the clergy's attitude, it was decided in February 1942 that chaplains did not have to conduct secular information work, which was thenceforth left solely to information officers. Chaplains were responsible from now on solely for preaching and pastoral care. However, it was emphasized that despite the qualitative difference in the nature of the two spheres, pastoral care and preaching also had a significant role in maintaining morale: the shared aim was to "educate soldiers into readiness to sacrifice, endurance and true brotherhood-of-arms". Thus the two branches of information work were to function in cooperation. (Salminen 1976, 57–59; Kansanaho 1991, 263, 296.)

The number of priests on the home front was twice the number of chaplains, i.e. approximately 1 000. Bishops excluded, most of them functioned within the so-called Home Troops organization (Kotijoukot), which was organized around the White Guard (Suojeluskunta) organization and included a special clerical unit that was responsible for monitoring morale on the home front. In addition, this unit was responsible for the publication of information

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2 The position of the military clergy was debated within both the Church and the Defence Forces before 1939. At that stage, Church law did not yet recognize the office of the leading military priest, the Field Dean. There had been a motion in 1932 to introduce the office of a military bishop, but the bishops' synod blocked it. After the Winter War, arguments were made for strengthening the position of the military clergy. The creation of the office of Field Bishop was blocked in a Church law committee report issued just before the beginning of the Continuation War. The onset of that war, however, changed the course of events, as the President of the Republic appointed Field Dean Johannes Björklund as Field Bishop. (See Vuori 2011.)

and religious material as well as for radio programmes and pastoral work in educational facilities, hospitals and POW camps. (Kansanaho 1991, 160–162, 266–267.) Significantly, in addition to their responsibilities in the Home Troops organization, priests at home carried on with their ordinary ecclesiastical duties. In the practicalities of everyday life during the war the priest was the most visible representative of the state among those not on active duty.

The armada of priests acting within the spheres of the church and the state produced a considerable amount of textual material. The material analysed in this research includes newspapers and other publications as well as speeches at home and at the front. Newspaper material comes mainly from three newspapers: *Koti ja Kasarmi* defined itself as "the link between home and front", *Karjalan Viesti* was the largest newspaper published at the front with a circulation of 30 000 copies, and *Kotimaa* was the largest Christian newspaper in Finland. *Koti ja Kasarmi* was written and edited by a group of priests headed by the Field Bishop Johannes Björklund. Consequently, *Koti ja kasarmi* published numerous sermons, sermon-like speeches, and articles written by priests and chaplains. *Karjalan Viesti* was led and edited mainly by laymen. It did, however, turn to clerics for advice and assistance, and the newspaper regularly published writings, sermons and speeches by bishops, priests and chaplains. Finally, *Kotimaa* was the de facto mouthpiece of the Lutheran church and the most esteemed and widely read of the clerical newspapers.

In addition to newspapers, my material consists of speeches given at the front and in home parishes during the Continuation War. The speeches have been collected from personal archives stored in the Finnish national archive. The material also includes official booklets and publications for soldiers and civilians as well as official documents from the Field Bishops's office during the war. I have focused particularly on those rhetorical artifacts that describe the Continuation War and Finland's and the military's role in it. Basically the processing of the material consists of an analysis of the usage of biblical and religious imagery. Although the focus is mainly on direct biblical references and analogies used in the context of the Finnish war, I shall take into account more ambiguous biblical connections in which the connection to the Finnish situation is present implicitly, as well as common religious references, such as crusading.

The research applies Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory of symbolic action and dramatism. Language as symbolic action draws on two functions: division and unification. Division, the negative introduced by language, enables categorization and ordering. Linguistic symbols, on the other hand, stem from shared meanings – hence the tendency towards unification. In addition, according to the Burkean interpretation, entelechy is inherent in all symbolic action as an attempt towards perfecting whatever is more or less implicitly present in the given set of symbols. Symbols thus generate "entelechial movement" that motivates a person to act in a certain way. Symbolic entelechy proceeds through identification: rhetorical identification aims at "consubstantialities" in more intensive and extensive unification and transcendence of division. Consequently, biblical and religious analogies are

analysed as points of identification that offer the audience entelechial models of how to reach perfection.

Drawing on a typological principle of interpretation, the analysis examines six biblical *typoi* (apocalypse, holy war & crusade, election & mission, jeremiad, the war within, obedience & mortification) that were used in different phases of the war. Typological identification is "charted" with the grammar offered by Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad. Dramatism holds that drama is at the same time both an epistemological category as well as a mode of action. That is to say, the dramatistic pentad (act, scene, agent, agency and purpose) is understood as a set of elements through which man comprehends the world as well as a prism through which symbolic action takes place. This means that also rhetoric must be analysed in terms of drama. The five pentadic elements, the grammar, entail three perspectives in terms of which the Continuation War was staged: first, the root terms structuring the given typological situation; second, the dominant pairs and their ratios, for it is Kenneth Burke's integral insight that there is implied a coherent "dramatistic ratio" between any two given terms; third, with horizontal and vertical change of circumference of the terms it is possible to transform the scope and importance of the situation described.

1.2 Plan of the study

The theoretical approach of the research is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 presents an interpretation of priestly power and its relationship to Lutheranism. I shall draw on Michel Foucault's examination of pastoral power as spiritual guidance to constitute an ideal-typical approach to the essential characteristics of priestly power in Christianity. Next, the concept of *metanoia* is presented as the purpose and aim of priestly power. *Metanoia* as transformation of the mind is conceived here as the notion on which the politics of Christian theology principally draws. Here I shall distinguish two types of priesthood: the Catholic and the Lutheran, which differ mainly in their emphasis on pastoral power. The political aspects of Lutheranism are then discussed in relation to *metanoia*. Finally, the justification of war is discussed in the context of Lutheranism.

The empirical analysis of clerical rhetoric begins in Chapter 5. Marshal Mannerheim's famous Order of the Day at the beginning of the war constitutes the prologue. The empirical analysis starts with a biblical *typos* that was applied at the beginning of the war: the apocalypse. The drama of the apocalypse is analysed in terms of scene, which is taken as the pentadic root term. The typology of apocalypse constructs the Continuation War in terms of an eschatological scene that proceeds deterministically towards the fulfilment of destiny and the creation of a new order. In addition, the antagonist in the eschatological drama is conceived in scenic terms as an eternal enemy and

Asiatic chaos. That is, the actual enemy is seen merely as an adjunct of a scenic force functioning "behind" him.

In Chapter 6 clerical rhetoric is interpreted in terms of crusading and holy war. The *typos* of crusade and holy war is based on three rhetorical moves. Firstly, priests argued resolutely that the Continuation War was a holy war and thus an act willed and led by God. Secondly, from Finland's perspective, the war was seen as a counter-act – here, act is the pentadic root term. The gist of the argument in this case is that the alleged acts of the enemy violated the divine order and thus constituted a scene that the Finnish counter-act of crusade needed to correct. Thirdly, as the dramatistic coherence in the act–agent (and scene–agent) ratio demands, Finnish soldiers were described as being soldiers of Christ, furthering the cause of the kingdom of God.

Chapter 7 focuses on how agency was applied as the dominant pentadic term. It is shown that the biblical "substance" for pentadic agency was derived from the *typos* of election and mission. The *typos* provided a way of seeing Finland as a divine agency with two specific missions: the world-historical one of saving Christian Europe and the national one of establishing Greater Finland. Chapter 8 discusses the transformation that took place in clerical rhetoric during the Continuation War. In practice this meant that when operations in Karelia were halted, the ruling dramatistic element changed from scene, act and agency to agent. In this way it was possible to explain the new situation in terms of the rhetoric of morality. That is to say, now the being and acts of the agent (either collective or individual) were brought under scrutiny.

Finally, in Chapter 9 I shall present a conclusion and discuss the significance and consequences of the notion that the Continuation War was interpreted in the clerical rhetoric analysed in this research as a metanoic moment. Clerical rhetoric and the role of the Lutheran hierocracy are examined in relation to *metanoia*. To be specific, the focus is on discussing how the concept of Lutheran metanoia in cooperation with priestly rhetoric in the Continuation War constituted a deliberate policy in which the metanoic transformation of the mind was interwoven into the events of the war. Brief glimpses at concrete events of war are used throughout the study to shed light on development of the operations of war. The examination of the scene of war is, however, not exhaustive. Rather, the focus is on decisive events that changed the situation at the front or were otherwise important.

2 FALL AND REDEMPTION: LANGUAGE AS SYMBOLIC ACTION

2.1 Tools that weld, demons that divide

In Burkean theory symbolic action is based on four essential notions: the dialectic of merging & division, entelechy, identification, and transcendence. The interplay between unification and division constitutes the founding polarity of symbolicity in which human reality exists. Entelechy, in turn, refers to the principle of perfection inherent in symbolic action. Identification and transcendence are the goals at which all persuasion aims in symbolic action. An examination of these concepts constitutes the theoretical foundation of the research.[3]

According to Kenneth Burke (1969a, 403; 1970, 29), symbols stand at the nexus of two principles: merger and division. Basically, a symbol (lit. to throw together) is a concrete object that represents something abstract. Symbols are collective representations that embody a shared idea, sentiment or attitude (Burke 1989a, 269). A flag is an example of this meaning of symbol. It stands for the collective emotions that are attached to it and ceases to be merely a piece of cloth: it becomes a symbol of the collective. Thus, due to a certain amount of "surplus signification" that transcends nature as well as every particular situation and personal experience, symbolization is a process uncontrollable and unresolvable by an individual (Schütz 1973). This also means that symbols are a way of creating new significations by transcending existing meanings and routines, i.e. of creating the effect of individuals taking part in something more than individual existence amidst their daily toil and troubles.

Consequently, human reality as shared reality is of a symbolic character. That is, that which humans call reality exists only in culturally shared clusters

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[3] Although the main protagonist is Kenneth Burke's theoretical approach to symbolic action, Burkean commentaries mainly by William Rueckert, Frank Lentricchia, Timothy Crucius, Edward C. Appel, Clarke Rountree, Stan A. Lindsay, Robert Wess and Gary C. Woodward constitute the supporting cast.

of meaning (Heath 1986, 121–127). Via symbols humans name people, places, things, events and phenomena in order to bring the world under control and interact with other symbol-using creatures (see Burke 1978, 814–815). Hence, through symbols man brings into existence a reality that transcends the concreteness of any given situation or object (see Firth 1973). In this way arises the first rhetorical dimension of symbols. They are the primary means through which men cooperate: in the sense of shared meanings they embody a unifying principle, they are "tools that weld" (Lentricchia 1985, 24; see also Burke 1966, 440; 1989b, 53; 1957, 8–10). Hence symbols point towards unification of meaning, without which neither human reality nor action would be possible.

However, symbols also denote division. Initially, man becomes aware of his separation from other living creatures via language. The linguistic negative denotes man's symbolic fall from the state of pure, pre-linguistic being, the nonsymbolic motions of nature (see Burke 1978; Crable 2003).[4] Furthermore, it creates the possibility of division and categorization. Language introduces the expression "is not" and the hortary "do not do that" and creates a dramatic horizon of differences, hierarchies and tensions. In other words, the negative is the demonic principle that introduces disruption and makes man essentially a renegade. On the other hand, positive freedom is possible only through negation of the negative, which renders it possible to say "no" (to an initial no). The negative entails the power to be moral, but by the same token immoral. (Burke 1989b, 64–65; 1969b, 25, 141; 1966, 419–436; 1970, 290–291; 1984a, 256–257.) In this way the negative is the fundamental principle of human action: "no" is transcendental in the sense that it is "empirically unexplainable" and thus disturbs the harmony of the order of existing things (Appel 1993a, 100–101; Burke 1970, 17–23).

It is Kenneth Burke's (1984a, 274–294; see also Rueckert 1982, 131–132) crucial insight that the negative creates also infinity and eternity, which entails a vision of and a motive for perfection. The negative enables transcendence of the existing and the possibility of always searching for an even better state – definitions for a thing can be manifold, but one can continue *forever* saying what a thing is *not* (Burke 1970, 19). However, we are doomed to struggle for and strive towards an unattainable goal, for where there are symbols, there will be imperfection – hence humans are "rotten with perfection" (Burke 1966, 19; Betz 1985, 30). In a word, perfection arises from the negative that by its own existence as "not enough" or "not there" makes it impossible to attain ultimate perfection or purity (Appel 1993b, 51–52). In Burkean rhetorical theory the search for symbolic perfection constitutes the groundwork for the concept of motive as purposeful movement.

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[4] Burke (1969b, 139) describes the situation: "So, out of the sea came the womb, out of the womb came the child, out of the child came the enlightened division of labor, out of the division of labor came the hierarchy, and out of the hierarchy came the new goadings of social property. And out of this came the variety of attitudes: first, ideally, love, charity, the attempt of the divided beings to overcome division."

2.2 Symbols as entelechial movement

In general, a situation derives its character from the entire framework of interpretation by which we assess it. Differences in our ways of comprehending a situation are expressed subjectively as differences in our assignment of motive. Motives are linguistic constructs used to make actions understandable: they tell how a person conceives his or her situation and acts according to it. (Burke 1984a, 10–16, 18, 25, 31–36, 150; Steffensmeier 2009, 221–223.) There is thus a connotational element in motives. As pointed out by Michael Overington (1977, 134; see also Burke 1970, 39), Burkean motive holds that such a relation in the linguistic structures of human mental processes is sufficient to influence people to translate symbolic relation into action by "making sense", i.e. providing justification for the given action.[5] In a word, motive is a configuration of the elements of action in a given case (Rountree 2001, 4).

However, Burkean motive refers to more than action arising from motives. It is a concept of purposeful movement that aims at perfection (see Burke 1984, 292–293; 1970, 246). Kenneth Burke adopts the concept of entelechy from Aristotle to illustrate how symbols induce action by "instantly jumping to conclusions". Aristotle postulated that each being aims at the perfection natural to its kind – that is, a being is marked by a possession of *telos* within.[6] A biological organism, for example, possesses the full code of its full development in its DNA. Hence follows an inevitable kinesis, a continuous process of change, which stops only when the full development has been reached, as present for example in words for ripening (*andrusis*), aging (*geransis*) and leaping (*alsis).* (Burke 1966, 19–20; 1969a, 261–262; 1969b 141; Lindsay 1998, 36–37, 75–77.)

Kenneth Burke uses the Aristotelian concept as an analogy for what is potential in human symbol-use. According to Burke, akin to what happens in the physical-biological realm, symbols contain a terministic compulsion, based on the urge to perfection, to carry out the implications of the given set of symbols to the point where "the negative no more puts the existing into shame" (Burke 1970, 300; Betz 1985, 30). To exaggerate a little, symbols have "DNA": they possess internally the final form upon which they beckon us to act (see Lindsay 2006, 10). In a word, Burkean entelechy refers to the tendency of symbolic resources to strive for their perfect fulfilment (Burke 1972, 39; 1970, 246–247). In being "teleological", entelechy is here concerned with the ways in which language induces action in the humans who use it and the ways in which this language reveals their purpose, i.e. the concept of perfection, the goals of their actions (Lindsay 1998, 11; Appel 1993b, 57).[7] Burkean entelechy states that

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5 As Robert Heath (1986, 132) has noted, motives make words action in contrast with the motions of nature.

6 "En" means "within", "tel" is short for "telos", "ech" means "to have" and the letter "y" denotes "process", thus entelechy means the process of development while having one's telos within oneself (Lindsay 2006, 8).

7 It is important to bear in mind that whereas Aristotelian entelechy is deterministic in terms of biological development, in Burkean entelechy there is no a priori telos for perfection. Rather, although the logic of perfection is implicit in symbols, its

as 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).

In this sense all language use carries the seeds of "implicit rhetoric" that denote movement from potentiality to actuality. For instance, words such as "student", "man", "wife, "soldier", "football player", "dancer", "believer", "school", "church", "graveyard" or "parliament" contain in themselves certain dormant connotations and expectations of how one should be and act in relation to them. A footballer, for instance, endures strained muscles and fatigue in order to stretch and improve himself beyond his existing level. A definition of man as a rational animal, in turn, implies that the perfection of humankind is rationality. In a similar sense, seeing every single citizen as entrepreneurs of their own life reveals how one is expected to "perfect" one's being. In this sense, entelechy implies a form of (secularized) piety, i.e. a general sense of "what properly goes with what", i.e. of what practical action is to be taken in certain situations. (Burke 1969b, 14; 1984a, 74–76, 126; Blakesley 2002, 53–55, 139; Steffensmeier 2009, 223.) Thus, following Edward C. Appel (1993b, 52), symbolic action can be defined as consisting of symbols and purposeful movement towards perfection as defined by those symbols.

2.3 Identification, order, and the rhetoric of theology

The negative and the principle of entelechial perfection lead to construction of order, i.e. systematic constellation of rights and wrongs that aim at creating a hierarchical sense of "what properly goes with what" (Burke 1984a, 73). However, the ideal of a given order is difficult to realize, for example because it simply is too perfect, we as humans are weak, or we become entangled in a net of demands of different, conflicting orders. Instead, striving towards perfection, in the sense of "orthodoxy" towards an order, results in "guilt".[8] Burkean guilt ensues from "the symbolic fall"; it is not the result of any personal transgression or theological sin. Rather, it results from the failure to live up to standards imposed by the hierarchically ordered political, religious, social and economic structures, with their thousands of interwoven ideals, restrictions and commands, into which one is born (Rueckert 1982, 132). In other words, it is a profound "social dis-relationship" arising out of negation of the principles of

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substantial content comes from the given "nomenclature" of symbols. Thus one should be deliberately impious in investigating new interpretations since certain clusters of terms spontaneously exclude others. He urges the practice of "exorcism by misnomer" by deliberately re- or misnaming things "by the name they are not". (Burke 1984a, 49, 89–92, 113, 132–135.)

8 Burke (1970, 4) aptly summarizes the human condition: "Order leads to guilt – for who can keep the commandments!" That is, order needs to repress the tendencies to disorder, and if repression, then responsibility for imposing, accepting, or resisting the repression, from which follows guilt. Guilt, then, leads to the need for redemption. (Ibid. 314.)

the given order; guilt is the sin of disobedience and imperfection (Burke 1966, 15; 144; 1970, 112, 176–181; 223–231; Duncan 1962, 121).

It is identification as a promise of symbolic remedy that the Burkean notion of rhetoric as persuasion stems from (Burke 1969b, xiii–xiv, 20).[9] The force of persuasion grows out of the need to redeem the state of fall (i.e. conflict, difference and division) – at least momentarily (ibid. 22, 333). Identification as a key concept of persuasion arises from the psychological fact that we are not simply "ourselves" but constructions shaped through interactions with others. Our sense of who we are is constructed and reflected via our relations to others. The other always appears in the self, and self-consciousness can be reached only through identification with the other (Woodward 2003, 12–13).[10]

Identification is possible only when consubstantiality occurs. Burke suggests that since a way of life is an acting-together in which men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas and attitudes that make them consubstantial, identification is an inescapable element of human life. It is thus also a powerful rhetorical strategy since "you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his" (Burke 1969b, 55). Thus the principle of consubstantiality constitutes the essence of Burkean rhetoric: the use of language as a means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols in their search for perfection. (Burke 1969b, 20, 25, 41–42, 55, 271; 1969a, 21–22; 1959, 141, 328.) It is, then, the rhetor's task to create consubstantiality using whatever means available in a given rhetorical situation.[11]

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9 As Gregory Desilet (2006, 35) has aptly formulated, language performs two parts in the same drama: a heroic, redemptive role by facilitating cooperative motives via identification as well as a villainous, divisive role through division.

10 For this reason rhetoric must not be thought of in terms of one particular address or trope, but as a general body of identifications that owe their convincingness much more to repetition and dull daily reinforcement than to exceptional rhetorical skill (Burke 1969b, 26, 61–62).

11 There are four main ideal-typical ways by which the principles create consubstantiality. The first one is the "obvious identification" through circumstances or qualities; secondly, consubstantiality via a common enemy; thirdly, through uniting words such as "we", "our" or "together"; fourthly, when an autonomous activity participates in a larger unit of action, as for example when the shepherd qua shepherd acts for the good of the sheep to protect them from harm, but he may also be identified with a project raising the sheep for market. (Burke 1969b, 27–28; 1972, 28–29.) Thus reduced to their simplest terms, identification occurs as dis/similarity, communality, terms that hide division, and identification of something as something (Woodward 2003, 26, 28). Kenneth Burke's essay *The Rhetoric of Hitler's "Battle"* (orig. in 1939) serves as an illustrative example of ways of identification. Firstly, through inborn dignity Hitler elevates Aryans above all others, while presenting other races as innately inferior. Secondly, through a projection device he averts the disliked idea of internal division. The nation is urged to collectively fight an external enemy instead of battling against an enemy within. Thirdly, the projection device of the scapegoat and the doctrine of inborn racial superiority provide a symbolic rebirth, a symbolic change of lineage for Hitler's followers. Hitler, in turn, as the group's prophet, becomes a symbol of movement towards a goal and transformation in relation to the contaminated blood of the Jews. Fourthly, through commercial rhetoric Hitler provides a non-economic interpretation for economic ills. Thus by

When an individual identifies him or herself with a certain grouping or an idea, he/she is transcending his/her distinctness (Burke 1969b, 326). There are two aspects to transcendence as rhetoric. First, it allows opposite terms or perspectives to be seen from a point of view from which they cease to be opposites (Burke 1984b, 336): when discordant voices are put together, letting them act upon one another in co-operative competition, "you get a dialectic that, properly developed, can lead to views transcending the limitations of each" and surpassing the problematic element (Burke 1969b, 203; 2001, 71). For example, fascism and communism are distinct from (and opposed to) each other, but they can be combined under a more abstract term such as political ideology. Rhetorical transcendence thus aims beyond particularities toward "consubstantialities" that encompass both individual and group differences for the promise of larger unities, new perspectives, and interaction between opposing terms. (Burke 1969a, 405; Zappen 2009, 281; Woodward 2003, 41–42; Lindsay 2001, 152; Weiser 2008, 131.)

Second, Burkean transcendence is related to the entelechial movement inherent in symbols. Transcendence reaches its climax in communion with "the ultimate". Symbols show how perfection can be reached here and now – they are the high points of perfection that the given symbolic nomenclature beckons us to (Anderson 2002, 390). Via communion with the ultimate one becomes aware of how to transcend the gap between imperfection and perfection. Thus the purpose of this form of identification is to offer listeners a way towards symbolic perfection, via a telos propagated by the rhetor. As also Richard M. Weaver (1985, 82) summarizes, rhetoric seeks to perfect men by showing them better versions of themselves, links in the chain extending toward the ideal. It is worth noting that the substantial content of the potential perfection must be found in the reality of the audience, for otherwise the vision offered of a better future is unable to alleviate "guilt" and stimulate its removal (Betz 1985, 31–32).[12]

Burkean entelechy and identification provide an interesting way to read theology rhetorically. Kenneth Burke himself points out that underlying theological considerations pertaining to the "predicament of man" is the rhetorical situation:

> The theologian's concerns with Eden and the 'fall' come close to the heart of the rhetorical problem. For, behind the theology, there is the perception of generic divisiveness which, being common to all men, is a universal fact about them, prior to any divisiveness caused by social classes. Here is the basis of rhetoric. (Burke 1969b, 146.)

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attacking "Jew finance" "Aryan" finance could be left intact. (See Burke 1989b, 218–219.)

12 The use of *topoi*, i.e. "commonplaces", is crucial in identification. *Topoi* as notions (ideas, sayings, maxims etc.) owned and shared by everybody within the given culture are elemental materials of persuasion. The road to consubstantiality is begun by taming the fear of separation via common knowledge before moving to ideas or conclusions that may be contentious. (Woodward 2003, 6–9.)

In this way theology is in fact a rhetorical attempt to remedy the condition of division.[13] Now, since it is Burke's conviction that the theological reflects the linguistic, words about words are analogous to what is said about God in theology. (Burke 1970, 1–36). Hence, being the most thoroughgoing, far-reaching terms in language, theological terms reveal the fundamental principles of language (Appel 2012, 72). The most important analogy is between the entelechial drive towards a title of titles, "a Lord of Lords" and God. Just as theologians have the Godhead, secular god-terms indicate the linguistic drive towards perfection. (Burke 1969b, 175–176, 189; 1970, 25–26, 174; 1984a, 292.)[14] Similarly, just as the essence of language is the negative, theology reaches an ultimate in negative theology – both contain transcendence not graspable by natural positives (Burke 1970, 22).[15] In this sense theology is a rhetorical form representing the linguistic principles of perfection and negation – or, theology is the entelechy of symbolic action.

Rhetorically, god-terms symbolize a variety of motives reduced to an absolute that does not need further legitimation and can demand the sacrifice of all other motives beneath it. (Burke 1969a, 105–111; 355–356; 394–398; 1969b, 333.) Today common, fashionable "god-terms" are money, progress, democracy and freedom. Each of them presents itself as a unifying principle that subsumes all other levels of identification and that, as the ultimate symbol, needs no further explanation or support. In addition to denoting the linguistic principle of perfection, an important rhetorical function of a god-term is that it represents extreme stability. Since a god-term is absolute and pure, it involves a principle of consistency and timelessness (Sheard 1993, 298–299; Durham 1980, 354–363; Burke 1969a, 54, 135). As with God in theology, god-terms claim to capture the timeless essence or the eternal principle affecting the given situation, although its symbolizations vary at different times.[16] In this sense, as Burke (1969b,

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13 Burke then draws on Samuel Taylor Coleridge's statement that the two great moments of Christian religion are original sin and redemption, division and unity. They form the basis of the Christian faith. In rhetorical analysis one can do no better "than to hover about this accurate and succinct theological formula" and to look for its secular equivalents, for the drama of man's fall and redemption is the most powerful rhetorical form. (Burke 1984a, 283; Williamson 2002, 247; Bygrave 1993, 95.)

14 For example, as Jürgen Moltmann (1977, 36) has also noted, theological symbols are symbols of movement that call forth transformation of the historical situation in the light of the divine to which they point.

15 Other analogies are the likeness between words about words and words about the Word; words are to non-verbal nature as spirit is to matter; time is to eternity as the particulars in the unfolding of a sentence are to the sentence's unitary meaning; the relation between the name and the thing it refers to resembles the relations of the persons of the Trinity. (Burke 1970, 7–31, 33–34.)

16 The persuasive power of god-terms to overcome "man's distrust in words" (Burke 1969a, 304; 1966, 302) is also discussed by Giorgio Agamben in relation to oaths. One of the central functions of language, an oath guarantees the truth and efficacy of language: it upholds correspondence between words and reality. Oaths relate human language to the paradigm of divine – i.e. perfect – language. The model of an oath is the Word of God, which is always true: whatever he says comes to pass. Evoking the name of God is thus an attempt to provide absolute certainty and responsibility for one's words. (Agamben 2011, 2–4; 20–21, 36–40, 50, 68–69.) The name of God is a purely linguistic operator without semantic content: it refers to the experience of language in which it is impossible to separate name and being, words and things

101–144) stresses, god-terms tend to "mystify" contextual distinctions, conflicts and divisions for the sake of unity and consensus.

Burkean religious rhetoric can be illustrated further with the notion of order. As already mentioned, order stems from the negative. Once things and acts are labelled, named and categorized, a hierarchy is inevitable – and the more systematic the thought is, the more sophisticated is the order that will be developed. (Burke 1966, 15, 41; 1969b, 137–142; 1970, 40–41; Rueckert 1994, 42.) Such an order is not a descriptive statement but a series of ethical commandments that no one can abide by – the negative haunts us constantly. However, it also beckons us to negate the initial negation, resulting in ubiquitous guilt and a search for means of redemption. Thus the formula of Burkean symbolic drama is commandment, order, the negative, disobedience, guilt, the need for redemptive measures, and the restoration of order.

According to Kenneth Burke, the Bible includes in exceptionally clear narrative form the above-mentioned key linguistic principles. For example, the Mosaic Covenant and the Decalogue are examples par excellence of a symbolic order that demands obedience and promises unity against disorder with a sophisticated hierarchy of commandments. And the serpent, of course, symbolizes the introduction of the negative: with original sin man's nature as transgressor is established (Burke 1970, 195). Disobedience, in turn, results in guilt and the need for redemption. (Ibid. 171–222.) In the Old Testament atonement was reached through acts of physical sacrifice, whereas in the New Testament sacrifice is taken to its entelechial fruition: Christ symbolizes the perfect sacrifice to end the cycle of guilt (Burke 1970, 269, 314–315; Carter 1992, 11–12).

To take another example, divine love is a form of consubstantiality: in loving one's neighbour as oneself it is implied that any division between humans can be transcended via a third element, i.e. God. In this sense love is a rhetorical act (Burke 1970, 30; Carter 1992, 4). Considered from the perspective of Burkean persuasion, then, the rhetorical strategy of Christianity is "spiritualization" through which things disunited "in body" can be united "in spirit" with reference to an order that promises to end the dialectic of guilt and the need for sacrificial measures (Burke 1969b, 209; Zappen 2009, 294). Correspondingly, Christ as rhetorical god-term denotes a revelation of the ultimate truth, and sacraments (the Eucharist for example – one cannot get more consubstantial than sharing a body) and the Gospels offer the audience a moment of consubstantiality with the ultimate (Betz 1985, 33–34).[17]

Hence theology exemplifies with ideal-typical clarity what rhetoric is all about from the Burkean perspective: the use of persuasive devices of

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(ibid. 52). Magic and religion are only subsequent developments of the linguistic dimension, and Christianity is its perfection as "a divinization of the Logos" (ibid. 66). Thus, god-terms refer to the power of language to unite words, things and human action. They include the implication that the propositions to which they are referring are absolutely true.

17 In addition, communion, as Kenneth Burke (1984b, 234) defines it, does not only establish interdependence through a common set of norms but also via an established set of deviations from those norms.

identification in order to transcend division and move towards perfection. In this way in Burkean dramatism theology is a question of rhetoric (Appel 2012, 79). Religion is understood here as a peculiar form of symbolic action. Religious nomenclature represents the sacred as the ultimate point of reference, i.e. "god-terms", which aim to establish a powerful and all-embracing map of motives regarding man's existence in the cosmos and the world (Geertz 1973, 90; Tillich 1999, 41–56; 2001, 51–55). Here in this study I shall understand theology as a symbolic order based on the systematized use of symbols which aims to persuade by forming peculiar kinds of points of identification which induce men to act towards ultimate perfection as presented by those symbols. Next let us examine the "grammatical" form of the symbolic drama.

3 THE DIALECTIC OF DRAMATISM

The linguistic negative is what makes the human condition dramatic. Human action (in distinction to mere nonsymbolic motion) is purposeful and ethical: it involves choice, which attains its perfection in the distinction between thou shalt (yes) and thou shalt not (no) (Burke 1970, 41). That is, we are acting dramatically when we make choices in the various historical situations we encounter with respect or disrespect to various models of perfection and the symbolic orders they are derived from.

Thus drama is a suitable means to conceptualize symbolic action. We tend by nature to see and interpret social situations in terms of roles enacted and acts conducted in different scenes. We communicate with different audiences, envision images of the world and ourselves in it in relation to different temporal and spatial positions, use symbols to give meanings to the world; and we play and change roles to manage our identity accordingly, i.e. we enact different patterns of action in different situations, we use dramatic "masks", that is, we project a character to our performance before different audiences, and finally, the symbolic order we act in is made possible by "the scene", consisting of constant conflicts, re-negations, new problems, new descriptions and new solutions with various possible outcomes. (Combs 1980, 3–5; Edelman 1985, 16; Burke 1957, 310–311; Woodward 2003, 15–16.) These dimensions are conceptualized in the dramatistic pentad.

3.1 The dramatistic pentad

Symbols constitute a terministic screen through which humans gauge the historical situation and adopt a role in relation to it by moving the spotlight on some things and relations while leaving some others in shadow or completely outside "the screen" (Burke 1989b, 121; 1984a, 18, 29–34; 1966, 46–47; Blakesley

2002, 95).[18] Drawing on Burkean entelechy, a terministic screen also points towards certain conclusions since much that is taken as observations about "reality" may be but the "spinning out of possibilities" already implicit in a particular nomenclature of terms (Burke 1989b, 116).[19] Terministic screens may be examined using the dramatistic pentad because the dramatic form is embedded in the structure of the human mind – it is the basic form of thought in terms of which motives are attributed (Burke 1969a, xv–xvi; King 2009, 167).

In all statements about motives there is "some word that names the act (names what took place in thought or deed), and another that names the scene (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (agent) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (agency), and the purpose" (Burke 1969a, x). For this reason, although there might be disagreement about a description of an act, the purposes motivating the act, the character of the person who did it or the kind of situation in which he acted, any complete statement about motives will offer some kind of answers to these five questions: What was done (act), When or where was it done (scene), who did it (agent), how was it done (agency), and why (purpose) (ibid; see also Burke 1957, 90).

The five terms are "transcendental" in that they are categories that pertain to discourses covering anything from metaphysics to gossip – for example news, movies, plays, stories and academic articles are endless variations of dramatic form (Wess 1996, 174; King 2009, 167). The pentad, then, functions "grammatically" as a method of charting the elements of the given rhetorical screen. However, the purpose is not to identify any "correct" relationships among terms but rather to examine the basic strategies that people use to identify and divide, to agree and disagree, to cooperate and compete (Overington 1977, 147; Lentricchia 1985, 69). Hence, the pentadic elements should be recognised as necessary forms of talk about experience: the concern is primarily with the analysis of linguistic reality – the reality of motives. (Burke 1969a, 313, 317.) That is, the pentadic terms help us to understand the rhetoric present in various situations, not the Truth about them (ibid 268).

To account for the relationship among the terms, Burke applies the concept of a ratio, which he defines as "a formula indicating a transition from one term to another" (Burke 1969a, xx). The dramatistic ratio holds that there should be a consistency between the terms. This consistency is proscribed by culture and custom, i.e. an accustomed way of seeing "what goes with what" (Burke 1957, 65). In a pair of terms the second one should accommodate itself to the rule of the first one, for example the agent–scene ratio places the agent in the primary position while giving scene an important secondary position. Ratio

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18 This idea has been applied to rhetorical film theory in Blakesley 2007.

19 Burke (1989b, 118) uses the Augustinian phrase "Believe, that you may understand" to clarify the claim. The word "Believe" can be defined as "Pick some particular nomenclature, some one terministic screen". The latter part of the phrase, in turn, can be formulated as "That you may proceed to track down the kinds of observation implicit in the terminology you have chosen, whether your choice of terms was deliberate or spontaneous".

thus emphasizes how certain ways of understanding are highlighted at the expense of other ways of understanding. (Knapp 1999, 589.) The logic of dramatic coherence can be extended to all ratios; for instance, certain kinds of acts and agents presuppose corresponding means and ends just as a certain kind of scene calls for certain actions. Thus there is implicit in the quality of a scene the quality of the action that is to take place within it and the character of the agents carrying out the action. From this it follows that the other terms of the pentad can be "drawn out" by identifying the initial term of motivation and that modifying one element affects the others. That is, each term of the pentadic ratio is different, but there is an important common element implicitly present in them (Burke 1989b, 136; Woodward 2003, 29–30).

In Burkean symbolic action, form is "the arousing and fulfilling of expectation" (Burke 1953, 124, 144; see also 1969b, 65–74). Hence in pentadic rhetoric the ratio itself is rhetorical. Each term in a ratio arouses an expectation in the other term of the ratio, and thus the terms in a ratio "determine" what the other term in the ratio will be like (Lindsay 2001, 52). Moreover, as the principle of entelechy suggests, the terms of each pair are related as potential to actual. For example, a scene–agent ratio would situate in the scene potentialities that are expected to be actualized in the agent (Burke 1969a, 43, 263). In this way the dramatistic ratio can be applied in two ways: firstly, in "forensic rhetorical style" deterministically in statements that a certain policy had to be adopted in a certain situation; secondly, in "deliberative rhetorical style" in hortary statements emphasizing that a certain course of action should be adopted in conformity with the situation (ibid. 13). All in all, possible combinations of the five pentadic terms yield 20 dramatistic topoi (ibid. 15, 262.)

Kenneth Burke subsequently added attitude in order to modify agency and agent (thus making the pentad into a hexad). Whereas agency designates strictly the means employed in an act, attitude refers to the manner in which an act was performed. Attitude, for example sympathy, diligence or loyalty, is delayed action in the sense that it needs to be matched by corresponding "physiological configuration" in order to be manifest. In this sense an act is action "growing out" of an attitude of the agent (Burke 1970, 188; 1957, 112). For this reason Burke calls attitude an incipient act, the first step towards an act, and "the attitudinal" the realm of the symbolic action par excellence.[20] Consequently, attitudes as "cues of behavior" designate the point of personal mediation between the realms of nonsymbolic motion and symbolic action by suggesting how an agent should "gauge the historical situation and adopt a role with relation to it". (Burke 1969a, 443–444; 1969b, 235–247; 1984b, 4–5, 393–394; see also Hawhee 2009, 106–124.)

Although freedom of action (of the audience) would be limited, as is the case in the topic of this research, the rhetorical element exists – as Kenneth Burke (1969b, 50) points out, in such situations the purpose of rhetoric is to affect attitude. Although the state can take physical coercive measures on

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[20] Burke (1957, 9) has aptly defined a purely symbolic act (a poem, for example) as "the dancing of an attitude".

conscripts (especially during a state of exception, a war), a more effective and permanent way to persuade them is to use rhetoric that creates an attitudinal frame (scene–attitude ratio) that stresses acceptance of the given situation and allegiance to the reigning symbols of authority, for example by attempting to bring about attitudes of humility, loyalty and repentance in order to avoid acts of rebellion (see Burke 1969b, 50; 1984b, 4–5, 19–21). As we shall observe especially in Chapter 8, emphasis on the agent was accompanied with this kind of attitudinal concerns.

3.2 The dialectic of dramatic substance

The pentad is derived from the notion that substance is dialectically constructed. Identification implies division: for a thing to be something there must be something it is not (Zappen 2009, 285). This means that rhetorical consubstantiality is constructed out of oppositions – hence dialectical substance (Crucius 1986, 29). Ergo, in symbolic action there is a state of ambiguity and a constant struggle between division and identification since neither can ever be absolute: if men were not separated from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity (Burke 1969b, 20–25; 128–129; 1959; see also Bygrave 1993, 44–45).[21]

Burke's elaboration on the paradox of substance reveals the peculiarity of the dialectic nature of substance. Burke's starting point is etymological:

> First, we should note that there is, etymologically, a pun lurking behind the Latin roots. The word is often used to designate what some thing or agent intrinsically is, as per these meanings in Webster's 'the most important element in any existence; the characteristic and essential components of anything; the main part; essential import; purport.' Yet etymologically substance is a scenic word. Literally, a person's or a thing's sub-stance would be something that stands beneath or supports the person or thing. (Burke 1969a, 21–22.)

Substance is something that stands beneath, the sub-stance. The substance of a thing is that upon which it is grounded. Though used to designate something within the thing, the word substance etymologically refers to something outside the thing. Thus, it becomes a question of how a word can refer to something intrinsic, and at the same time to something extrinsic. According to Burke, this

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21 As Timothy Crucius (1986, 28–30; see also Zappen 2009, 290–294) has noted, dialectic and rhetoric principles complement each other. Dialectic holds that any substance consists of at least two distinct entities: what a thing "is" and what it "is not". Rhetoric, in turn, complements dialectic and its multiple dramatistic perspectives by promoting identification and co-operation via a sense of oneness amid the diversity of conflicting interests and values. The interplay reaches its apex in war: war promotes a highly cooperative spirit via the sharing of common danger, sacrifice, companionship, the strong sense of being in a unifying enterprise. However, it espouses consubstantiality only for the purpose of killing other groups. (Burke 1957, 275.)

is a "strategic moment" wherein "miracles of transformation can take place" because

> the intrinsic and the extrinsic can change places: to tell what a thing is, it is placed in terms of something else. This idea of locating, or placing, is implicit in our very word for the definition itself: to define, or determine a thing, is to mark its boundaries, hence to use terms that possess, implicitly at least, contextual reference. We here take the pun seriously because we believe it to reveal an inevitable paradox of definition, antimony that must endow the concept of substance with unresolvable ambiguity. (Ibid., 23.)

In this way, by uncovering the contradiction whereby the term for what a thing essentially "is" names by way of what it essentially "is not", Kenneth Burke reveals the instability in the border between the inside and the outside, the object and its context. From this follows that there is in fact division inherent in all substance, and the division, in turn, means that substance must always incur an alien "other". Object and context are thus separate yet merged as "substance". (Desilet 2006, 117, 120.) This boundary dialectic inherent in divided substance is the key to understand the ambiguity of the Burkean pentadic realm.

It is possible to view the pentad as a kind of universe of substance constituted by the five terms. Certain formal interrelationships prevail among them, due to their role as attributes of a common substance. The pentadic terms are consubstantial, which in turn causes their transformability. That is, any one of the elements of the pentad can be viewed and interpreted from the perspective of any other (Sheard 1993, 304). The terms thus share a common dramatistic logic: there is no act without agent, no act without scene, and no act without purpose and agency (see Burke 2001, 39). This means that each term, when applied to a specific situation, effects a change in the nature or quality of the other terms. The relationship is illustrated by a liquid metaphor, according to which, distinctions arise out of a central moltenness where all is merged. The elements have been thrown from a liquid centre to the surface, where they have congealed. When any of the crusted distinctions is returned to its source, to the alchemic centre or "the logical ancestor", it may be remade, again becoming molten liquid, and enter into new combinations (Burke 1969a, xiii).

To use another metaphor, the pentad is a hand whose fingers are separate yet conjoined by the palm. A pentadic ratio, then, is like two fingers with which one can "pick up" and examine a situation. Or, in Burke's words, in this way the terms enable movement between them with an alchemic opportunity whereby one element can be set aside, conduct the appropriate passes, and take out another (ibid.). For example, technology that was once described mostly as agency has become an agent, with an agenda of accelerated technological change (King 2009, 173). In another instance, a movement from act to its scene denotes radical modification in the interpretation of the given situation because a scenic interpretation denotes a shift towards external compulsion, i.e. the elimination of option or choice, from an independent act (Crucius 1986, 28).

There is thus inherent in the pentadic terms an infinite capacity for transformation. Agent, for example, might be divided into co-agents (friends) and counter-agents (enemies), and under the term agent may be placed personal properties that are of motivational value (the will, attitudes, fear, malice, intuition, goodness, the creative mind) as well as ideas and ideologies that are given the role of acting agent. Or again, an artist may consider the body to be a property of the agent, whereas materialistic medicine might treat it in scenic terms as objective material – and from the perspective of an athlete it could be classed as an agency for achieving a lucrative career and from that of a bodybuilder it could even be the purpose. From a theological point of view the human body is an "act" of the Creator, whereas in evolution it is a result of scenic development. Machines, in turn, are most often seen as instruments (agencies), but via technological development they constitute "the industrial scene". War may be treated as an agency, insofar as it is a means to an end, as a collective act (sub-divisible into many individual acts) or as a purpose (for a cult of war). For a soldier, war is a scene, a situation that motivates the nature of his training; and in mythologies war is an agent, or a super-agent, in the figure of the war god. (Burke 1969a, xiv; Appel 2012.)

Similarly, voting may be thought of as an act and the voter as an agent – and politicians often see votes and voters as medium or agency. On the other hand, they all constitute a scene of parliamentary politics, which in turn can itself be a means for a cunning businessman. At its extreme, insofar as a vote is cast without consideration of its consequences, it might be reduced to mere motion rather than action. In pentadic terms, a constitution is a body of acts done by agents with the purpose of serving as a motivational scene for further actions and creating new agents, i.e. experts. In this sense constitution is an agency (instrument) for the shaping of human relations. Proposed changes in the constitutions are acts aiming at altering what in ordinary situations constitutes the political scene. Also, money is not merely an agency, for it has a strong tendency to become adopted "scenically" as rationalizing grounds for action. (Burke 1969a, xii, xvi, xix–xx, 127–129, 262, 341; Knapp 1999, 589.)

Similarly, a dialectic transformation occurs through entelechial perfection: an agent can act in keeping with his nature as an agent (agent–act) and change the nature of the scene accordingly (act–scene), thereby establishing consubstantiality with himself and his world (agent–scene) (Burke 1969a, 19). The irony is, of course, that in such a situation the agent in perfect accordance with the scene has ceased to have the status of being an independent human agent and has become an extension of the given situation. In addition, the "universalization" of a personal element is by the same token a form of depersonalization (Burke 1969b, 262). On the other hand, an agent may also humanize an otherwise materialistic scene, for instance by sheer presence or in cases where a room becomes personalized with items of its owner.

As a result, the dramatistic terms are bound up with one another, constantly acting and reacting with each other. Although every selection of terms amounts to an attempt to locate an act's motivational substance, we must

at the same time rely on the other terms of the pentad since one cannot produce a development that uses all the terms at once. In this way each term provides a part of the context by which the other is defined. Hence, any grammatical explanation creates its own opposition, its own antagonist principles as something to be excluded, but also something that opens possibilities for other perspectives. The dialectical situation entails that irony is the perspective of pentadic perspectives: when two or more perspectives enter into dialogue with one another, a particular way of seeing becomes ironized because it is always called into question by another way of seeing. (Burke 1969a, 403, 503–517; Murray 2002, 29–31; Crucius 1986, 27–30.)[22]

Precisely for this reason the pentadic terms and their ratios provide a fruitful means for analysing symbolic action and its inherent transitions and ambiguities. As Kenneth Burke (1969a, xviii–xix) stresses, the purpose of the pentad (with the hexadic addendum) is not to dispose of uncertainties but to identify "the strategic spots" at which ambiguities among competing motives necessarily arise as well as to study and clarify the resources of ambiguity. To paraphrase Robert Wess (2001, 161, 164), the pentadic (or hexadic) truth refers to a realm of action constituted by conflicting discourses and voices, not to any definitive expression.[23] This is "the collective revelation" of the pentadic elements (Burke 1969a, 340).

3.3 Dominant topoi, circumference and root terms

Of the pentadic topoi, scene–act and scene–agent are the two ratios that can be detected most easily and found most commonly (Burke 1969a, 11). The symbolic relation affecting these two ratios can be defined as "container and thing contained". That is, scene in the sense of background or setting contains the act as well as the agents. To meet the terms of dramatistic coherence, the nature of acts and agents should be consistent with the nature of the scene (ibid. 3). Thus the scene is the motivational locus of the act insofar as the act represents a scene–act ratio. For instance, an emergency situation is said to justify exceptional measures. (Burke 1970, 188.) As another example, in the world of business as well as in international politics and military operations, the

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22 As Burke points out, men seek vocabularies that are reflections of reality, but they must develop vocabularies that are selections of reality – and any selection is necessarily a deflection (Burke 1969a, 59).

23 Parliamentary democracy is an example of the dialectic. Democracy is a scene for institutionalizing the dialectic process by setting up a political structure that gives full opportunity for the use of competition to a cooperative end (Burke 1957, 327–329). Parliament, in turn, as a "babel of voices" is a procedural extension of the democratic scene: in parliament there is "the wrangle of men representing interests lying on the bias across one another, sometimes opposing, sometimes vaguely divergent" (Burke 1989a, 217). The parliamentary babel is a common scene for voices to be set against one another in order to come to some yet-undetermined plan of action. Ironically, it functions as unifying safeguard to guarantee diversity and difference against proclamations of false unity. (Weiser 2008, 62, 83.)

situation (scene) determines tactics (act) (Burke 1969a, 12). Thus the quality of the action can be deduced from the quality of the setting (ibid. 7).

In the scene–agent ratio there is a synecdochic relation between the elements, i.e. the person can be said to "represent" the place. The logic of the scene–agent ratio implies that, for example, if the scene is supernatural in quality, the agent "contained" by this scene will partake of the same supernatural quality. Similarly, a brutalizing situation implies "brutalized characters" as its dramatistic counterpart. (Burke 1969a, 7–11, 507–509.) In the same way, justice can be treated as a property of personality (an attribute of a righteous agent) or as a property of the material situation (such as "economic conditions"), i.e. the scene in which justice is to be enacted (ibid. 13).

The dialectics of act, scene, and agent, is infinite. As a generating principle, scene is essentially static, and as essence agent also describes a static set of qualities. Scenic rhetoric tends to present situations in terms of essences, and agent is defined in part in relation to scene. On the other hand, act and scene tend to be opponents given the "actus" of the one and the "status" of the other (Burke 1969a, 41–43). For example, the animosity between two nations may defined not only by associating one with the bad and the other with the good, but also by their different generating principles: the "being" of the scenic evil and the "doing" of the active agent of good are fundamentally incompatible (Birdsell 1987, 272–275).

The scene–agent pair may be redefined in terms of act, which in this role functions as a polar term for them. For example, the rhetorical act of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount was based on an agent–scene consistency (good agents result in good acts that transform evil scenes into good ones). Similarly, a despotic scene might be changed into a democratic scene (or to a violent scene!) by the act of the assassination of the despot. Rhetoric that constructs a problem in terms of faulty scenes provides a rationale for vesting authority in agents or acts that claim to have the ability to resolve the conflict. Hence a problem pertaining to moral evil, immorality or sin gives a priest a claim to authority (Burke 1969a, 19). On the other hand, it may be a wise rhetorical strategy to situate the motives of an act in scenic motivation rather than the agent when attention needs to be taken away from an individual's personal responsibility, or vice versa. Similarly, the campaign of a presidential candidate aiming to "unite the people" will probably tend to emphasize the qualities of the candidate himself and will downplay his political party as a scenic constraint.

Agency and act form another common ratio. Agency is the instrument by which the agent accomplishes an act. Agency, by itself, is incapable by definition of performing an act. Thus, agency is not responsible for an act, it is just the instrument by which the act is accomplished. That is to say, if a sword kills a man, the wielder of the sword, the agent, must take the responsibility. However, as the pentadic dialectic suggests, the relationship between agent and agency is not always clear-cut. There are ways in which an agent can be considered the agency. A man is given a gun which, in turn, leads him to consider murder as a solution to his problem. In this case the instrument (the

gun) might be seen as motivating the agent to an act of violence. Thus the agent, in a sense, would be an agency of the agency. (Kirk 1962, 49–50.)

Scene, act and agency constitute a versatile triad. In a plea of temporary insanity with regard to an act of murder the issue might be said to revolve around the question of whether the crime could be considered to be an act, or whether the scenic aspects overwhelmed the act. It could be contended that there was no purposeful activity on the part of the defendant, but rather that the scene so aroused him that he was no longer responsible for his actions. This would be a contention that the defendant was no longer an agent, but an agency of the scene. By virtue of his not being an agent, he was incapable of performing an act (a purposeful activity) and, therefore, he could not bear the responsibility for the crime. In this analysis, the scene is "responsible" for the crime: a bad scene has a bad effect on the agent, which, in turn, authors bad acts.

In addition to horizontal topoi, the terms can be modified "vertically". For example, the choice of "circumference" for a scene, i.e. its seriousness or scope, affects the interpretation of the act and the agents. Any change of the scope in the terms of which an act is viewed implies a corresponding change in the view of the quality of the motivation of the act: it makes a lot of difference whether a quarrel is claimed to be a personal disagreement or to represent an apocalyptic battle, a skirmish between two belligerent criminal gangs or a family feud (Weiser 2008, 115). Similarly, an "ethical circumference" on an action provides a different terminology from its narrowed-down naturalistic equivalent, the latter with its scenic emphasis on motion propelled by natural processes. In this way one can move from particular, local situations or personal associations all the way to public and even "supra-historical" levels of motivation and explanation. Moreover, circumference functions as an epistemological backbone since one can make true and false statements only within the terms set by that circumference. (Burke 1989b, 136–137; 1969a, 77–96, 109–113, 355–356; Wess 1996, 150.)

Purpose is especially dependant on the circumference in which it is considered. For instance, a supernatural circumference tends to subsume all other elements unto itself in a way that treats human acts and purposes merely as extensions or reflections of divine master purposes. Hence an agent carrying out even drastic acts can claim to be a function of divine purpose (Burke 1969a, 278): the man who conceives of himself as an "instrument of God's will" or as being otherwise used by more powerful interests can perform acts free, at least according to his own view, from moral censure (Kirk 1962, 50).

Finally, the pentad can be applied when examining dominant terms that arise in different sections or phases of a text or discourse. In such a situation the focus is on which of the competing pentadic terms is primary (Wess 1996, 174). By isolating one term at a time one is able to use it as a synecdochic key to the whole item under study and to reveal the main rhetorical source of motivation within the textual matter. Such root terms reveal the element by which the substance of any given discourse is generated, with the other terms having a role in relation to this term, for example by being authorized by it (Lentricchia

1985, 72; Wess 1996, 149). Kenneth Burke himself discusses philosophy by identifying each term of the pentad with a different school: for scene the corresponding philosophic terminology is materialism, for agent idealism, for agency pragmatism, for purpose mysticism, and for act realism (Burke 1969a, 127–320).

For example, with scene as the root term, the situation dominates over the people encompassed within it (Birdsell 1987, 268, 270–271). Scenic rhetoric creates the perspective from which the audience will view the situation as coercive and act accordingly (King 2009, 169). As a matter of fact, there is a tendency in scenic rhetoric to blur the distinction between the agent and the scene, even to the point where acts of the agent are reduced to mere motion (see Desilet 2006, 118; Burke 2001, 40). In this way symbolic scenes construct powerful settings for events, policies, leaders, problems, and crises in order to legitimate actions. If the symbolic scene is successful, it powerfully grips the audience to such an extent that verification with concrete, historical factuality is only of secondary importance. (Edelman 1985, 96–98, 102; 1988, 103–106.)

Conversely, agent as the root term renders the scene less oppressive but makes the qualities of the agent decisive. For example, the dominant term of so-called neoliberal discourse is agent. The focus is on the individual as a capitalist subject, whose entrepreneurship emanates from within the individual psyche – with the corresponding demand that nothing should come in the way of this subject realizing his or her "true freedom" in the market. This, in turn, leads to the psychopathologization of political and economic issues. That is, instead of criticizing the ideological scene, the agent is criticised as the source of the possible deficiency or distress. Hence politico-economic structures and the hegemonic culture remain intact. In addition, it makes a great difference if for example domestic violence is examined in terms of violent acts or a person being violent by nature. Purpose in general is a term that draws on the human proneness to explain phenomena in terms of the aims of agents and acts (real or imagined). It is implicitly present in all other pentadic terms and hence must be drawn out of them because one cannot see a purpose in the way one can see agents, agencies, scenes and acts (see Rountree 2007, 394).

The rhetorical power of root terms resides in two facts. Firstly, drawing on the entelechial principle of symbolic action, one is expected to develop into full actuality the more or less implicit potential present in the given root term. In this sense the pentadic terms are principles applied in comprehending temporal situations in terms of what is and what should be (Burke 1969a, xvi). Secondly, root terms provide a symbolic means to provide motivational fixity (cf. Knapp 1999, 590). And also importantly, the Burkean version of guilt arises from any failure to perfect the pentadic element. For instance, to use a contemporary example, in a consumer society guilt is derived from the fact that one is never able to consume enough to "keep the economy humming", as it is commonly expressed in capitalist rhetoric that claims to have captured the motivational essence of the human condition.

The dramatistic pentad is applied in this research to examine how Finnish Lutheran priests drew on certain root terms, topoi and changes in circumference of the terms in order to construct a consistent explanation of what ultimately was at stake in the Continuation War. The pentad is applied as follows. Firstly, certain root terms will be picked out from a reading of the material. Secondly, the root terms and their underlying ratios will be analysed in terms of how they structured "grammatically" entelechial typologies of identification – the topic which I will now discuss in more detail.

3.4 Symbolic action in biblical terms: typological identification

Rhetoric in a Christian context is kerygmatic. Kerygmatic rhetoric not only proclaims the truth and aims to induce action but also tries to show how one should live a better and richer life. As Northrop Frye (1992, 116–118) stated, kerygma functions through identification. Its purpose is to revolutionize one's consciousness with models for action and ways of being with which one can identify. In this sense, kerygma is what Kenneth Burke calls "equipment for living", i.e. it names the essence of a typical situation and suggests a strategy for dealing with it (Burke 1957, 93, 253–262). However, as is the case with all rhetoric that relies heavily on symbols, kerygma depends on cultural recognition. That is, kerygma cannot be invented, but it relies on shared, acknowledged meanings. As a result, the force of kerygma depends on the strength of its authority: it seems that the message is using the messenger, not vice versa (Frye 1992, 116). The Bible, of course, is uniquely kerygmatic in Western culture.

The Bible is here understood in typological terms. The events in the Old Testament are "types" or pre-figurations of things that take place in the New Testament and what happens in the New Testament constitutes an "antitype", a realized form, of something overshadowed or prophesied in the Old Testament (Frye 1980, 79; Frye & Macpherson 2004, 36). This forms the logic of biblical typology: completion via dialectic of promise and fulfillment (Lampe 1956, 17). In this way a typological relation is an entelechial figure that signifies the transcending of "ordinary time" and its transformation into the metanoic time of revelation (Frye 1980, 80–83; Agamben 2005, 73–77). Typological rhetoric needs to be considered as eschatological rupture: through it the divine stretches out towards the ordinary. (Ricoeur 1995, 55–61; Frye 1992, 117–118.)

Biblical types and antitypes include scenes (Deliverance from Egypt - Deliverance from Sin, Old Covenant - New Covenant), agents (Moses - Christ, Adam - Christ) and acts (Sacrifice of Isaac - Death of Christ). Also circumference counts: the Old Testament is considered on the level of the society of Israel, and the New Testament on the level of the individual Jesus. Hence the society of Israel is the type whose antitype is the individual Jesus. The Gospel, in turn, can be interpreted as the antitype of Old Testament prophecy, and *metanoia* as

"spiritual metamorphosis" denotes the enlarged vision of the dimensions of human life that this antitype demands. (Frye 1980, 86, 130). In addition, a peculiar characteristic of biblical type-scenes is that they describe crucial junctures in the lives of the key agents – such type-scenes for individuals are for example conception, birth, betrothal, war, death, and in a wider circumference creation, exodus, election, covenant, disobedience.[24]

Typological rhetoric draws on analogy. Analogy presents a resemblance or similitude of relationship. It is based on a resemblance of structures with the most general formulation as follows: A is to B as C is to D. A and B constitute the theme, and C and D the *phoros* that supports the argument. Usually the *phoros* is better known than the theme – and thus its function is to clarify the theme (either as a whole or its respective components). Thus it is possible to give an unknown theme a familiar structure and a conceptual setting. Also, it is necessary that the theme and the *phoros* belong to different spheres, for otherwise they could be subsumed under a common structure. Consequently, there does not need to be any pre-existing relationship between the terms. Rather, it is up to the rhetor's imagination to construct a relation between them. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969, 371–380; Perelman 1982, 114–115.)

Analogy facilitates extension of thought and rhetorical redescription. Each *phoros* emphasizes different aspects of the theme and paves the way for a different development. For example, a battle described in terms of a game obscures the horrors of war, while seeing a nation as analogous to biblical Israel emphasizes the divine legitimation of its policies. Understanding the *phoros*, however, requires adequate knowledge not only of the place it occupies in a given culture, but also of earlier analogies in which the *phoros* or similar structures have been used. For instance, biblical analogies probably do not function persuasively in Hindu culture. This means that acceptance of an analogy is often equivalent to a judgment of the importance of the characteristics that the figure brings to the fore. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969, 385–393; Perelman 1982, 118–120.)

As pointed out by Kenneth Burke, analogy is a sub-category of identification. In analogizing associations meaning is derived from moving a symbol from its common context to a more creative kind of reassignment, for example from magic to science, from religion to commerce and history, from

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[24] The concept of typos, i.e. figure, pre-figuration or foreshadowing, is applied also by Paul when he recalls a series of episodes in Israel's history as a warning for Christians: "For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptized, in the cloud, and in the sea: And did all eat the same spiritual food, And all drank the same spiritual drink; (and they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ.) But with most of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the desert. Now these things were done in a figure [*typos*] of us, that we should not covet evil things as they also coveted. […] Neither do you murmur: as some of them murmured, and were destroyed by the destroyer. Now all these things happened to them in figure [*typicos*]: and they are written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come." (1 Cor. 10:1–11.)

business, religion or biology to politics. And as we are often "trained by the conditions living" to react more or less mechanically to symbols with a stabilized meaning, analogy implies that the given ratio of expected attitudes and actions should apply in the new scene as well. (Burke 1969b, 134–135; Woodward 2003, 29–30). The rhetorical force of analogical identification is based on the fact that a given event can be simplified when it is characterized from a particular perspective that is claimed to capture the essence of it, then it is applied in other scenes, acts and agents by analogical extension (Burke 1984a, 107–111).

Drawing on the *typos–antitypos* logic, in this research I shall use typological identification to analyse the Continuation War as a symbolic drama. Biblical "type-scenes" are seen as recurrent episodes based on a fixed pattern: they include scenes, agents, attitudes, acts, agencies and purposes that are expected to be performed according to a set order of motives. Such scenes are not, however, applied mechanically. (Alter 1981, 50–51, 56, 58–61.) By analogical extension typical situations are supple instruments of characterization of the present that give guidance on how the audience should act in it. The dramatistic logic of typological identification is that a biblical typology is used to identify a current historical situation with a biblical *typos*, of which the antitype is reached through actions proposed by the rhetor. In this way a current situation is made biblical and "the sheerly empirical events" of the time can be transcended (Burke 1970, 58). Typological identification thus identifies a given historical moment with a larger pattern of theological meaning and presents guidelines on how to "perfect" the situation (Alter 1981, 60; Collins 1984, 147).

Kenneth Burke's (1969a, 341–344) discussion of constitutions as inter-pentadic acts is instructive here. Words of a constitution that are agencies of decision for one act are transplanted into a new context, in which they are applied in relation to a different act, a scene and a purpose (Rountree 2001, 8). Thus, in addition to being an act in a given historical situation, a constitution is a set of motives that "propounds a theory of social action" that justifies subsequent actions in terms of continuity or change or both. The New Testament, for example, is a constitution that has both continuity and discontinuity in relation to the tradition from which it emerged (Burke 1969a, 343). When typological identification applies a biblical terminology of motives, there is more at stake than ordinary act–act transplantation through which biblical acts are made relevant to contemporary actions. It draws upon a sacred set of motives that suits as equipment for living in virtually any kind of situation: victories, defeats, preparation for battle, birth, death, grief etc. Needless to say, flexible consubstantiality with ideals of the ultimate authority of Christianity is a powerful rhetorical strategy.

As drama is always dialogical with the audience, it is vital that the audience comes to redefine their sense of themselves in the process of identification. Hence the need for what Gary C. Woodward (2003, 35, 49–50) defines as associative identification: engaging the audience in order to bring them "into the story and make them care about the unfolding drama". It is not

enough that the situation is identified with typologies; the audience needs to identify themselves as agents who carry out acts consistent with the given scene. The audience thus needs to transcend their ordinary lives in order to conceive of themselves not only as spectators of the divine drama but also as agents of it. The audience must be given recognizable cues, not only about how the present circumstances can be seen as identical with the biblical antitype, but about how they themselves can enter into a role in the biblical drama. The effect of affective participation is twofold: since historical events are regarded less in terms of their intrinsic value than in terms of what they represent, such rhetoric makes demands upon the audience by forcing them to take a stand on God's historical intervention, and it also empowers them by placing them in a particular relationship to biblical promise (Madsen 1992, 45–46, 48, 57; Drane 1978, 195–196).

For instance, to use two war-time strands of thought as examples, the analogical structure would be that Mannerheim was to Finland as Moses was to Israel, or Finland against the Soviet Union was as David against Goliath. In the first analogy a well-known person (at least in Finland) is given new qualities when he is seen as a prophetic agent acting as a divinely elected leader who delivers his people from exile and establishes laws (or customs) for the nation. In the second analogy the phoros clarifies and structures a novel situation via a well-known biblical scene: through anthropomorphism Finland is seen as a divinely appointed, small, pure nation set against a giant that represents God's enemies. Moreover, the typology suggests that God will deliver Finland as he rescued Israel. In this way analogy provides new angles on a subject or throws light on an unknown situation – and, significantly, evaluates the situation.

Typological identification is an incitement to action that has persuasive appeal in three ways. First, typologies take the role of god-terms. Typological identification uses *typoi* as models for entelechial perfection of the given historical scene as well as of the agents acting in it. Thus the *typoi* function as summarizing perspectives in terms of which the essence of the whole situation can be grasped (see Burke 1970, 41). Second, they present the given situation in a consistent manner. Thus typological rhetoric gives order and simplicity to the "unclarified complexities" present in many of life's occurrences (Burke 1953, 154). That is, they eliminate irrelevancies and enable the audience to orient themselves in an unknown situation. Third, typological rhetoric confers a quasi-divine legitimacy upon human political action. In this sense, as Northrop Frye (1980, 80–81) underlined, typology is a mode of thought in which history moves towards its fulfillment; it is vital that the typological rhetor is able to explain such a telos in order to bring order and justification to the choices made.

All in all, typological identification is an entelechial rhetorical strategy par excellence. Standing at the nexus of recurrence and innovation, it does not merely repeat certain biblical type-scenes but shows how a recurring *typos* adapts itself to the present, at the same time revealing certain "immutable" aspects. Moreover, they are dramatistic: by means of intimate interplay with the audience, typological identification creates a peculiar type of reality in which

there is a tension between the present and the ideal presented. It thus induces its audience to participate in the biblical drama and to envision the given situation via "terministic screens" adopted from the Bible. In this research biblical *typoi* are analysed as entelechial rhetorical figures, which are grammatically "framed" in pentadic (or hexadic) terms.

4 THE PRIESTLY POLITICS OF METANOIA

As an ideal-typical figure, the priest is an authority who enforces orthodoxy, piety and loyalty to the existing order (Burke 1984a, 179; Weber 1978, 227–232, 425, 439–442.) This takes place in two main ways. First, the priest is an agent who conducts religious rituals that strengthen the bond of unification among those who take part in them (Blenkinsopp 1995, 80–81). Second, the priest is a teacher of law. The priesthood has been responsible for the rationalization of religious concepts into a systematic religious ethic and for its instruction. A priest is a functionary of an organized religion and is responsible for making its doctrine routine and rational (Weber 1946, 350–352; 1978, 417, 430; Blenkinsopp 1995, 82). This ideal-typical definition, however, does not manage to capture the peculiar intensity of priestly power that stems from its role in the Burkean disobedience-guilt-redemption cycle.

4.1 Guidance towards salvation – priestly power in Christianity

Michel Foucault's discussion of pastoral power as concerned with individual souls through permanent intervention in everyday conduct, as the "management of lives" (Foucault 2009, 154), is the key to the distinctive political character of the Christian priesthood. Foucault points out that due to its spiritualization, in Christianity pastorate became the art of conducting, directing, and guiding men (and women), and of monitoring and urging them on step by step, individually and collectively, throughout their lives (ibid. 165). As a result, the power of the priest is a form of power that differs from power exercised through pedagogy, law or persuasion: the power of care and guidance of the soul. In keeping with the figure of the shepherd, the priest is someone who takes care of his "flock" and guides them onwards along the path of salvation.[25] (Foucault 1979, 230, 237–238).

[25] See for example John 10: 1–21 in which Jesus depicts himself as the good shepherd who knows his sheep, whose sheep know him and who lays down his life for the sheep. Biblical references are from The New International Version.

How, then, does the priestly art of guidance function? The Christian priest and his "sheep" are bound together by extremely subtle relationships of responsibility. They have a common destiny, which results in mutual responsibility. Michel Foucault (2009, 168–169) stresses that the individual and the communal aspects are closely linked. The priest must ensure the salvation of everyone as a unity; no individual sheep must escape the shepherd's care. The paradoxical result of the need to save the whole flock is that the sacrifice of any individual one who could compromise the fate of the whole cannot be accepted. On the other hand, the salvation of a single sheep overrides all the shepherd's other responsibilities and pre-occupations. This, in turn, means that there is an intricate web of "reciprocalities" involved in priestly power: the priest is accountable for every act of each of his sheep at any time; whatever good or evil happens to his sheep must be considered as occurring (or being done) to himself; the priest must be ready to defend his sheep against not only temporal enemies, but also spiritual dangers, i.e. he must be willing to risk his soul for the souls of others; the priest must acknowledge his own imperfections and repent of them in order to keep himself in a state of humility for the sake of the flock (Foucault 2009, 169–173.)

From this follows individualization: each individual is personally submitted to the shepherd who needs to know the state not only of the whole flock but also of each individual sheep (Foucault 1979, 230, 237–238; 2009, 175). As a result, there develops a peculiar type of relationship between the pastor and the individual member of the flock: one of pure obedience and dependence. Thus power is not wielded over legal subjects but over individual human beings in a way which requires neither force nor persuasion to ensure obedience (Foucault 1982, 783). This means three things. Firstly, priestly power is based on a relationship in which the individual is submissive as an individual to the person who directs and guides. Secondly, the relationship of submission is not finalized. Rather, the purpose is to arrive at a state of obedience in which one's own will is continually renounced and merged with the will of God. Reciprocally, the responsibility of the priest is to be a permanent servant of his sheep. Thirdly, the priest has a teaching role in relation to his community. Salvation is conditional upon the acceptance of and belief in the scripturally revealed truth. Hence, the priest guides to salvation, prescribes the law, and teaches the truth. (Foucault 2009, 166–167, 174–180.)

Priestly teaching takes place in two essential forms: the priest preaches, and he (nowadays also she) functions as an exemplum. As such, the teaching does not concern itself merely with what one must know and do under general principles, but rather it is conducted as daily confrontation with one's conscience; the sheep is under constant supervision so that there will be no discontinuity in its total conduct. In other words, the priest must know everything there is to know about the conduct of the members of the flock. The priest does not merely teach the truth and its application in everyday life, but he/she must also direct the follower's conscience permanently in order to maintain obedience and ensure that nobody strays from the path indicated by

the priest. (Foucault 2009, 180–183.) This takes place via a dual logic of self-examination and conscience-guidance. The former aims to develop critical and constant self-awareness of one's status in relation to salvation. The latter, on the other hand, constitutes a constant bind since being guided is a state, and one becomes fatally lost if one tries to escape it. (Foucault 1979, 238).

Priestly power aims at individual obedience which is gained by producing a truth in such a way that it is adopted as the "hidden, inner truth of the soul"; this in turn becomes the means through which the priest's power is exercised from outside via the ubiquitous interplay of merits and faults (Foucault 2009, 183–184).[26] In the Burkean sense, the priest has an integral role in the given symbolic order. He preaches loyalty to its symbols of authority, or, as Burke formulates this function, the priest "devotes his efforts to maintaining the vestigial structure" (Burke 1984a, 179). As the metaphor implies, the requirements for maintaining order are matched by the demands on an individual conscience, and when the principle of such requirements is carried to its "purity", mortification results (ibid. 289). Hence the priest does not merely guide the individual towards absolution from guilt, i.e. "perfection", but also intensifies the feeling of guilt, the sense of a guilty conscience, which provides salvation (Burke 1970, 234). Priestly power thus oscillates between the individual and the symbolic order and between solace and control (Burke 1989b, 280).

To summarize, priestly power is a form of power that creates obedience via the production of truth. Priestly power cannot be exercised without knowledge of the inside of people's minds and examination of their souls. Only thus can a law of truth be imposed on the individual (Foucault 1982, 781, 783.) This takes place through the two main forms of priestly power: preaching and pastoral care. They differ widely in the strength of their practical influence on the conduct of life. Preaching – collective guidance – is at its most powerful in periods of excitation, i.e. when the ordinary conduct of "business as usual" is being disrupted by a collective crisis. In the treadmill of daily life its influence often declines, whereas in times of crisis the rhetorical force of preaching tends to intensify. Pastoral care – individual guidance – on the other hand, is the priest's main instrument of power in the everyday world. (Weber 1978, 464–467; Foucault 2009, 236–237.)

The pastorate has developed along two main lines in terms of church organization. On the one hand there is the Protestant type, which is disciplined but hierarchically flexible, and on the other hand there is the Catholic type, in which the pastorate is hierarchical and strictly under the control of the Church (Foucault 2009, 149). These two types of priesthood will be discussed next in an ideal-typical fashion.

The Catholic priesthood is essentially based on the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the power of forgiving sins, i.e. confession and counselling.

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26 This definition is very close to Max Weber's: priesthood enforces an order via psychic coercion by the bestowal or denial of religious benefits (1978, 54–56; 1946, 357; see also Murvar 1967, 69).

According to the Council of Trent (23, I), priesthood means essentially consecrating and offering the body and blood of the Lord, as well as of forgiving and retaining sins. The power of the keys represents the spiritual authority and jurisdiction of the physical Church, which is echoed in the Kingdom of Heaven.[27] Catholic priests wield this power as intermediary between man and God. Without the priest, who holds the power of the keys, there could be no absolution from sins. From this follows the emphasis on the priest not only as a means of grace but as a judge: the priest appears as the representative of God, and his forgiveness is the forgiveness of God.

The Catholic priesthood is a holy order and a sacrament. At the top of the order is the pope, who is Vicarius Christi, Christ's substitute. The hierarchy below him is divided into three levels: bishops, priests and deacons. The crucial point is that in the Catholic church the priest acts in the name and person of Christ. This means that for instance in the penitential sacrament the priest wields power as "a companion of God" (Presbyterorum Ordinis, II: I, 5). Through the penitential sacrament the Catholic priest guides his flock intimately, gaining access to their public and secret sins so that they will not stray from the path of salvation.

In Lutheranism the priesthood is somewhat different. Instead of sacramental and confessional power, Lutheranism emphasizes teaching and preaching the Gospel. The Augsburg Confession (Chapter V) states that faith cannot be attained without the Word.[28] For this purpose the ministry was instituted, to teach the Gospel and administer the sacraments. The term "ministry" (*Predigtamt*) is important here. The German word refers, firstly, to a divinely instituted office (see 2 Cor. 3: 7–9), not to a pastoral (public) office, let alone to the person who holds it, and secondly, via the suffix "amt", to a task. In this way it is emphasized that there is no indispensable human agent through whom salvation must be delivered. However, the Word must be preached, for faith is borne out of hearing the Gospel. The crucial point is that it is the Word, not the priest, that is God's instrument.[29]

The theological justification of the Lutheran rejection of the priesthood as a holy ordination and sacrament is found in Martin Luther's emphasis on the priesthood of all believers (see 1 Peter 2: 9). Denying the intermediary role of

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27 According to the doctrine of the power of the keys, Jesus (Matthew 16:19) promised the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven to Peter: "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven."

28 "That we may obtain this faith, the Ministry of Teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who works faith; where and when it pleases God, in them that hear the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for our own merits, but for Christ's sake, justifies those who believe that they are received into grace for Christ's sake."

29 For example Philip Melanchthon writes in *Tractatus de Potestate et Primatu Papae* that the *Predigtamt* is not bound to any place or person, as the Levitical office was bound in the Law. He emphasizes that the person does not add anything to the Word and office; it does not matter who preaches and teaches it if "there are hearts who believe it and hold themselves to it, to whom it is done as they hear and believe" (paragraphs 26–27).

the church and its priests as liturgical "living idols", Luther criticized the Catholic Church with its division of Christians into spiritual and temporal groups. Every Christian has the same power in relation to the Word and the sacraments. However, since the power of the keys has been entrusted to all believers, one cannot make use of this power except by the consent of the community (i.e. the church).[30] Some members of the congregation are selected for the office of preaching, rendering the incumbent a servant (minister) of all the others, not holier than them. (Luther 1962, 340–350; see also Melancthon 1537, article 67)

The Lutheran priesthood of *Predigtamt* is not based, then, on holy ordination but on the act of preaching the Gospel. Ideal-typically, if the power of the keys in the Catholic priesthood is based on pastoral care, the Lutheran priesthood draws on the power of preaching. Consequently, in Lutheranism the sermon has accompanied (if not replaced) the Eucharist as the fundamental act of Christian service and worship, and the concept of priest connotes almost solely that of preacher (Weber 1978, 464). Next we will examine *metanoia* as an element that constitutes the goal of priestly power, and how metanoia is related to the two types of priesthood discussed above.

4.2 Metanoia – the purpose of priestly power

In *Tanakh*, the Hebrew terms for what has been translated into *metanoia* and *metanoiete* in Septuagint are *teshuvah* (and the verb *shuv*) and *niham*. Literally *teshuvah* means "return": by atoning for one's sins the relationship with God and with other human beings can be restored. *Niham* means to regret, to be sorry, to feel pity. Whereas *niham* is often used in reference to God's disappointment with rebellious man (for example Genesis 6:6; 1 Samuel 15:11; Jonah 3:10), *teshuvah* refers to human transgressions against the will of God as well as to wrongdoings against other people. *Teshuvah* requires public performance (in rituals taking place mainly on Yom Kippur): verbal confession of one's sins and a promise not to commit the sin again (Lev. 5: 5; Num. 5: 7), sacrifice (Lev. 5: 1–20), and restitution in full (or in any way possible) in the case of offences against one's fellows (Lev. 5: 20–26; Num. 5: 7–9).

Metanoia thus pertains to the central element of any religious system, namely, to the question of how a community should react to an individual who has violated "the covenant". It takes into consideration not only the sins of the individual (i.e. their deviation from the will of the divinity) but also his or her crossing of the symbolic boundaries according to which the community defines itself. If the sinner is to be taken back into the given order, a ritual process of compensation will have to be enacted. (Stroumsa 1999, 168–169; Burke 1970, 174–176.) From a Burkean perspective, *metanoia* is an external way to redeem an

[30] See Augsburg Confession XIV: "no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called."

individual who is guilty of disobedience to the given symbolic order: public expressions of purification symbolize the sinner's return to the community (ibid. 167, 169). Christianity, however, stresses the internal, the transformation of the mind, and the guidance and conduct of the individual soul towards a state in which such violations will not occur. Thus, instead of external behavior, common norms and differentiation from other peoples, the focus is on the individual mind, its sinfulness, disobedience and absolution of guilt.

The Christian version draws on the Greek conception of *metanoia*. Consisting of *nous* (mind) as the root and the prefix *meta* (afterwards), the Greek term literally refers to a state of mind after a new orientation has invaded the whole consciousness (Walden 1896, 7–8, 15). In this sense *metanoia* is a movement of the mind forwards; any backward gaze is only incidental. There are two main differences from the Hebrew concept. First, to the Greek the change of mind denoted by *metanoia* is a change either for the worse or for the better – as the concept is not of religious origin, the change signified by metanoia does not necessarily imply improvement (Stroumsa 1999, 170). Second, *metanoia* refers to operations of the mind – a change of perception – as distinct from the ethics of action in *teshuvah*. In this sense *metanoia* is first and foremost a noetic term (Plese 2006, 255–256). It manifests its transformative power from within, from a profound change of attitude (Weber 1978, 1117).

The New Testament usage of *metanoia* amalgamates the Greek concept with an ethical requirement resulting from the idea of improving (or restoring) one's attitudes permanently. The concept is used to cover both the radical change of mind and the actions that follow. *Metanoia* is understood as a new noetic faculty as well as an ethical compass (Walden 1896, 39–40, 46). A permanent metanoic change is required because the eschatological fulfilment of time is near: "The kingdom of God has come near. *Metanoiete* and believe the good news!" (Mark 1:15).

Saint Paul was the first Christian theologian who discussed *metanoia* systematically as a way towards perfection (see Hebrews 6: 1, 6: 6, 12: 7; 2 Cor. 7: 9–10).[31] To Paul it denoted movement from the realm of the law or of the flesh to the realm of the freedom or the spirit.[32] Such a process towards completeness or perfection covers the whole life of a human being, from habits of body to mind, imagination and speech. Reforming the mind is a sine qua non for the whole process; only after that is one able to test and approve what is according to God's will (Romans 12: 1–2). The road to perfection begins with

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31 Occurring 61 times (including the reflexive *metalomai*), it is worth noting that the New Testament includes four uses of metanoia: as a synonym for salvation (2 Peter 3: 9; 1 Tim. 2: 4), as a change of mind regarding sinful behavior (Luke 17: 3–4), as regarding self and Christ (Acts 2: 38; 2 Cor. 7: 8), and as a change of mind regarding idols and God (Acts 17: 29–31).

32 In contrast to any secular law that institutes divisions (for example, Jews/non-Jews, Jews/Hellenes, Hellens/Romans and eventually us/them), Paul presents the flesh/spirit dichotomy that transcends all existing divisions (Romans 3:27–28). Laws are for those who "live according to the flesh" and have their minds set on its desires, in contrast to those who live in accordance with the spirit. (Romans 8:3–8; see also Matthew 5:17.)

the recognition that completeness can be found only in Christ, who is "the head of all principality and power" (2 Colossians 9–10). One must "put to death" bodily cravings such as fornication, impurity, lust, and covetousness because they imply idolatry and encourage disobedience. Secondly, one must get rid of such qualities as anger, malevolence, blasphemy, filthy language and lying. Thirdly, one must "put on" compassion, kindness, humility and forgiveness. Above all, one needs to take up love, the spiritual bond that ties everyone and everything together in perfect unity. (Col. 3: 5–14; Romans 13:10).

As has been pointed out in later research on the topic, *metanoia* also denotes an entelechy of time. However, the fulfilment of time that *metanoia* refers to is radically different from what it ordinarily refers to. In it the eternal is made present by "putting on" the qualities that anticipate the Kingdom of God now (Wright 2010, 51, 58–59, 125). Thus *metanoia* transforms the present qualitatively into the messianic time between "already" and "not yet" (Agamben 2002, 6–8, 12). It is more than a kairotic rupture for "right time for action" (Lindroos 2006, 21), transitional time, paroxysm of guilt, or eschatological apathy; rather, it is the eschaton breaking into history and forcing a reinterpretation here and now in terms of "what lies beyond" (Moltmann 1977, 31, 39; Eddy 2003, 77). Hence *metanoia* reverses normal conceptions of time and space: "now" is not a fleeting moment that continually vanishes and "here" is not a hazy somewhere. Instead, the kingdom of God is present in each "now" and it is to be found within oneself. (Frye 1980, 130–131.) Each historical situation is seen as a "scene" in need of acts that realize the eschatological promise (see Bultmann 1957, 42–44; Moltmann 1977, 32–36).

Metanoia as a technique of priestly power purports to create not only a new spiritual existence but also a condition of obedience through a system of truth. Kenneth Burke's notion of the role that rhetoric has in relation to individual identity is useful in acknowledging *metanoia* as the priest's means to "call the sheep into the flock" (Foucault 2009, 153). According to Burke (1969b, 28, 38–39), rhetoric is present in situations in which "I is addressing its me". The individual striving to form him or herself in accordance with the norms and expectations of the community is concerned with the rhetoric of identification. For example, education from without is a process completed within. That is, if a person does not somehow act to tell him or herself (as his/her own audience) what "rhetoricians" have told him, the persuasion is not complete. As Burke (1969b, 39) stresses, only those voices from without are effective that can speak in the language of a voice within.

Thus metanoic transformation is part of a dialectical process in which the merging of external and internal elements results in the birth of a second nature in which the qualities of the scene become internal to the agent (Burke 1969a, 350–355). A scenic element (a necessity or truth from without) will be internalized so that it is identified as motivation within. In this way this motive becomes a spontaneous rationale, "a conduct within", an act through which the substantial freedom of the individual is retained – which means, as Burke points out, that with a certain attitude even slaves can be defined as

"substantially free" (Burke 1969a, 52, 356).[33] It is thus possible to constitute a system of obedience that proceeds from the teaching of a dogma to examination of the individual in terms of this dogmatic truth as it is incorporated in the depths of the soul and manifested in the individual's conduct (Foucault 2009, 212). Thus obedience becomes freedom.

Again, we have two distinct types of metanoia: the Protestant and the Catholic. The Catholic version, based on the Latin *poenitentia*, is an amalgamation of two terms. First, the noun *poena* means pain, punishment and penalty. In Roman usage the term *poena* came to be associated with a court of law and the language of judgment. *Poenitentia*, referring to the pain of one who suffered the penalty for his misdeeds, was not a legal term. Rather, it referred to the feeling of sorrow or regret which followed a mistake. Latin Christianity (in the Vulgate) combined the terms in a way that rendered *poenitentia* as a concept that denoted divine juridical ground. The result was that metanoia developed an increasingly legal aspect (Stroumsa 1999, 170, 175).[34] The Catholic Church took the role of a divine court of law that dealt with the penitents praying for absolution, with her priests as functionaries of penance (Walden 1896, 24, 136–137). The Gospel was given a legal and "forensic" emphasis: man should be purged from sin by his own self-condemnation before a divine court (Stroumsa 1999, 167; Foucault 2009, 203).

According to the Catechism of the Catholic Church (II, 4), the sacrament of penance consists of three actions: repentance, confession to the priest, and the intention to make reparation and do works of penance in order to repair the harm caused by sin and to re-establish habits "befitting a disciple of Christ". In this way the penitent is reconciled with God and the Church, is remitted of sins and given "peace and serenity of conscience, spiritual consolation as well as an increase of spiritual strength for the Christian battle". According to canon law decreed in the 13th century by the Fourth Council of Lateran (canon 21), every Catholic Christian should receive the sacrament of penance and reconciliation at least once a year. In this way the sacrament of penance is an integral element in the power of pastoral care of the Catholic priest, and it is through it that the fallen will attain recovery (Council of Trent, XIV).[35]

In Lutheranism the concept has a different emphasis. Martin Luther stated in his Theses that the entire life of the believer should be one of repentance. The term is not, however, understood as referring to the sacrament of penance (of confession and satisfaction) administered by the clergy. Denouncing the

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33 Burke accordingly defines obedience as an act in which one says no the self from within, "conscientiously", not solely out of fear from policing without (Burke 1970, 223).

34 Tertullian, for example, uses legal rhetoric and writes that both carnal and spiritual sins are both equally subject to "divine investigation and judgment" as well as in need of corresponding, i.e. spiritual and corporal, expressions of repentance (On Repentance, III).

35 *Presbyterorum Ordinis* (II, I: 5) states that "in the spirit of Christ the Shepherd, they [priests] must prompt their people to confess their sins with a contrite heart in the sacrament of Penance, so that, mindful of his words 'Repent for the kingdom of God is at hand' (Mt 4:17), they are drawn closer to the Lord more and more each day".

Catholic sacrament as an empty shell that supports "the dictatorship of the Romanists", Luther emphasized that *metanoia* as an "improvement of mind" is an essential part of saving faith (Luther 1962, 314–324).[36] For instance, following Philip Melanchton, Luther translates the term *metanoein* as "*sich bessern*" (Stroumsa 1999, 167). The crucial difference is in how one acquires such an awareness of one's sinfulness and what it requires. According to the Augsburg Confession, repentance consists of two parts:

> One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which is born of the Gospel, or of absolution, and believes that for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience, and delivers it from terrors. Then good works are bound to follow, which are the fruits of repentance. (Article XII.)

Whereas the Catholic version is based on confession and pastoral care, metanoia in Lutheranism is consistent with the role of the Lutheran priest as preacher. Acts of penance are unnecessary for salvation because man is justified by faith alone (*sola fide*), not by merits or works (article IV; Smalcald Articles, II, 1). Deeds, in turn, are the result of an ethical transformation, not its prerequisite.

Since faith "is born of the Gospel", i.e. the word of God, preaching is indispensable to the engendering of faith, and hence the preaching office constitutes the sign of the true church (Ngien 2003, 28, 43). Luther was adamant that God is speaking in preaching, and he is present primarily through the Word. Hence a sermon was not only an act of exhortation but a scene of battle for the souls of the people, an apocalyptic event and part of the continuing conflict between God and Satan (Meuser 2003, 137). Preaching in the Lutheran context, then, is not considered as mere human speech but also as God's speech to human beings – it is the minister's sword in cosmic warfare as well as God's revelation of the workings of the Holy Spirit (ibid. 42–43, 48). Consequently, *metanoia* in Lutheranism is rhetorical in character. It is the act of preaching that transforms the mind, not the priest or the confession.

4.3 Martin Luther's political theology, nationalism and Lutheran metanoia

The peculiar nature of Lutheran metanoia also requires an examination of Martin Luther's thoughts about the political organization of the state, as well as about the rise of modern nationalism. In addition, before venturing on to the empirical analysis, we shall discuss Luther's conception of just war. Looking historically, it is possible to understand the close connection between the state

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[36] On the other hand, he does not mean solely inner repentance; transformation of the mind is worthless unless it produces visible signs (See Luther's Letter to John von Staupitz, 65–70.)

and the church – and the peculiar politics of Lutheran metanoia, also in the Finnish context.

In Martin Luther's political theology, spiritual power and secular power must not be confounded. According to Luther, God rules the world in two ways: through law and spirit, the former being for the unchristian and the wicked, and the latter for pious Christians. By birth every human belongs to the kingdom of sin and unrighteousness. This kingdom is governed by the law because humans, by their very nature, cannot avoid committing sinful acts. The secular sword is God's way of ruling the world, and coercive measures are its legitimate instruments in keeping peace. Christians, on the other hand, belong to the kingdom of God, which is of a spiritual kind. In it Christ is the king, and in it God rules through Word and Spirit. True Christians do not need sword or law, but the world and the masses are unchristian, even if they are nominally Christian. The two kingdoms must be kept separate because faith is a matter of the soul, upon which only God can rule. Hence also the laws of the two kingdoms are for different purposes: one to produce piety through knowledge of sin and grace, and the other to guarantee external peace. (Luther 1962, 366–373.)

Although fundamentally different in character, the secular and spiritual kingdoms both were originally established by God, and there was no contradiction between their laws. The secular authority was not understood as extra-ecclesiastical power, but those wielding political power were members of the church, for the good of which each, in his position, had to act. Thus the task of upholding religious laws belonged to the secular authority as well. Also "the secular law and sword" were to be guided by Christian principles due to its divine authorization. Hence the political ruler, like any Christian, has a duty to act for the church in order to uphold the God-given order. On the other hand, as they are responsible for the souls of all Christians, it is legitimate for priests to be concerned with the political order of *respublica Christiana* as well. (Luther 1962, 365–402; Cargill Thompson 1984, 132–135; Skinner 1978, 12–19.)

The result of the rise of Protestantism was a form of political organization in which the state upheld Lutheran orthodoxy. With the advent of the modern state and the *cuius regio, eius religio* principle, the state was raised above the church. However, as a result of the above-mentioned conception of their consubstantial origins, this led to joint domination: the state began to provide the external means of maintaining the spiritual dominion (jurisdiction, the exaction of taxes, the annihilation of heretics) and to be involved in the appointment of clerical officers. The church, in return, gave its religious blessing upon the political organization by legitimating its authority and "domesticating" the subjects. (Weber 1978, 56, 1161, 1175–1176, 1207; Kelly 1984, 25–28.) Although the purpose was to build on the Pauline flesh/spirit division (see Luther 1962, 139 156) and to keep the temporal and spiritual regimes separate, the opposite took place. The result was a form of political culture in which traditional religion was politicized and state politics was sacralized (cf. Gentile 2006, xiv–xix).

This had particularly profound effects in the Nordic countries. Due to the reformation of 1527 by Gustav Vasa in the Kingdom of Sweden (to which the area of present day Finland belonged) a Lutheran orthodoxy was established: the king became the head of the church and the church's assets were brought under the control of the crown. As a consequence, the state was officially Lutheran, and the church was a state church, with a special role reserved for its clergy. As officials of the state church they had an important role in the promulgation of loyalty to the state. The hierocracy was closely supervised by the king and thus their preaching represented the official view of the crown (Ihalainen 2003, 38–39; 2005a; 2005c, 592).

As has been pointed out by, for example, Adrian Hastings (1997, 191–193) and Anthony D. Smith (1999a; 2003), the teachings of the clergy in the vernacular languages (based on the *sola scriptura* principle) enhanced the political consciousness of subjects as a distinctive "people." The birth of the state church hence laid the foundation for the rise of modern nationalism in two ways. On the one hand, it stimulated the urge to identify the Old Testament predilection for the chosen people and the New Testament predilection for one church to one's own people and church (Hastings 1997, 196). On the other hand, by presenting the nation as a sacred communion of the people, religion provided nationalist politics with an indispensable source of legitimation (Smith 2003, 26–32; Gentile 2006, 29–31, also Safran 2008). Thus it is somewhat easy to agree with Anthony D. Smith's (1999b) claim that modern nationalism drew significantly on pre-existing ethno-religious myths and symbols.

This was also the case in Finland; and since all major teachings and writings had to be translated into Finnish if the maximum possible number of people were going to encounter them, it was Lutheran clergymen who swiftly spread models of political thought throughout the province of Finland. It was thus relatively easy for the Finnish 19th century nationalist movement to build on the foundations laid by the church's teachings of collective consciousness. Even as a part of the Russian empire, autonomous Finland retained quite a few of the elements of national self-understanding constructed during Swedish times and used them as an argument for independent nationhood (Ihalainen 2005b, 82–90; 2007, 43).[37] Later on, as I have illustrated elsewhere (Tilli 2009), since Finnish nationalism relied on religious conceptions of the political community and the convergence of a Lutheran identity with national identity, the national community was still conceived in theological terms in the twentieth century as well (see also Ihalainen 2005a).

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37 In 1869 (when Finland was a part of the Russian Empire) the state and the Lutheran Church were separated and the church was given its own legislative body, the general synod. Finland became an independent state in 1917. After the Civil War of 1918, the church and the new state (despite being officially non-confessional) were still intimately connected; confessional teaching, for example, remained an important part of the developing state school system and the church retained its right to collect church tax with the state income taxation. The Law of Religious Liberty enacted in 1923 allowed citizens to establish non-Christian denominations and not to belong to any religious community or church. However, such acts were still strictly controlled by law.

In the consubstantiality of the spiritual and the secular, I believe that we can detect that a transformation in the metanoic conduct of the soul was carried out by the priest. In addition to differences in the roles of confession and preaching between Catholic and Lutheran priests, there arose a difference in the level of political involvement: whereas metanoic practices in the Catholic Church developed towards a universal Catholic community, in Lutheranism the conduct of one's soul under priestly guidance encouraged loyalty and obedience to the state and the nation. Thus *metanoia* began to produce religious subjects obedient to the political order – with a technique of pastoral power thus far related to the sphere of organized religion. This meant that production of the identity of "the sheep" demanded comprehensive examination of each one's conscience, not only in terms of religious obedience and disobedience, but in a way that identified the inner truth of the soul with the ideology of the nation state.

In practice this meant that the goal is a spiritual transformation within the boundaries of the state, since it is claimed that the existing political order was established by God. Lutheran metanoia does not oppose earthly polities and their laws with a counter-polity of the Spirit and a counter-sovereignty of Christ (Davis & Riches 2005, 27–32). That is, its politicality does not mean calling into question the existing political orders. Rather, Lutheran metanoia presents the nation state as the divinely set order, to which individual salvation is subjected. Thus political loyalty becomes embraced as a dearly held part of personal identity, and for example biblical analogies are transformed into ideologies that justify the state. Piety is thus an inseparable element of national consciousness: at the same time it legitimized nationalistic thinking and emphasized familiar religious themes and symbols, while also harnessing them into the service of the nation (Mosse 1990, 35).

This has led to two results. First, the eschatological mode of being into which one is transformed is intimately linked to the achievement of the purposes and policies of the nation state. The individual citizen is connected to the divine presence of the nation, with the expectation of completing the national "not yet": fulfilling the national(istic) demands brings the kingdom of God onto earth. In this way the entelechial perfection of one's being is reached by "putting on" nationalistic ideology. Second, political obedience becomes a matter of duty. If obedience to the political authorities is built on religious fidelity, the bond is extremely close (Smart 1985, 18–26). One result is a secular discourse that preaches the duty to act, suffer and sacrifice oneself for the people and the fatherland. Not only must the state be obeyed, but this obedience must be pious and voluntary. For instance, through this way of thinking a martyr is not a person who disobeys and gives themself up in the name of faith, but a person who believes in the fatherland and the nation and sacrifices him or herself for them.

In this way it is possible to create deep bonds, not only among those constituting the religious community, but also towards the political order – be it to support a precarious new one or to lend force to the existing order in the face

of disturbances. Since the legitimacy of power is tested most severely during periods of distress, Lutheran metanoia is invaluable when the existing order needs to be protected against disintegration (see Burke 1957, 276–277; Weber 1978, 1129–1130). In particular, during times of collective crisis Lutheran metanoia is an efficient means of emphasizing that the existing authorities will be able to guarantee survival. However, at least for the majority, resorting to (collective) violence against other human beings needs careful legitimation. In wars certain measures must inevitably also be taken "against" the citizenry. On the other hand, self-sacrifice also needs to be legitimated. The maxims "thou shalt not kill" and "love thy enemy" need to be given a suitable interpretation.

4.4 The Lutheran justification of war

The doctrine of two realms also guided Martin Luther's attitude to warfare.[38] Although a Christian is a citizen of the kingdom of God, he should submit "most willingly" to the rule of the sword, for the secular authority is instituted by God. This idea forms the background for Martin Luther's stand on whether Christians can be soldiers. Although no Christians shall "wield the sword" for themselves and for their own cause, for other people, in order to hinder wickedness and defend godliness, they can and ought to use the sword. Now, as war is a worldly matter, it belongs to the sphere of secular government. But since the state and its laws and authority exist to serve God, wielding the sword must also be a divine service, for there must be those who restrain evil by maintaining the laws and protecting the people.[39] It is acceptable for a Christian to engage in just wars, to serve as a soldier or as a member of the police – as a citizen of the state and an obedient subject.[40] (Luther 1962, 374 –382.)

However, obedience to the secular prince is not absolute. The authority of secular rulers extends only to earthly matters; not to people's souls.

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38 Luther elaborates Augustine's position that a war is just if it is waged to avenge injuries and punish evildoers; if it is fought with the intention of furthering Christian love; if the war is undertaken by a legitimate sovereign (instead of a private citizen); and if it is the absolute last resort. (De Civitate Dei, I: 26, XIX: 7; Contra Faustum, XXII, 75.) In addition, aggressive warfare unrelated to any actual prior attack may also be just if God wills it (Kangas 2007, 55–56). Consequently, in Augustinian thought, moral order is more important than formal legalism. The rightful intention is more important than the normative hostile act.

39 Hence the need to pray for the temporal government: "For though we have received of God all good things in abundance, we are not able to retain any of them or use them in security and happiness, if He did not give us a permanent and peaceful government. For where there are dissension, strife, and war, there the daily bread is already taken away, or at least checked." (Large Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, paragraph 74.)

40 Luther draws an analogy between a soldier and a good surgeon, who in order to save a person must amputate a hand, foot, eye or ear. From the point of view of the amputated organ, the surgeon appears cruel and merciless, but from the perspective of the body as a whole the surgeon is "a fine and a true man" doing "a good and Christian work". From the point of view of the whole, the soldier's office is based on Christian love.

Consequently, commands that are contrary to God's word or which involve disobedience to God must not be obeyed. (Cargill Thompson 1984, 97–111.) A soldier can legitimately refuse to fight in an unjust war. As rulers are often corrupt, foolish or wicked, the subject should with all possible care attempt to find out whether a war in which he is called to fight is just or not. And "if a prince desired to go to war, and his cause was clearly unrighteous; we should neither follow nor help such a prince, because God had commanded us not to kill our neighbour or do him wrong" (Luther 2009, 101). What, then, is a just war according to Luther?

In *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können* (in 1526) Luther distinguishes three types of war: war between equals, war waged by an inferior against his superior, and war against inferiors. Firstly, by 'equal' is here meant parties neither of whom is formally the subject of the other – which are, in practice, independent political organizations, i.e. states. War against equals is justified only as a defensive act. War must be a last resort after determined attempts have been made to settle the issue by legal procedure, discussion or agreement; and it must be a response to a prior attack, that is, when the other party compels the one to fight in protection and self-defense. Hence pre-emptive attacks, territorial conquests or wars for economic gain are unacceptable. Secondly, warring against one's superiors is not justified. As rebellion is sin, so is taking arms against the secular authorities. This principle extends to all levels of society – at no level is violence as a form of political protest acceptable. Thirdly, rulers are justified in taking arms against their subjects in case of rebellion. Thus coercive measures against citizenry who disturb the peace are allowed. (See also Cargill Thompson 1984, 114–115.)

Martin Luther rejects all kinds of religious wars. The rejection is derived from the doctrine of two realms. War belongs to the temporal realm and may be justified on certain temporal criteria, but it has no place in the spiritual realm, in which one must rely on spiritual weapons alone. Force in religious matters is a sin, for it confuses the two realms. Hence war can never be holy or for religion. (Luther 1962, 383–392; Cargill Thompson 1984, 116; Cunningham & Grell 2000, 142, 149–150.) Luther nevertheless accepts that "true religion" may be defended by force, if need be (see Cargill Thompson 1984, 117–118).[41]

In *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* (1529) Luther discusses the concept of crusade in particular. Fighting in the name of Christ is against Christ's teaching because Christians shall not resist evil, fight, quarrel or take revenge. Thus waging war as Christians is "the greatest of all sins". Also the church should not strive or fight with the sword. Luther sees a crusading pope as the Antichrist, worse than a blasphemous earthly kingdom, since the pope is not a

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41 This was also the view held by most of the Finnish clergy. Bishop Ilmari Salomies claimed that it was a great error to think that Christ would have opposed military organization. Although as a private individual a Christian cannot resort to violence, a military career carrying out public duties in the service of the secular authority is perfectly acceptable. In relation to the Continuation War, the bishop strengthened the sense of duty by declaring that the fight pertained not only to political freedom but also to "all that was valuable and sacred". (Salomies 1943, 4.)

legitimate authority to wage an earthly war. Consequently, secular rulers should not wage wars on account of the false belief or evil life of the enemy, but because of "the murder and destruction which he does", that is, they fight in order to protect the earthly life of their citizens. War is thus always purely political, temporal skirmishing, and the Lutheran theory of just warfare does not recognize the concepts of holy war and crusade, or consider just and proper any wars sponsored by the church (or God) for religious causes.

However, despite Martin Luther's renunciation of religious warfare, concepts of holy war and crusading remained alive in Lutheranism as it developed. As we shall soon observe, the topos was one of the central rhetorical themes of the Finnish clergy during the Continuation War.

5 SETTING THE SCENE: VISIONS OF ESCHATOLOGY

The rhetoric employed by Lutheran priests will be analysed using the dramatistic pentad. The analysis proceeds on two levels. Firstly, biblical and religious analogies form the substance that is examined as typological rhetoric, and secondly, the pentad is applied in order to map the grammar of motivation that structured the typologies used by the priests. The analysis begins with scene, as it was applied as the root term that structured the Continuation War as eschatological battle.

5.1 Invocation: the Continuation War as a holy war, a crusade

Finland's situation in the Continuation War was more complicated than it had been in the Winter War of 1939–40. After a short period of indecision Finland had joined Germany's Operation Barbarossa to attack the Soviet Union specifically in order to rectify the 1940 Moscow Peace Treaty, which had concluded the previous war and was widely seen in Finland as a disgrace. The Continuation War began officially on 25th June, 1941 with air raids by the Soviet Union. Before that, however, the Finnish army had been mobilised in line with the Barbarossa plan, of which Finland and the German troops positioned in northern Finland were an important part. Hence, although open warfare was started by the Soviet Union, Fenno-German troops were in an offensive position. Soviet air raids offered the Finnish government a reason for claiming that the country had become the target of an assault. It was easy to gain parliament's approval to begin military operations against the eastern neighbour. (See Leskinen & Juutilainen 2005.)

Marshall C. G. E. Mannerheim provided a persuasive explanation of the situation in his famous Order of the Day. The messianic Order of the Day in the Continuation War was published five days after war broke out. As it proved to be a text with far-reaching consequences, I shall quote it here in its entirety:

> Our honourable Winter War ended in bitter peace. – In spite of peace our nation has been the target of preposterous threats and continuous blackmail by our enemy, which, together with criminal agitation in order to crush our unanimity, has proved that the enemy did not mean the peace to last. – This peace was only an interim one, and now it has ended.
>
> You know the enemy. You know its incessant endeavours to destroy our homes, religion and Fatherland, and to slave our people. This same enemy, this same threat is at our borders now. Without cause it has arrogantly attacked our peaceful people and dropped bombs around the country. The future of the fatherland demands new deeds from You.
>
> I summon You to join me in a holy war against our nation's enemy. Deceased war heroes will rise from beneath summery mounds to join us today, when we firmly set out on a crusade alongside and as comrades-in-arms with the mighty German army to create a secure future for Finland. Brothers-in-arms! Follow me for this final time – now, when the people of Karelia will rise again and Finland's new morning is dawning. (Mannerheim 1970, 116).

This powerful invocation succinctly conveyed the nature of the war that was to be fought. The enemy was well known. It was Finland's eternal enemy and it demanded counter-measures that were of a religious nature: a holy war, a crusade.[42] In addition, as the allusion to the Book of Ezekiel and the apocalyptic vision imply, the war was not only a holy war but also an eschatological battle for permanent redemption of the nation. Thus the dramatic scene was set.

During the summer and autumn of 1941 the Finnish army advanced swiftly. The offensive in Ladoga Karelia started on 4th July, and by 16th July it had already reached the shore of Lake Ladoga and cut the defending Soviet army in two, making difficult the Soviet Union's defence of the area. An offensive in the region of the Karelian Isthmus started two weeks later, on 31st July. Finnish troops reached the shores of Lake Ladoga on August 9th, surrounding most of three defending Soviet divisions on the north-western shore of the lake. On 31st August, the offensive was halted on a straight line just over the former border.

The Finnish offensive in East Karelia started in early July. In early September, the northern branch of the attack reached Rukajärvi village and the offensive was halted there. In the southern area Finnish troops cut the Kirov railroad on 7th September and crossed the Svir Lake eight days later. Advance troops reached the shores of Lake Onega on 24th September and the town of Petrozavodsk was captured on 1st October. On 6th November, the city of Karhumäki was captured. In early December the area around Karhumäki and Povenets were captured and the army moved on to the defence. Meanwhile the conduct of the war in northern Finland was not going so well; there the campaign was under German command, but it failed to reach its objective, which was to seize control over the Murmansk Railway. Nevertheless, Finland had quickly conquered East Karelia and advanced across the pre-Winter War

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42 Thus Mannerheim repeated Adolph Hitler who had not only used King Frederick Barbarossa (1122–1190), who had embarked on the Third Crusade, as the code name for the attack against the Soviet Union but also called the war a crusade against Bolshevism in his first radio speech (Vuori 2011, 161).

border to areas that had never before been parts of Finland. At the end of 1941 Finland occupied a bigger area than ever before in its history. (See Leskinen & Juutilainen 2005.)

5.2 The Continuation War: Apocalypse now!

5.2.1 Typos: apocalypse

Conflict is the essence of drama. Without it there simply is no story since nothing is happening. And looked at the other way around, it is from conflict that the script of a drama achieves its momentum, its driving force. In a word, the narrative begins to unfold through dramatic tension. Dramatic alignment is the starting-point of Burkean analysis of rhetoric (Burke 1957, 58). We shall begin our journey to examine clerical rhetoric with the initial situation at the beginning of the war, when the situation and the forces affecting it were being rhetorically defined for the first time after the action at the front had begun. As the military operations were successful, the start of the war was filled with excitement in clerical circles: something radically new was being born, something that would change the whole historical situation of Europe. Accordingly, in the majority of texts reviewed the beginning of the war was interpreted in terms of apocalyptic visions.

Apocalypse (lit. "lifting of a veil") as biblical *typos* can be seen in two dimensions. On the one hand, the lifting of the veil refers to the disclosure of an eternal truth hidden from the majority of mankind in an era dominated by falsehood and misconceptions (Collins 1998, 4–5). The divine revelation concerns three areas: cosmology, history and eschatology. The first one is the creation of the entire cosmos with its heavenly bodies and its cosmic forces. There is purpose and order behind the cosmos, which will be revealed as the divine will unfolds (Moltmann 1977, 133–134). Secondly, apocalyptic vision holds that the transcendent divinity is deeply involved in the history of His people as well as in the history of all of humankind. Historical events are identified with cosmic events – the first replicate the latter. (Bultmann 1957; Russell 1992, 82–95.) Thirdly, the apocalyptic envisions how the present, corrupt world will come to an end and will be superseded by another, better order:

> Then I saw 'a new heaven and a new earth, 'for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea. I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, 'Look! God's dwelling place is now among the people, and he will dwell with them. They will be His people, and God Himself will be with them and be their God. 'He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death' or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away. (Revelation 21: 1–4.)

However, as the *eschaton* approaches, there will be a time of unprecedented woe as the powers of evil make their last attempt:

> When the thousand years are over, Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations in the four corners of the earth – Gog and Magog – and to gather them for battle. In number they are like the sand on the seashore. They marched across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of God's people, the city he loves. (Revelation 21: 7–9.)

Hence the historical tension between good and evil will escalate before "the new heaven and earth" manifest themselves. Deliverance, however, is certain to come for the righteous, for heavenly fire will devour Satan and his minions. They will be thrown "into the lake of burning sulfur" where they will be tormented for ever and ever (Revelation 10).

The culmination of this development is related to the second aspect of the apocalyptic disclosure, namely the dualistic character of the truths that are revealed. Since the historical reflects the cosmic, the primary cause of evil of the present age is to be found in the cosmic battle between divine and satanic powers (Russell 1992, 105–115). Temporal tension is drawn on the contrast between "the present age of evil" and "the age to come", i.e. the new order in which this dualism ceases to exist. In addition, certain sacred spaces or areas are of crucial importance to the purposes of history. The importance of such places is revealed through the temporal aspect, i.e. when the end of the present age and the birth of the new order approach. These are the locations in which the events that precede the birth of the new order will take place. In practice apocalyptic rhetoric espouses two notions about the *eschaton*: either time's end or rupture. Although both imply a certain fulfilment of time, the former tends to conceive *eschaton* in terms of a *telos* of history whereas the latter interprets *eschaton* as a permanent qualitative rupture (see for example Ostovich 2007, 51, 53, 64–66).

Apocalyptic discourse usually arises in times of crisis, persecution or war (see Russell 1992, xix–xxi). Its rhetorical force derives from the fact that apocalyptic rhetoric promises symbolic control over meaninglessness by naming the present time and its ordeals in relation to the great plan of history. It restores control by giving a better understanding of difficulties and evils that had seemed beyond any control. The audience is provided with a means to read present problems as signs of impending doom for "the wicked", after which there will be a new order that will not fail or turn out to be incomprehensible. (Brummett 1984, 89–90; O'Leary 1993, 407.) This is achieved via a set of familiar typologies that allow the rhetor and the audience to see historical events in terms of the dramatic plot of the Book of Revelation: the revelation of truth through the defeat of the powers of evil and falsehood; the plight of the community of believers undergoing suffering and persecution; as well as the inevitable triumph (O'Leary 1993, 387). In this way, the ordeals of the present can be described as the culmination of the purposes of divine will (Brummett 1984, 88).

Apocalyptic typology is constructed on three rhetorical pentadic elements. Firstly, the given historical event is seen in scenic terms as an event of cosmological or world-historical scope, which will, after the divine judgment, transform the remaining world or humankind into something drastically better. From this follows a deterministic view of history, in which the sequence of worldly events is related to the supra-historical "scene". Secondly, the eschatological scene is the "container" that determines the identity of both the agents and their actions. The animosity and Satanic qualities of the enemy – the antagonist – and the godliness of 'us' – the protagonist – are stressed. It is taken for granted that 'we' represent the good, and with careful description of the inhuman qualities of the enemy its inevitable destruction under the wheel of history can be justified. The result being – and this is the third element – that the apocalyptic scene promises to bring an end to distress and agony, once and for all.

5.2.2 Behold, for something new is being born

In this Section I will analyse the apocalyptic rhetoric used in the early phases of the Continuation War. There were two strands of apocalyptic rhetoric at the beginning of the war, both of them used mainly by high theologians. Firstly, there was a strand that emphasized the Continuation War as an eschatological scene that would bring forth a better future. Here the pentadic scene functioned as the root term. Secondly, there was a strand that focused on the enemy. Here the root term was agent, or counter-agent. However, the adaptation the scene–agent ratio was based on state qualities of the scene, and thus the counter-agent had characteristics that contributed to the inevitable "scenic" character of the war. That is, also in the second strand of apocalyptic rhetoric the antagonist of the drama was examined through the pentadic scene as an extension of its qualities.

The dioceses of the Finnish Lutheran Church each held a clerical synod at the beginning of the Continuation War, on 21st and 22nd August 1941. In addition to discussion of doctrinal, administrative and economic issues, one of the main themes of the meetings was the present military and political situation and how to respond to it. As a clerical synod is a forum of debate summoned and chaired by the bishop of the diocese and attended almost without exception by at least one priest from every parish within the diocese, a synod provides a comprehensive range of the clerical rhetoric employed in the initial phases of the war. This is especially the case with the opening speeches and sermons delivered by the bishops; it is indeed one purpose of a synod to give those who attend guidance on how to preach about contemporary events and phenomena. The regional clerical synods were followed by the General Synod on 22nd September 1941, which as "the parliament of the church" is the highest decision-making body of the church. Consequently, themes introduced at the synods formed the most visible content of subsequent clerical rhetoric.

According to a statement published by the General Synod and signed by Archbishop Erkki Kaila[43], distributed to be read in churches and published in newspapers, this was a historic moment, when God's righteous judgment was taking place. God's verdicts were falling upon all nations that had forsaken Him and forgotten His commands. The General Synod emphasized that God's disciplining hand was also working upon the people of Finland. It was He who had let the most treacherous, most bestial and most Antichristian of all powers start a war against the people of Finland, "who had wanted nothing more than to peacefully cultivate the dear fatherland given by God". However, suffering did not signal abandonment: national unity, the mighty ally [Germany] and success in the present war were unquestionable signs that God had not abandoned Finland. Hence the synod could conclude with an apocalyptic vision:

> As we now see how God is removing the old, we should remember that something new is being born. Now many things of the old are being eradicated and will never return. The new state of all nations is still hidden from us. But we strongly hope that the God who has thus far wonderfully helped and guided us will give us new tasks as a nation among other nations. (Kaila 1941a. All translations mine.)

Thus, something new was being born, although what it was was not fully known. The answer, however, was provided in further clerical argumentation. The eschatological moment was to bring about national and international unity, and it was in this light that the ordeals of the war were to be understood. In the Burkean sense, then, the Continuation War represented a perfect symbolic act: disunited individuals and nations are brought into harmony through the eschatological scene that transcends whatever national division they may have. It was, in word, a unifying enterprise and a cleansing by fire at the widest possible scope (see Burke 1957, 275).

Explaining the international unity that was about to be born, the Bishop of Tampere, Aleksi Lehtonen[44], declared at a clerical synod that the war was an eschatological moment in which all Christian peoples would unite. He claimed that the war was world-historical because it signalled the end of the bolshevist tyranny of the East that threatened Western civilization and the Christian faith.[45] However, drawing on apocalyptic imagery from the Gospel according to St Matthew, Lehtonen stressed that temporary suffering was necessary in this battle, for "the Great Vinedresser" needed to purge bad branches from the family of nations in order to get a better crop. (Lehtonen 1941c, 3.) For

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43 Erkki Kaila (1867–1944) was an assistant professor and an MP for the National Coalition Party before becoming Archbishop in 1935. He was a prolific writer and outspoken proponent of democracy.

44 Aleksi Lehtonen (1891–1951) was a professor of practical theology, a bishop and after Erkki Kaila's death in 1945 he was Archbishop. Lehtonen's interests included cooperation with the Anglican Church.

45 In order to celebrate the successful co-operation with Germany, Lehtonen's article was also published in German. In it he repeated that "Es beginnt ein christlicher Kreuzzug im Osten, an welchen die Teilahme aller christlicher Völker doch wohl zu erwarten ware".

Lehtonen, then, the time prophesied by Jesus in Matthew 21[46] had come: the owner of the vineyard had arrived and the wicked who had not tended God's vineyard properly and had thus made it bear bad fruit would receive their reward – just as would those who had been God's true stewards. In a similar vein, Professor Osmo Tiililä[47] referred to "the battle cries that were shouted all over Europe against Bolshevism" in order to emphasize the unificatory character of the war (Tiililä 1941a, 145).

Also other passages from St Matthew's Gospel were used to interpret the international situation. In the so-called synoptic apocalypse Jesus describes the times that would precede the end times. It was claimed that now was the time prophesied by Christ himself:

> Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. There will be famines and earthquakes in various places. All these are the beginning of birth pains. Then you will be handed over to be persecuted and put to death, and you will be hated by all nations because of me. At that time many will turn away from the faith and will betray and hate each other, and many false prophets will appear and deceive many people. (Matthew 24:7–11.)

Archbishop Kaila (1941b) and Bishop Juho Mannermaa[48] (1941a) both used a passage from Matthew at clerical synod(s), declaring that evil had grown; that there were false prophets, a division between pagan and antichristian spirit, and an increase in all that purports to make man happy without Christ, such as Nietzsche, Richard Wagner's music, and Bolshevism; that there was deception not only in religion but also in the economy, as well as lawlessness and selfishness, persecutions, great wars among peoples, and natural signs, such as famine and earthquakes. However, there was also a counterforce arising. That was a revival in Christianity, endurance and hope; a revival of the Christian spirit, and growth in the sacrificial spirit and fear of God. The clash between these forces was explained further with the Parable of the Weeds (13:24–29). The world had been infected by "poisonous weeds". Now the time had ripened, and these weeds would be burned and the wheat would be "put in Christ's barn" (Kaila 1941b).

On the Finnish radio Kaila stated that the words of the Apocalypse of John (6:4) had taken place: a fiery red horse had come out, and its rider had been given a power to take peace from the earth and to make people kill each other. However, Kaila pointed out that power was given to the rider, but without God's approval the forces of darkness could not do anything. Consequently,

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46 In the parable of the wicked vinedressers (Matthew 21: 33–46) God as the owner of the vineyard punishes those who have misused the privileges he has bestowed on them.

47 Osmo Tiililä (1904–1972) was a professor of dogmatic theology. He was a charismatic orator and a conservative who opposed the secularizing tendencies then prevailing in the church, to the extent that he resigned from the Lutheran Church of Finland in 1962.

48 Juho Mannermaa (1871–1943) was a scholar focusing on the original languages of the Bible. Before becoming Bishop of Oulu, he was an MP for the Finnish Party and its successor the National Coalition Party.

also the mayhem of war was one of God's ways to guide His people. (Kaila 1942a; see also 1941g, 1.) The situation was ready for the emergence of a new world in which there would be no room for the powers of darkness: there would be no war, no sin or destruction, but only rejoicing heard from "the huts of the righteous" (Kaila 1941c). A similar theme was used by the Bishop of Vyborg, Yrjö Loimaranta[49] (1941a, 1). He said that the war was a battle for Christianity and, as such, a battle to let "the heavenly light" shine, not only on the future of the fatherland but on all Christian nations. Loimaranta predicted that this Christian unification would progress and intensify as the fighting troops advanced eastwards.

Archpriest Yrjö Wallinmaa[50] used the Book of Revelation, especially Rev. 21:5[51], to explain the quality of the new things created in war. War, according to Wallinmaa, was a moment when the old was destroyed. It was, however, not merely destruction but also the creation of something new, for every time something great is born, something old is bound to be eradicated. Wallinmaa thought that given the extent of the destruction, which surpassed all previous destruction, something unprecedented must be coming into existence. He then wondered what the new Europe and the new living places that had been predicted for its peoples would be like. In relation to Finland's situation, Wallinmaa made an analogy with the early Christians:

> The early Christians did not withdraw from the world but reminded the pagans through their own example that one must lay aside the old being that was prone to follow treacherous instincts and create a new body and mind in righteousness and holiness of Christ. Such people would be persecuted, just as the early Christians were. (Wallinmaa 1942a.)

The beliefs of the Finns, just like those of the early Christians, were in stark contrast to the paganism that surrounded them. Consequently, reminding his audience about the immanent eschatological hope of the early Christians, Wallinmaa claimed that something truly new and universal would be born from the ashes of the present war. However, if men sought to realise this new creation through human powers alone, it would inevitably lead back to what had been "old and evil" (ibid.).

Thus the war that seemed to be covering every continent fitted particularly well into the biblical description: it was a time when nation had risen against nation, and had been preceded by growing evil, and tension between good and evil. In addition, the formation of the Axis front against the Soviet Union seemed to show that these nations would be hated because of Christ. All this could be seen as the birth pains before the second coming and the creation of a new world order.

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49 Yrjö Loimaranta (1874–1942), before his bishophood, was the chairman of the Finnish Seamen's Mission and Minister of Education.

50 Yrjö Wallinmaa (1892–1943) followed Mannermaa as Bishop of Oulu, but was killed after only three months in a partisan attack in northern Finland.

51 "He who was seated on the throne said, "I am making everything new!" Then he said, "Write this down, for these words are trustworthy and true.""

The eschatological scene was also considered in terms of a narrower circumference. For example, Archbishop Kaila claimed that new things would be continually born, although the Christian world had too eagerly accepted the phrase, *nihil sub sole novum*, there is nothing new under the sun. However, God's spirit continued to render new both individuals and peoples. Yet this happened slowly because in the sphere of creation there were forces of darkness that continually hindered God's work. Consequently, at a national level, for Kaila the Continuation War was the culmination of a process begun in the Winter War: God's punishment was producing not only destruction but new beings in Christ, beings that would transcend political, social and linguistic antagonisms. According to Kaila, it was due to God's providence that the political quarrels that had taken place in Finland before the Winter War had not escalated into mortal internal battles, as had so often happened in history. (Kaila 1941c.)

The demand for an eschatological mind-set was supported also in *Suomen Lähetyssanomia*. The official missionary journal of the Finnish Lutheran Church drew on Isaiah (43:19) and pointed out that although the war was still going on, all the signs showed what "God had had in His mind": the persecutor would fall, the houses of God would be purified and peoples under the yoke of darkness would receive the light of the Gospel. For this to happen did, however, require that the nation should not look back to the sinful past but should continue God's work on the creation of the new. Now, when "the deceiving curtain" was lifted, people were exhorted to take upon themselves the spiritual mode that the eschatological moment demanded. (Rajalinna 1941, 205–206; Vaalas 1941, 181.)

The eschatological moment from the national perspective came to a climax in an analogy between Finland and biblical Israel. Nationalism in general draws a considerable amount of its passion and intensity from a belief in national selection and mission, which in turn derive from religious myths of the divine selection of a people – the result being a political ideology that resembles religious faith (Smith 1999a). Since Finnish nationalism relied on religious conceptions of the political community, analogies with biblical Israel could be found in several fields of culture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Hence biblical typology was a powerful resource to draw on in clerical rhetoric: it gave structure and familiarity to the events of the war, which seemed to occur at a quite unforeseen pace.

Professor Aarre Lauha[52] drew an analogy between the war and Old Testament eschatology. Lauha's dissertation *Zaphon. Der Norden und die Nordvölker im alten Testament* (1943) was on the subject of biblical prophesies relating to the Northern Aryan people. His main conclusion was that the Bible

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52 Aarre Lauha (1907–1988) was a specialist on the Old Testament and Bishop of Helsinki from 1964 to 1972. He had been a student at the Luther Academy of Germany, which was closely associated with Nazi politics; its curriculum focused on undermining Judaic emphasis in the Bible. Consequently, alumni of the Luther Academy often gave their blessing to Nazism by accepting (or applauding) its church policies.

in fact included a prophecy according to which the north was the geopolitical scene from which not only the great, divine power, but also its antithesis would emerge:

> Judgment for the future will emerge from the distant edge of the world, from the unknown North, where earth and heaven meet. God himself will appear from there; from there he will also call upon the forces with which His judgment will be executed. These forces, seen through terrific imaginaries, represent, from the human point of view, the forces of devastation, but in fact will only realize God's great plans. These reflections close the circle around the imaginaries of the divine North and the ominous North, originally separated from each other. In the end, there is no dualism between God and the Powers of Evil, since these both stem from God and will be defeated by him, they stand under His command, and are thus not independent demonic powers. (Lauha 1943a, 88.)

According to Lauha's interpretation, the north was the spatial manifestation of the *eschaton*. The north was both a sacred place in which God dwells as well as a site in which eschatological battles would take place when a new historical era began. The expectation that northern peoples would have a leading role in the last days was interesting precisely because it exemplified, according to Lauha, a movement from empirical history to "apocalyptic over-history": in Old Testament apocalyptic writing the north is a mythical, cosmic place that signifies a break from earthly history; in its visions about the end of history the powers that would carry out God's will come from the north (Lauha 1943b, 88–95). Thus Lauha's implication was that the north as a centre of the world constituted the spatial locus of the transformation into the coming aeon, and Finland had a specific role as "the northern Israel".

Professor of theology Antti Filemon Puukko[53] (1941, 349–366) discussed God's government and its relation to world history at a clerical synod in Vyborg in August 1941. His argument was that God would use the enemies of His people to punish His chosen people. These enemies, for example pagans and the godless, were themselves doomed, for every regime that arose against God's rule would be destroyed without mercy. However, their task was to act as historical intermediaries in the divine judgment that would face each individual and every nation. This was an example of how each historical era reflects cosmic tension and experiences God's power over history. According to Puukko, this cosmic battle between earthly powers and God's government would last throughout history, but finally the power of evil would be crushed and Satan and his minions would be driven into the fiery lake (see Rev. 20). Only then would messianic peace come, not before.

Puukko then used Assur's attack against Jerusalem (2 Kings 19:32; 2 Chron. 32:20; 1 Macc. 7:41) and the angel of death passing through and killing every soldier in the camp of the great army that had laid siege to Jerusalem as a metaphor for what would happen in the last days. Significantly, this was a key

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53 Having studied in Germany under Rudolf Kittel, A. F. Puukko (1875–1954) was a renowned professor of Old Testament exegetics and the author of famous Das Deuteronomium (1909–1910).

to the interpretation of the Finnish situation: God was burning down the old, slaying His enemies, and bringing victory to Christians. Thus, as Puukko declared, Finns who were fighting for home, God and fatherland could have unshakeable conviction that "God's judgment in the history of the world" was taking place before their eyes – this was the goal of history (Puukko 1941, 361, 363.) Hence the war was given a scenic interpretation: it was a phase in God's great eschatological battle, with Finland playing the role of biblical Israel as the intermediary of the new creation (see also Jokipii 1941d, 6).

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High theologians thus saw the Continuation War in scenic terms. The war was an eschatological moment on two levels: it unified Christian nations and forged new nations into being that allegedly transcended any national and international discordance. As a dramatistic strategy, the expansion or contraction of the scene stems from the fact that one can define human nature and human actions in much wider terms than the particularities of the immediate circumstances would permit, and vice versa (Burke 1969a, 77, 84, 113). The war was, in the words of Kenneth Burke (1984b, 336; 1969a, 203), a scene that allowed conflicting perspectives to be seen from a point of view from which they ceased to be opposites.

Selection of the circumference of a scene is an important rhetorical act, with the definition or interpretation of the other terms of the pentad taking shape accordingly. In addition, circumference points to the limits of what is necessary or possible by setting the limits to what is within reach of human action (Burke 1969a, 84). With eschatology the circumference of the scene transcended the sphere of human action, and the war was therefore a manifestation of predetermined divine purposes. In this way the argumentation with scene as the root term "depoliticized" the situation effectively. And as we shall later observe, the eschatological scene as a root term functioned in precisely this way.

Interestingly, in the context of the Continuation War the eschatological circumference was applied mainly by high theologians. They took the role of apocalyptic seers who interpret long periods of history *sub specie aeternitatis*, i.e. from the standpoint of eternity, and thus are able to see a purpose and a goal in all the tumultuous historical events. The apocalyptic commentator is able to present history as a unity, made up of predetermined periods or phases, and declare its ultimate meaning in terms of God's purposes. (Russell 1992, 82–95.) From such a perspective it was appropriate to prophesy the imminent destruction of Bolshevism, and later the Day of Judgment and the beginning of the creation of something new.

Now, as the dramatistic logic implies, agents functioning within "the ultimate scene" are regarded as constrained by scenic elements. In other words, if the scene was eschatological, the implication was that there were peculiar types of antagonist forces embedded in it, with growing tension between them.

As the Bishop of Kuopio, Eino Sormunen[54], predicted at a clerical synod:

> At these times our faith has been tested as we have seen the growth of the power of evil in the world. With weak eyes we have tried to detect traces of righteous God in these events. One of the most important theological perspectives at the moment is dramatic dualism, in which the events of the world are seen as a struggle between two antithetical powers, namely God and Satan. This is a battle that will escalate as we approach the last days. Have we not seen that God's judgment occasionally matures quickly? The present struggle with swords will be followed by a struggle between worldviews, in which the church must represent the voice of consciense bound to God, against all tempting sirens. (Sormunen 1941a.)

Let us now examine how this dramatic dualism was described as part of the eschatological scene, since apocalyptic discourse as an inherently dualistic form of rhetoric is incomplete without it.

5.3 Legion, for we are many – the enemy identified

5.3.1 "I will put enmity between you" – hostility and devil-terms

In addition to identifying the political agent itself, naming "them" is an important symbolic act since it builds up a sense of unity by defining the groups and qualities from which "we" must be differentiated. In this way the naming of "us" and "them" is a condition of the capacity to act politically because "we" are always energized and aided by the dialectical pressure of "the common enemy" (Koselleck 2004, 155–161; Crucius 1986, 29.) For example, despite its claim to universality, an integral part of Christianity is the diabolic other. Satan and his counter-kingdom, taking various historical forms, energizes Christian theology (and rhetoric).

As has been stressed by Carl Schmitt[55], religion – especially a monotheistic one – functions effectively as a political means of justifying war. By claiming to transcend the limits of the ordinary in terms of its dualistic metaphysical structure, it at the same time degrades the enemy into a moral category that makes it a monster that must not only be defeated but also utterly destroyed. In this way wars waged in the name of humanity or God have an intensely political dimension that deny the enemy the quality of being human. (Schmitt 1976, 36, 54, 79.) Thus any church is political as soon as it exhorts a member to

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54 Bishop of Kuopio Eino Sormunen (1893–1972) was a professor of dogmatic theology before becoming bishop in 1939. He is the author of nearly 100 books that deal with topics varying from the liturgy to the socio-political and cultural role of religion and the church.

55 Carl Schmitt's famous contention is that identifying the enemy is the sine qua non for the political. The specific distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy. And conversely, every concrete antagonism – for example religious, ethical or economic – becomes a political one when it is capable of the friend-enemy grouping.

die not only for the salvation of their soul but also for the religious community as an earthly power (ibid., 26–29, 33–34, 37, 48–49).[56] Holy wars or crusades are real and profound decisions about the enemy as well as about oneself (Meier 1998, 58, 61).

Apocalyptic rhetoric pictures the world in bipolar terms as dramatic conflict between good and evil, God and Satan. It constructs a clear division, creating a set of easily comprehended scenes and strongly drawn figures, the ultimate antagonist and protagonist. The eschatological confrontation between Christ and Antichrist is the moment in which one must enter into a decisive relation of either unification or separation. (Meier 1998, 6; Brummett 1984, 90.) In such a pattern God operates through certain nations, chosen peoples, called to fight the battles of the Lord, while other nations are either friends, or enemies of the worst kind. In this way the world is categorized into wholly good and wholly evil, the enemy is claimed to originate from the realm of absolute evil – and hence no compromise or coexistence is possible with those that stand in the way of the restoring of God's kingdom. (Tuveson 1980, 50–51, 139; O'Leary 1993, 388; Räisänen 2009, 159–163.)

Naming the enemy is a dramatistic strategy that entails using "devil-terms". These are words used to unify and convince the audience through the dual process of unifying 'us' and dissociating us from the diabolical enemy. Devil-terms are the counterpart of god-terms. Drawing on the cultural repository of symbolic meanings, they are rhetorical absolutes carrying a strong automatic significance. Devil-terms draw on what the audience in question considers an absolute evil. Such terms are used in describing the negative other, and in framing what the audience should be against. In contrast to the logic of god-terms, they lie at the bottom of a hierarchy and carry an unfavourable connotation, repulsion. Thus devil-terms do not merely convey an argument, but they present an orientation in which the argument "makes sense" by feeling naturally loathsome. (Burke 1957, 165, 179, 187; Weaver 1995, 221–222). In this sense, naming the enemy in devil-terms is an effective way to control a difficult or bad situation by reaching the essence of it (Burke 1984b, 236).[57]

Identifying the enemy as the Antichrist guarantees 'our' identity and posits 'us' within the context of the fundamental conflict. In addition, separation of one's own community from the ultimate enemy increases the sense of wrath and bitterness against the enemy. The enemy is integral to symbolic redemption: the more demonic the enemy is, the more certainly its destruction will purify any guilt resulting from whatever was done before the conflict and in the conflict as well. Hence defining the enemy in ultimate terms points out how destructive it is and is in fact a step towards "salvation".

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56 Schmitt is determined that a total identification that penetrates the innermost core of men can be found only in the realm of the theological. Friend and enemy are decided by the truth of revelation, with the obedience of faith as raison d'être. Hence the enemy is found from unfaith, godlessness. (Meier 1998, 66–71.)

57 Kenneth Burke's (1989b, 211–231) analysis of Adolph Hitler's rhetoric is the example par excellence of persuasive use as well ethical consequences of unification by a "fictitious devil-function".

It needs to be emphasized that devil-terms differ from god-terms in that they create unity in a roundabout way by naming explicitly the thing from which there is an urgent need to be separate. As such, devil-terms do not symbolize just any separation. In dramatism they exemplify the dialectics of killing. As Kenneth Burke (1969b, 260–266) puts it, the perfection of the principle of negation (and hence division) for the sake of perfecting a god-term is killing: killing means perfection. Devil-terms point to the malign identifications inherent in symbolic order, for in every order there are "secret" or implied inducements to "the kill", i.e. the removal of objects that hinder one from reaching the god-terms on which the given order is constructed (see Rueckert 1994, 75–76.) In this way devil-terms are names given to something that needs to be ousted or destroyed before perfect unity can be reached. It is now time to discuss the devil-terms arising from the eschatological scene.

5.3.2 Eternal enemy from the kingdom of the Beast

In the first strand of clerical rhetoric relating to the enemy the antagonist of the eschatological scene was described as combining the notions of eternality and the kingdom of the Beast. Russia was claimed to be the eternal enemy of Finland, and the fact that this enmity is 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 a chaplain proclaimed by referring to the Book of Revelation (12:7), the 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 and his minions. (Kalpa 1942a, 3; 1942b, 2.)

According to Archbishop Kaila, Finland's tradition as a Christian people guaranteed that Finns knew intimately 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 1942b, 1–2.)

The Continuation War was, then, the final phase of the tension between good and evil. Since every nation and individual had to decide which side they were on, it was of the utmost importance that the true nature of the enemy was fully known.

The devil-term was explicated carefully. To begin with, Russians were not seen as essentially demonic, although their backwardness had made them vulnerable to the antichristian ideology of Bolshevism. This was, however, something that allegedly only the Finns knew. As for example Bishop Eino Sormunen stressed, by being in a state of war with Russia for a total of 100

during the last 700 years, Finland knew that although governments and political systems in their eastern neighbour had changed, its character and spirit had not. Thus "the Russian soul" made them incompatible with Western civilization, for various reasons. Firstly, a Russian was totally untrustworthy, and he would be willing to betray even his best friend, no matter what situation one should happen to be in. Secondly, "Russianness" was based on sadism, i.e. the enjoyment of suffering and causing it in others. Thirdly, the Russian soul lacked the creativity and will to make living better; on the contrary, the Russian wanted only to rob, enjoy and destroy. Fourthly, and most importantly, Russia lacked the state-building ability that in turn guaranteed human beings their highest freedom. For these reasons, godless Bolshevism had been able to rise. (Sormunen 1941a; Alanen 1941a, 3.)

The worst thing about the ideology was that it had damaged "the Russian character", which had always easily adapted itself to external circumstances. Because the "Russian eastern mind" showed a religious respect towards power, and even more so towards tyranny, Russians had been tied with bonds forged from a slavish fear and worship of their despotic leaders. The result was that Bolshevism had stupefied the minds and hearts of Russians and had nurtured "mass creatures" without any personality, capable only of ephemerally reflecting external influences. It was claimed that the almost 25-year Bolshevist tutelage had had a dreadful impact on the soul of the Russian people. It had transformed a backward but benign people into insensitive, heartless and cruel materialistic monsters who lacked "any finer characteristics of man". All this testified to the power of Bolshevism to eradicate all positive qualities with attractive falsehoods and to make human beings "living robots or primitive creatures that yearn to be ruled brutally". (Alanen 1941b, 2; 1942a, 4; Pakkala 1943, 3; Alanen 1944a.)

By these means the state of ordinary Russians was compared to those living in the servitude of sin – a despicable situation in which one does not even see that one is living in servitude (Kytömäki 1942, 2–3). Drawing on the Christian precept that the one wielding a sword must hate the sin, not the sinner, the archbishop reminded Finns that they should therefore pray for the enemy as individuals (Kaila 1941a; see Johnson 1997, 110).

Bishop and chaplain Yrjö J. E. Alanen[58] pointed out that the actual "seeds of poison" were in fact not from Russia. Playing ironically with the concept of culture, he said that Bolshevism had been "a harvest of curses resulting from a sowing of curses": the injustice and mendacity of the World War had made a breeding ground for "a godless power of lie, violence and destruction". Although this harvest had matured and yielded its crop in Russia, its seeds were from Europe. Hence, although Russia with its allegedly backward political culture, social and religious stagnation and low level of civilization had been a fruitful soil for "the seeds of poison", the main reason for the problem lay

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58 Yrjö J. E. Alanen (1890–1960) was a professor of systematic theology, later of theological ethics and philosophy of religion.

elsewhere. The people of Europe should not deny their responsibility but they should remember that one always reaps as one has sown.[59] (Alanen 1941b, 2.)

This ideology was given scenic treatment in terms of biblical essences. It was explicitly declared that the ideology resembled, more than any other political power in the history of the world, the prophecies made in Revelations about the Antichristian kingdom of the Beast. And precisely this justified calling the enemy eternal: Bolshevism was the clearest manifestation of spiritual evil that the history of the world had known (Alanen 1941c, 5). It 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". 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) which had taken over the Soviet Union:

> 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.)

The spread of "the clearest example of the Antichrist in human history" (Mannermaa 1941b) 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".[60] 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" (Matthew 8:12). In addition, it was claimed that Bolshevism had destroyed Eastern Karelia; far from turning it into a paradise, it had become "a place like hell": pleasure and satisfying one's desires had been made into national ideals, ideals controlled by the Beast. (Rinne 1941a, 1; Mustonen, 1941, 2–3; Pakkala 1941a, 1; Suominen, Rudolf 1942, 1; Alanen 1941d, 4.) To support the argument that it was satanically deceptive, Yrjö Alanen pointed out that contrary to its own claims, Bolshevism was not a true workers' movement because the conditions of working people were appalling; the ideology was nothing more than a diabolical façade behind which was the urge to destroy the Christian faith (Alanen 1941e, 2).

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59 "Do not be deceived: God cannot be mocked. A man reaps what he sows." (Gal. 6:7.)

60 The quotation refers to Rev. 6: 11 according to which God's judgment on earth will not come "until the number of their [martyrs'] fellow servants and their brethren who were to be killed even as they had been, would be completed also."

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 13th century, Finland was introduced into the Christian order. However, this had also revealed Finland's "eternal enemy": it was claimed that the purpose of the Satanic east had 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.) However, with Bolshevism that "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 1941a, 3.)

Bolshevism thus was the beast that blasphemes God, denies His power and attempts to rise above him. It was the beast "with tantalizing gaze and poisonous breath" (Pinomaa 1941b, 1). However, Finland had survived for almost 800 years and would prevail now. (Mannermaa 1941b; Heimosoturi 1941, 5.) In the light of Finland's history, the war was more than correcting the wrongs that had taken place in the Winter War: the war meant a universal transformation, as a part of which Finland would be set free from "the nightmare that had haunted her throughout her 800-year-old history". 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. (Pinomaa 1941a; 1942; Tiivola 1941a, 1; 1941c, 1–2.)

Scenic interpretation of the enemy was supported with signs of its imminent destruction. Although the Soviet Union had started a war against Finland, "who had wanted nothing more than to peacefully cultivate the fatherland given by God," and although that war had caused significant suffering, national unity, the mighty ally [Germany] and success in the present war were unquestionable signs that God had not abandoned Finland (Kaila 1941c). Consequently, the fact that the Finnish flag was flying all around Karelia was a sign that "God had begun to strike down the legions of hell" (Kalpa 1941c, 6; 1941a, 2). It was therefore certain that the time had come when "the lion of Judea, Jesus Christ, would strike down the enemies of His flock with the two-bladed sword coming from his mouth, and He would bring the terrible fate of Goliath to those who have blasphemed against the Lord's holies". (Pelkonen 1942, 8.)

The seemingly inevitable fall of the Soviet Union was also interpreted with an analogy with the giant statue with feet of clay in the Book of Daniel (2:31–35) (Hiidenheimo 1941, 2). It was seen as inevitable that the giant would be "smashed to pieces by divine judgment":

> As Jesus said about the destiny of the house built on sand: "The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell with a great

> crash" (Matthew 7: 27). God was put out of order. A huge attempt to build a tower of Babel was made. Life was lived without God. But now everything collapses, the giant of the east will be crushed. (Hiidenheimo, M. 1941, 2; Aarnio 1942, 2.)

As had been prophesied, the dragon and his minions would be slain once and for all. So Finns did not need to doubt the outcome of the war: they were invited to see now how God as a righteous judge exacts His payment from those who had tried to undermine God's order. (Kalpa 1942c, 2; Laurila, Vilho O. J. 1941, 2–3.)

The political leaders of the Bolsheviks were correspondingly dressed in rhetorical clothing. As protagonists of the scene of eschatological evil, they were defined as "a group of robbers" and "red devils" that had "terrorized the country and its citizens with the most brutal and bloody government there can be". These "red devils" were responsible for the fact that the pleasant qualities in the nature of the Russians – such as friendliness and spiritual vitality – had been replaced by Bolshevik brutality and inhumanity. The leaders were responsible for the fact that ordinary people were "like innocent children walking in the darkness". Also, a fitting point of comparison for the Bolshevik political leadership was found in "primitive cannibal tribes", "the Philistines", or "the uncircumcised", that is, everything that blasphemes God. (Pakkala, E. W. 1942, 1; Alanen 1941f, 2; Alanen 1942b, 2; Y. M. K 1942, 3; Heimosoturi 1941, 7.)

Lenin and Stalin in particular were the "false gods of the Soviet regime". As symbols of godlessness, evil and lewdness they were the ones who were leading Gog, the northern enemy, a people who join Satan's attack against God's people in the last days (Lauha 1943b, 95–97; Alanen 1941g, 5).[61] They were compared to Genghis Khan, Timur Lenk and Ivan the Terrible as having made for themselves a permanent place in the history of the world as despots and "oppressors of peoples and God's enemies". It was pointed out that due to Lenin's and Stalin's "extremely despotic mind", socialism and communism had been merely the means of fulfilling their own desire for power. Bolshevism was a mockery of what communism had originally meant. On the personal level it was alleged that conscience, morality and human ideals had not been an obstacle to either leader; they were defined as men whose sins cried out to Heaven for vengeance.[62] It was stressed that the enthusiasm to commit murder, the hatred of humans and the lust for power of both Lenin and Stalin was directed first and foremost against Christianity. Stalin, a former clerical seminarian, was called a modern Judas Iscariot "who had betrayed his master and savior tenfold" (Mustonen 1941, 3). Thus it would be "a great day for all humanity when Stalin's actions would end completely and the despotic regime

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61 In the Bible Gog and Magog are eschatological enemies of God. In Ezekiel (38: 2–3) Gog denotes enemies of God and Jeremiah (6: 1; 10: 22). Gog and Magog refer to certain northern places of evil from where the enemies of God will come. In Revelations (20: 7–9), on the other hand, Gog and Magog symbolize the nations that, deceived by Satan, gather together against Christ and his followers in the last times.

62 In Catholic doctrine (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 3: I, I, 8, V: 1867, 3: II, II, 5, I: 2268) certain sins are defined as ones that cry out to Heaven: murder (Gen. 4: 1–16), sodomy (Gen. 19:5), oppression (Ex. 22: 20–23) and defraud (Deut. 24: 14–15).

established by Lenin would be destroyed". All in all, Lenin and Stalin were proof of where abandoning God and worshipping man would inevitably lead. (Alanen 1941f, 3; Suominen Rudolf 1942, 1–2; Tiivola 1941a, 1.)

Finland's Evangelic-Lutheran Church joined enthusiastically in the battle. The war, Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen thought, was fuelled by bestial rage in order to destroy all faith in a higher spiritual reality. The Union of the Godless and the actions of the Bolsheviks in Karelia were a proof of this. (Lehtonen 1941a, 8–13.) Thus the church had not only the right but the privilege of taking part in "opening the door for Gospel in this battle against Bolshevism". (Alanen 1941a, 3.) However, it was emphasized that the task of the church was to ensure that "the scars caused by the war" would not result in national hatred after the war, because this would be against the spirit of Christianity; the war was not against the ordinary soldiers and people of Russia, who were blinded by their Bolshevik leaders. (Alanen 1944b, 2, 4; 1944c, 2.)

Finland's aggressive attack deep into Soviet territory did not pass unnoticed by the Allied forces. After severely criticising Finland, England broke off diplomatic relations with Finland at the beginning of August 1941, and warned that it would declare war in September unless Finland halted its operations. England did declare war, but this happened only in December, after Finland had signed the Antikomintern pact with the Axis powers. This political manoeuvering was also reflected in clerical rhetoric.

The statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the autumn of 1941 in which he wished success to the Soviet Union and "to the brave Russian armies" and stated that England must be prepared to provide any help the Soviets might need, caused concern and anger in Finnish clerical circles. To the leaders of the Finnish church, the alliance between the Soviet Union and England testified to the seductive force of the Antichrist. Archbishop Erkki Kaila wondered how far the Church of England had gone and asked rhetorically what there could be in common between Christ and Belial: surely the godless principles of Bolshevism should make it impossible for a church to make such statements – a church that in the Winter War had prayed for Finland in the battle against godless Bolshevism. Kaila was "sad over the fact that the Church of England had slid thus far into abandoning the Gospel and Christian faith". (Kaila 1941d, 1.)

According to Archbishop Kaila, Finland's position had not changed, since the war was against the same enemy as in the Winter War and now, too, Finland had been forced to fight. Kaila (1941e) pointed out that Finland had not only been the target of Soviet attacks but the war had also a religious justification. Since the people of Finland were just as deeply Lutheran as the enemy was godless, the nature of the war was religious, and only one stance was possible. However, the main implication of the Canterbury statement was that political matters should take precedence over religious and moral issues: in order to achieve victory over Germany, England was willing to make a pact even with a godless power. He declared that one could not think of a more striking contradiction than pretending to be fighting for Christ but at the same

time making a pact with the Antichrist. The only explanation was found to be that for the Archbishop of Canterbury the fate of Christian civilization in Europe was of no importance; the only fact that mattered was that England should win. Thus the mask of England had come off: it was typical of English politicians, the treacherousness of Albion, that it had presented itself as a defender of noble ideas but exchanged them for its own advantage without batting an eyelid. By joining politicians who attempt to "explain black as white", the Archbishop of Canterbury had allowed statecraft to prevail over conscience. (Kaila 1941f, 3–4; see also Korpijaakko 1944, 17–18.)

Similarly, Lauri Pohjanpää, a poet and a doctor of theology, commented that Finland's defensive war against the spirits of evil was not restricted to the frontier against the obvious enemy. According to him, for example Sweden and Great Britain had been overwhelmed by malevolence and lies, for they did not understand that Finland was guarding the borders of Christian civilization:

> We are accustomed to lies and deprecations from Moscow. We are fighting against those destructive powers that want to destroy the foundations of our lives. The horrible reality is that we are standing at the outermost frontier of Christian civilization, protecting it against the spirit of hatred, destruction and denial, the power of Antichrist. (Pohjanpää 1941a, 2.)

Thus, as it was loudly emphasised, the frontier between Christianity and the kingdom of evil ran between Finland and the Soviet Union, despite what "the war propaganda of some countries claimed". (Kaila 1941d, 1; Editorial 1941a, 2.)

Bishop Eino Sormunen said outright that for over 20 years Finland had been wondering about "the weakness and blindness of Western countries", that they had left Finland alone to fight against the east and were waiting for their own destruction, and even that they were actually courting the power that aimed to destroy them. (Sormunen 1941a). Even more outspoken towards England was Bishop Juho Mannermaa, who warned that England and its "unnatural union" with the Bolsheviks would lead to certain destruction. As England's real policies were based on fear of defeat and lack of courage, said Mannermaa, it was no wonder that their vision had become blurred and people had become confused amidst the various competing forces. He therefore prophesied that both godless Bolshevism and "restless liberal democracy without any order" had both met their doom, for they were both incarnations of the Antichrist. (Mannermaa 1941b.)

An interesting point of comparison in relation to devil-terms is with the English clergy. At that point England was the only democratic country that had declared war on another democratic country. Most Anglican clergymen, including Archbishop William Temple, did not want religious terms used in describing the Second World War, precisely because of the overtly aggressive connotations that for example crusading has had since the Middle Ages. Similarly, although it was claimed to be a war for Christian civilization, WWII was not seen as a war for the Church or Christianity – using force for Christ

would be a betrayal of the Gospel. Hence the war against Nazi Germany was not presented as a holy war. (Hoover 1999, 36, 98.)

Since the devil-term "atheism" could not be applied to Nazism as easily as it could to Bolshevism, Nazism was considered by English clergy to be a false religion rather than overt godlessness. It was declared that Nazism had all the elements of religion, i.e. personal faith, gods and devils, worship, scriptures, the elect and the damned, good and evil, heaven and hell, and a saviour, but they were manifest as a "diabolical religion". Nazism was also considered to be a form of paganism due to its belief that its Absolute was to be found within (German) race and blood. The ideology was, however, anti-Christian; not only was it pagan, but it had also turned its back on Christianity and replaced it with idolatry: worship of the state, the nation, the race, and the leader. In addition, Anglican clerical discourse emphasized racism, since it constituted an obvious contradiction to Christian equality and universalism. Also the alleged moral relativism of Nazism – that is, the repudiation of Christian standards – was considered to be a "sin against the Holy Ghost". All in all, Nazism and its kingdom of a thousand years were seen by English clergy as a false religion. (Ibid. 53–70, 73.) In this way Nazism was presented in nearly exactly the same terms as the Finnish clergy used in relation to Bolshevism.

In this sense it is interesting that the Finnish clergy saw Finland's "comradeship" with Germany as natural: Germany was fighting against the anti-Christian power that had also threatened to destroy Finland's political independence as well her national existence. It was even stated that Germany was an ally given by God's merciful providence, an ally without which Finland would have been doomed (Editorial 1942a, 2). Thus, despite some criticism, Finland's position as a Christian nation on the frontier against Bolshevism was natural in every way. They accused the United States and Great Britain, among others, of acting only selfishly, for their own political and economic ends, which meant that they could not understand that Finland had no choice but to take part in "the historical bloodshed". Luckily, it was asserted, God himself certainly understood Finland's position better than anyone else. (Alanen 1944a; 1944d, 2.)

As a response to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen presented three arguments about the war in releases to the international press. Firstly, the line between the Western world and Bolshevik Russia was deep and decisive, for Soviet Russia had been trying with "demonical rage and cruelty" to destroy all religion and belief in a higher spiritual reality, and above all the Christian church. Thus the war was a defensive struggle against the Bolshevik onslaught against Christianity. Secondly, the enemy was demonic: it was a battle against the chief enemy of all nations and the main obstacle to their peace, i.e. Bolshevism, whose satanic hate had turned first against the churches, knowing that in destroying first that which is holiest to nations the nations themselves can surely be destroyed. Lehtonen claimed that the fate of the church in Karelia and the movement towards godlessness testified to the demonic nature of the enemy. Thirdly, he reproached the Church of England

for being so blinded by a "war psychosis" that it could not recognize the danger. He was, however, sure that "someday the spirit of Truth will open the eyes of all Christendom and it will perceive what has happened and was about to happen". (Lehtonen 1941b, 2; 1941d; 1941e; 1941f.)

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In this way Bolshevism was treated as the ultimate devil-term on two levels. First, its origins were in the spiritual power of the Antichrist, and thus the ideology could be associated with all the historical ills Finland had ever experienced. The ideology was essentialized and "eternalized": Satan was presented as the real source of the Soviet Union's power, through Bolshevism. The ideology was a mockery of the holy spirit of Christianity. Second, drawing on a dehumanizing transformation of the scene–agent ratio that sees agents as scenes, Bolshevism had contaminated ordinary Russians for ever (see Rountree 2001, 21). According to this condescending view, Bolshevism had turned the backwardness of Russians into pure evil, with the implication that Finland's enemy across the border did not consist of individual persons but "scenic containers" that had been filled with demonic powers. These factors together meant that it was more than justified for the church to be involved in the war effort: it was right to take part in slaying the main enemy of Christianity.

As a result, the enemy did not need to be conceived as something or someone with whom a settlement could be arrived at in the near or distant future since it was not a body ever capable of such an action. The Soviet Union and Russia – as it was seen through Bolshevism – was contaminated by the Antichrist in a way that made them utterly incompatible with human values. Instead, the enemy could be treated as the incarnation of evil that had the right to exist only as something that would necessarily be destroyed as the eschatological scene developed. It was the giant with feet of clay that would be smashed to pieces, as had been prophesied in the Bible. On the other hand, in addition to being the perfection of evil, Bolshevism was considered also in primordial terms, i.e. in terms of origins, which is the theme we shall discuss next.

5.3.3 Chaos and the Asiatic hordes

The second prominent rhetorical strategy of defining the devil-term was based on the idea of the enemy as a chaotic force that was threatening to destroy the Finno-Christian order. Whereas in the previous line of thought the antagonist of the scene was constructed on Bolshevism as the pinnacle of evil, the antichristian power, here the enemy represented the primordial forces of chaos. This chaos was defined as anarchic Asianness, in clear contrast to European order. The tension between cosmos/order and chaos/disorder is a common pattern in religious thought. In spatial terms, cosmos is the familiar, inhabited territory and chaos is the unknown and indeterminate space that surrounds it. The former is "our world"; everything outside it is foreign, lacking order or

structure, peopled by ghosts, demons, foreigners (Eliade 1961, 29). In logical terms cosmos is a mode of existence to which the sacred has given structure. The sacred makes orientation possible. It is the foundation of the world in that it fixes its limits and establishes its order. Chaos, on the other hand, is in a liquefied and larval mode of existence. (Ibid. 30.)

Tension is present in the drama of creation. Order is divine and chaos is evil. The origin of evil is coextensive with the origin of things; it is the "chaos" with which the creative act of God struggles.[63] Hence salvation is identical with creation itself: the act that founds the world is at the same time a liberating act – it puts things where they should be. (Ricoeur 1969, 172, 177–179.) However, any attack from without threatens to turn cosmos into chaos. Hence the enemy can be identified 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 are incarnated in the enemy. The enemy can be identified as the primordial forces conquered by gods at the beginning of time. Thus any victory symbolizes the paradigmatic victory of order over chaos. In this light, war is necessary violence since it establishes order; it is a repetition of the initial creation that contains and limits the evil. (Ricoeur 1969, 197–198; Eliade 1961, 47–48.)

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 attempted to push itself to the Western border of Finland already 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 1941c, 2.)

The quotation above 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 that Finland was facing was in a chaotic state, a state of primitive, unpredictable disarray. The second one was that as such it constantly threatened to dissolve, to sweep away Finnish order, which was based on Christianity. The argument was that the enemy was in the opposite state of being 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.) Hence the dehumanizing transformation of the scene–agent ratio that sees agents as scenes was applied here as well. The enemy was turned from human agents into an un-human

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63 Cf. the biblical account of Genesis 1, according to which at the beginning earth was formless and empty, covered with water and darkness. The first acts of creation were to separate light from darkness and land from water.

scene by describing them as a predatory multitude that was about to pillage and plunder Europe.

As mentioned, in contrast with the hordelike state of the enemy, it was pointed out that it was Christianity (via the crusades) that had unified "warring Finnic tribes" into one people in the 13th century.[64] Christianity had civilized the Finnish people, and due to its effects "the mind of the nation" had developed into the particular power exemplified by Finland's achievements in various spheres of life. Thus it was Christian faith and Western political order – the European spirit – that one had to thank for the fact that Finland had developed "into a free and vital nation" and not drowned like "a primeval tribe". If the Soviet Union prevailed, it was presented as a certain fact that Finnish order would be replaced by a primitive state of nature, a state without history. Finland would become "a fort from which chaos and poison would spread to Europe". Thus, it was pointed out, no Christian law could oblige Finland to put down her weapons when "the robbing mobs of the East" demanded that the country cede parts of her territory, thus rendering the rest of the country vulnerable to future pillages. (Sormunen 1941b, 1; Tiivola 1941a, 1; Editorial 1944a, 2; Kalpa 1942d, 2–3; Lehtonen 1942a.)

Asia was the key term that symbolized the chaos that began on the eastern border of Finland. Drawing on the familiar rhetorical strategy of dehumanizing the enemy in scenic terms, a chaplain stated:

> Our eastern border is like a beach washed by a great ocean. Beyond the border boils the merciless greed and hatred towards us of Asiatic barbarism, which very often, during virtually every generation, has flooded across the border and tried to drown our people. (Alitalo 1943.)

In this way the Asiatic enemy was seen in terms of liquidness: it constituted a scene that boiled and flooded, and thus was about to expand uncontrollably. The enemy resembled a force of nature, a phenomenon that is out of human control. In general, in Western discourse "Asia" is a rhetorical category that 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, esp. 117 – 139.) 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). 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). This legitimates a missionary attitude to the region, as towards areas in an undeveloped state.

Drawing on this so-called yellow peril topos (see Ancheta 1997, 76), the Soviet Union was defined as "Asiatic", meaning here disorganization and primitiveness. The Soviet Union was the Asiatic neighbour, the eastern threat

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64 Between 1155 and 1293 the kings of Sweden made three crusades to the area now known as Finland. As a result, Christianity was introduced into Finland and Finland was incorporated into the Kingdom of Sweden.

that consisted of hordes that would not only enslave the Finnish people, but overwhelm Finland and drown her under "animalism, chaos, fire and blood". Lacking any kind of cultural or political order, Finland's enemy was in primordial state, and thus "the bloody waves of war" started by "the surge from the east" could move aimlessly from Soviet territory towards the west. (Tiivola, Rolf 1941a, 1; Sormunen 1941b, 1; Simojoki 1942c, 2.; Alanen 1944b, 2, 4; Utriainen 1942, 2; Lehtonen 1941a, 8–13; Editorial 1944b, 1.)

It was alleged that there was no trace of humanity and civilization in the "barbarism from the east". Ordinary soldiers were described as "ignorant, spiritually blinded hordes" who were said to be fighting with "animalistic rage" and Soviet POWs were alleged to practise cannibalism – all evidence of the perceived barbarism of the enemy. It was said that the Bolsheviks were "crueller than the darkest pagans of Africa" and incapable of human feelings towards their own comrades. 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 1941d, 3; Alanen 1944c, 2; Vauramo 1941, 2.)

Emphasis on Asiatic and chaotic barbarism supported the dialectical transformation of agent into scene, which – as has been pointed out – is a dehumanizing rhetorical strategy that takes attention away from individual action and qualities and highlights mass behaviour. Resembling the scenic treatment of "the eternal enemy", here too scenic forces were pulling the strings behind the human agents. As an allegedly typical Asian way to govern, Bolshevism was the force energizing the wavering "brown mass" of the Soviet Union. The ideology was conceived in biological terms. Highly contagious, Bolshevism was not only the most dreadful experiment in history and a manifestation of the Antichrist, but also "a poisonous abscess in the organism of European peoples", a "plague nest". The ideology had contaminated everything with which it had been in contact: it has "poured the poison of selfishness, hatred and sensuality on every soul within its reach". The situation was especially alarming since areas of Karelia were "infected by the plague of communism and the spirit of lying" (Sinnemäki 1941a, 3). The war was an act of purification of the European body organs: it was described as a surgeon's scalpel that would cut "the suffocating tentacles of Bolshevism from reaching Europe and Africa". (Alanen 1942a, 4; 1944c, 2; Virolainen 1942a, 3; Simojoki 1942c, 2; Hohti 1941, 2; Kinos 1941, 1; Aurola 1941, 3; Heljas 1941, 2.)

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The application of the idea of "Asiatic barbarism" in WWII was adopted from the German army. As Omer Bartov (1992, 8, 128–135; see also Gentile 2006, 32) has pointed out, German rhetoric relied on the construction of an ideological and racial abyss that separated Europe from Russia. The gist of the argument

was that the attack against the Soviet Union was merely a preventive measure, intended to thwart the approaching invasion of barbarism which aimed at devouring Europe and destroying its culture. The acts of the Wehrmacht on the eastern front were legitimated as acts to counterbalance the barbarism of the Soviet army. This, of course, conveniently shifted responsibility for the murderous Nazi policies in the East to their victims. Only by annihilating the racially inferior and morally depraved enemy could Germany save European, and especially German, culture from the rule of "Asiatic sub-humans", which was deemed unnatural and contrary to the proper path of history as progress, not degeneration.

Asiatic barbarism was a useful rhetorical topos in the Finnish context. In the 19th century and early 20th 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 distinctive category, not related to Asianness or Russianness but clearly part of the Christian West. The Finns were keen to point out that they were a distinct East Baltic or even Germanic race, not Mongolians or Asians, as was alleged in 19th century racial theories. One example of such a theory was that put forward by Arthur de Gobineau in his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. It was largely romanticized fiction, but it had an immense impact on the categorizing of different races. Gobineau considered Finns to be members of the "yellow race", which, he said, was weak, unintelligent and tended to do practical work. (see Kemiläinen 1998). To counter this line of argument, attempts were made to show that Finns were anything but Asians, Mongolians or Russians; they were definitely part of the European cultural and political order.

In this context it was convenient to define Bolshevism as an Asian means of ruling a primitive mass that lacked the ability to form a nation state, i.e. to exist in history. Echoing nationalistic overtones of the era, 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 as possible to the east. However, in contrast to German war rhetoric, Judaism was not a prominent theme in Finland. Whereas in German rhetoric behind the flood of the red mobs sneered "the distorted face of the Jew" (Bartov 1992, 135) as the source of evil power, in Finnish clerical rhetoric Bolshevism and godlessness were the dynamo energizing the chaotic hordes of East. In this sense Finnish rhetoric relied more heavily on the old topos of Christianity, according to which the chaos of the east was due to its religious otherness, a kind of antithetical disfiguration of the Christian faith (see Said 2003, 59–61).

The overall scenic treatment of the enemy was carried out with an argument that worked on three levels. First, biblical Antichristian imagery of the rise of evil towards the eschatological moment as well as barbaric, chaotic Asianness could be used as familiar rhetorical costumes in order to explicate the

situation to the Finnish audience. Second, the Continuation War was a repetition of the primordial act as well as a battle against the epitomy of evil. Hence the scope of events was as wide as it could be. Third, Bolshevism as a political ideology was the spiritual force that evil had taken in this particular situation. It was both demonic and chaotic. The result was that actual human beings could be merged, or subsumed, into a monolithic whole, a scene on which a cosmic play was acted.

Interestingly then, as has been shown, the ideology was at the same time not just a historical occurrence of evil but its perfected form and a primordial malevolent force. However, although at different ends of the temporal continuum of evil, the two rhetorical identifications of the enemy were consubstantial in that they were understood as emanating from a single spiritual source. The identifications both supported the argument of the enemy of God: the former held that the enemy was the one that God would destroy at the end of time, whereas the latter claimed that the enemy was the one God had conquered at the beginning of time. Consequently, Bolshevism was the ultimate devil-term of the clerical eschatological scene. In order to finalize the argument I shall now discuss how the two rhetorical lines are related to the drama of the eschatological scene in Christian theology and how the nature of the war was essentialized using the dramatistic figure called the temporization of essence.

5.4 Katechon and anomos, the temporized essence of the war

As has been pointed out for example by Murray Edelman (1988), a particularly important function of rhetorical scene is to compel attention and encourage compliance by promising to end a common anxiety. The tension between what is and what ought to be is reflected in apocalyptic rhetoric in the sharp contradiction between good and evil. As the complexity of reality is simplified by this dualistic framework, all living beings are given a place in the structure. (Collins 1984, 141, 150, 152, 160) The apocalyptic scene – as the culmination of history – aims to relieve the profound tension of mankind once and for all by envisioning an end to the dualism of good and evil through the victory of the former (see O'Leary 1993, 407).

The Christian application of cosmos and chaos are the eschatological concepts of *katechon* and *anomos*. The Bible describes the Antichrist, *anomos*, as the beast that will "come out of the Abyss and go to its destruction" (Revelation 17:8). The Antichrist is, however, of crucial importance, since without him the prophecies will not be fulfilled (John 17:12). That is, the coming of the Antichrist is the precondition for the promised redemption which will follow the eschatological battle. The coming of *anomos* will be in accordance with Satan's works in the world, i.e. deceitful displays of power and wonder in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, the saved from the unsaved. Those who believe his lies and "delight in wickedness" will be condemned. In this way

wars and other turmoil are read as definitive signs of the last days, in which each and every human being must decide whether to be faithful to God or succumb to Satan's lies and threats. However, the Antichrist is not revealed until "the one who now holds him back" (*katechon*)[65] is taken out of the way. (2 Thess. 2: 6–12.)

Katechon is recognizable to man since it is actively holding back the lawlessness that is at work in the world. When *katechon* is removed, Christians will surely also recognize the epitome of lawlessness, the Antichrist, based on their knowledge of the lesser evils of today. That is, the arrival of the Antichrist will not come as a surprise, because it will be preceded by the rise of antichristian "adjuncts". According to Paul, there are three stages in the evolution of evil: the rise of iniquity, the great apostasy as signs of antichristian powers, and finally the entrance of the man of sin, the Antichrist. The day of the Lord will not come until rebellion occurs and "the lawless one", the one doomed to destruction, is revealed. The Son of Perdition will oppose and exalt himself over everything "that is called God or is worshipped" and will set himself up in God's temple proclaiming himself to be God. (2 Thess. 2:1–5.) Only after the third stage is reached, the kingdom of the Antichrist, will Armageddon come about.

The Christian era is a long interim between two simultaneities, i.e. the coming of the Lord at the time of Augustus and the second coming of the Lord in the last days. This in-between state is not, however, a single continuum but is filled with the constant emergence and disappearance of politico-moral powers that will hold back the victory of evil and chaos by providing the world with the order it requires. In the interim God is using a historical agent to "restrain" the forces of chaos represented by the "lawless one". Thus Christianity reiterates the above-mentioned theological point: God contained chaos in the Creation, but that chaos is breaking forth continuously during "the interim era". The *katechon*, in turn, 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; see also Best 1972.)

The grand meaning of the Continuation War can only be fully grasped when the rhetoric of devil-terms is examined from this perspective. The typology of apocalypse implied that the Continuation War meant a removal of the *katechon* so that the powers of the Antichrist could be revealed to their full extent before their final destruction in the fields and forests of East Karelia. The war was the battle between the armies of God and the Antichrist that would precede *parousia*. *Anomos* in all its power had now in fact been revealed – it was found in Bolshevism. The ideology symbolized the biblical notion of a chaotic foreign power establishing an abominal idolatrous presence that would present itself as a counterfeit kingdom, and was thus a signal for God and His people to respond (see Longman & Reid 1995, 176).

In the Finnish eschatological perspective, then, the evils of the present moment as well as those of the nation's history were pyramided into a structure

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65 In the original text Paul refers to the katechon both as a thing and a person.

of rising iniquity and apostasy taken as cumulative evidence of the impending and ultimate historical crisis. (See O'Leary 1993, 408–409.) Every (national) struggle and war before the present one had been merely stages in anticipation of the final battle against evil. And the declared godlessness of Bolshevism seemed to signal the great apostasy that would precede the eschatological battle. The Finns were the chosen people to whom the demonic character of Bolshevism was revealed: as several bishops argued, Finland's history for over 700 hundred years had resulted in Finns being the people who knew whence the Antichrist would emerge. The Bolshevik Revolution had begun the countdown to the final act. Thus Finland had a special role in the scene since intimate knowledge of "the lesser evils" had prepared the nation for the final phase of history. In this sense, as the theologians again claimed, it was no surprise that some other countries (mainly England) had been taken in by "the deceitful displays" of Bolshevism.

In the eschatological scene two important dramatistic strategies were employed. The first one is defined by Kenneth Burke (1969a, 430; 1989b, 308; see also Lindsay 1998, 9–10) as the temporizing of essence. In it the logically prior can be expressed in temporal terms in a way that allows "translating back and forth between logical and temporal vocabularies" (Burke 1969a, 430). Thus the temporizing of essence is an entelechial figure in which one constructs a temporal sequence between the premises and conclusions of an argument, and hence the fruition of an idea lies dormant already in its premise, or at the starting point of the given account. In other words, one can move from logic to narrative and dramatize ahistorical ideas into a narrative, and then project these "atemporal insights" both backwards and forwards along the narrative (Carter 1997, 346–351).

For example, the temporizing of essence makes it possible to convert the doctrine of original sin from "historical" terms (of a mythical event) to essentialist terms, resulting in "essential sin" and the definition of man's essence as sinner (or transgressor) (Burke 1969a, 433). In addition to working in terms of origin, temporizing also functions in terms of culmination or "fruition". The character of a person, for instance, may be stated in terms of endings: instead of calling a man criminal by nature one can state that "he will end on the gallows" (Burke 1969b, 13).[66] In either case, the rhetorical force of the temporizing essence is that it allows one to build a dramatistic bridge over whatever gap there might be between the realm of timeless ideas and the transient realm of human action. As Burke (1969a, 433) states, since drama necessarily takes the form of a story, the approach to essence is conveyed in temporal, or "storial" terms.

Applied to the eschatological scene of clerical rhetoric, both the history of Finland and the war could be examined as essences constituting a dual narrative movement. First, since Bolshevism was claimed to be the entelechial

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66 Obviously, Kenneth Burke's theory that theological terms represent in the clearest form the nature of language is also an example of the principle of the temporized essence.

perfection 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. Second, 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. And according to the temporized essence, anything done by Russia or the Soviet Union could be seen as caused by the spiritual forces of evil, emanating either from the end of history or the beginning of history. Thus both the enemy and the nature of the war were essentialized in two ways. In this light it was possible to claim that Finns were not suffering because of their own actions but because evil was at work. As Kenneth Burke (1989b, 213) points out, after essentialization all proof against the enemy is henceforth automatic. Finally, since declaring a history's end is a proclamation of its essence, the Continuation War was the culmination of history (see Burke 1969b, 13, 17; 1989b, 309). As we shall later observe, the eschatological evil with a temporized essence turned out to have important consequences for other pentadic root terms as well.

The second narrative movement related to the temporization of essence is based on the dialectic of entelechy and killing. The war as an over-historical scene could be seen as superior to and thus "neutral" to all other motives (see Burke 1969b, 11). The result was that the Continuation War was seen in scenic terms as an apocalyptic battlefield that transcended all factionalism that might have led to scruples about the aims of the war. In entelechial terms the eschatological war was fruition, an ending. However, as C. Allen Carter (1997, 349) has pointed out, occasionally the projection toward a finish turns out to be a cyclical return to the start. Thus the war dialectically meant also a beginning. From this followed, in turn, that war could be treated as "a special case of peace" in the sense that it was an inevitable step towards ultimate peace (Burke 1969b, 20). In other words, since killing or destroying something is the same as identifying and changing it and dying is in a sense the perfection of a motive, the dramatistic step from the perfection of evil to the perfection of peace is indeed a short one – it needs merely an act of killing.

However, scenic treatment of the war in terms of eschatology and its suitably temporized essence made possible a dialectical twist as a result of which the Continuation War could be seen as a counter-act instead of an act. And counter-act as it was constructed in clerical rhetoric is the root term that will be discussed in the next chapter.

6 COUNTER-ACT: CRUSADE TO KARELIA

6.1 Screaming for vengeance: "Deus vult!"

The holy war & crusading typology was developed by means of three rhetorical strategies. Firstly, the war was described as God's war. Secondly, the war was a crusade, and as such a defensive act. Thirdly, drawing on the act–agent ratio, the crusading rhetoric was connected to moulding the individual identity of each soldier so that they would be dramatistically coherent with the act. Importantly, the *typos* was related to the temporized essence of the eschatological scene in such a way that the origins or purposes of the Continuation War as retribution could be derived from it. That is to say, the war was not considered to be a purposeful act of human agents but a counter-act, a reaction to original acts by the enemy.

6.1.1 Typos: holy war & crusade

A holy war is a special case of a just war. In general, holy war is waged for (and with) God (Kangas 2007, 56). Holy war draws on a biblical image in which God appears as a powerful soldier who asserts His power against the evils of the world (Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998, 210). In the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 28), Yahweh is presented as Israel's commander-in-chief, Lord Sabaoth, the God of the armies of Israel, who protects the chosen people (Johnson 1997, 37). In the Old Testament account, holy war is a cultic act that begins with a blast of the trumpet as the call to arms. When the army is gathered together in camp it is called the people of God. From this moment on the army stands under sacral regulations pertaining to for example sexual behaviour and food: men (and their weapons) are consecrated because the whole army needs to be ritually pure because God is present among them (see Deuteronomy 23:14). (von Rad 1991, 41–51; Longman & Reid 1995, 40.) As is implicit in commander symbolism, in cases of disobedience the divine warrior

will turn against Israel and will punish them. (Longman & Reid 1995, 102; Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998, 213).

Holy war has certain distinct characteristics. First of all, it is never initiated by the people themselves, but always by God. It is a war fought at God's command. Second, holy war is fought by God himself. That is, it is believed that God is actively involved in the battle. Hence certainty of victory is an integral feature of holy war (von Rad 1991, 41–51; Longman & Reid 1995, 40.) Third, the divine will is revealed through the covenant mediator, who then informs the people. Holy war is fought on God's behalf by His duly authorized representative. It is not insignificant who declares a holy war: it needs to be a proper religious authority. Fourth, the soldiers going into battle need to understand their role as holy fighters in God's army. Soldiers of a holy war are to be pure in relation to cultic acts (such as respect for key symbols), morally upright, and holy in the sense of pious towards the one true God.[67] (Longman & Reid 1995, 33, 41–46, 57–61; Johnson 1997, 37–39.)

Originally biblical holy wars were waged in order to protect the physical existence of the community as well as its religion (Johnson 1997, 38). However, the post-exodus holy war institution had two dimensions. The first was the demand for the inheritance of the Holy Land by the chosen people and the second was the banishment of idolatry from sacred places. Since its divine mission makes the war defensive, the mission is to re-conquer the Promised Land and restore the cult of the righteous God; failure to do this may anger God and change the direction of divinely ordained destruction. (von Rad 1991, 118–121; Kangas 2007, 58.)

The New Testament, in turn, draws on the Old Testament typology and continues the divine war(rior) theme, although the scene of war shifts from the flesh and blood enemies of God's people to the malevolent spiritual powers. The idea of holy war is present in Christ's battle against the demonic powers of the world (Mark 3: 22–27; Matthew 12: 24–29). The idea of believers as holy warriors waging a spiritual war against "principalities and powers of the world" – *militia Christi* – is developed especially in Pauline rhetoric as a spiritual extension of holy war. As explained in Ephesians (6: 12–17) and 1 Thessalonians (5:8), a metanoic transformation turns the believers into soldiers of Christ engaged in divine warfare. Like any disciplined soldiers they must be self-controlled and obedient (Longman & Reid 1995, 165–171.)

Crusading, in turn, is an extension of holy war; it adds certain spiritual dimensions to it. In the first place, a crusade is no act of temporal warfare but a spiritual mission enjoined on the faithful by God. It is also an act of unification: the summoning to crusade means that Christians should stop slaying each other and unite against a common enemy in order to rescue the holy land and the churches that are under threat. In this sense a crusade is an all-Christian answer to God's call. In addition to its temporal benefits, those who die in such a battle

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67 In this way the role of spiritual guidance is stressed in holy war: priesthood is responsible for confronting the rulers and the people when they have departed from the way of the lord.

will be promised remission of sins and the status of a martyr – after all, the war has been authorized by the Vicar of Christ. Thirdly, each member of the expedition must wear the sign of the Cross as a symbol of dedication. Thus, not only obedience is expected but also Christ-like sacrifice to the causes of the war. Finally, a crusade is under the command of the church, and thus it needs spiritual leaders. (Runciman 1951, 108–109; Tyerman 2004, 28–32; Johnson 1997, 33–34.)

The intention of a crusade is to correct the divine order disrupted by invaders, so it is warfare free of sin. Fighting is not a tragic necessity but a Christian virtue, re-conquering the Promised Land and bringing back the cult of the righteous God. War thus becomes a sign of piety, and the moral and political justification for it derives from carrying out a divine mission. As a war against the spiritual and temporal enemies of Christendom, a crusade is a geopolitical act of liberation. For this reason, crusading (going into battle in the interests of the church) makes offensive warfare permissible, even desirable. All in all, the concept of crusade thus gives violence a peculiar theological dimension: wielding a sword is now a legitimate act of penance and a means towards individual salvation. (Runciman 1951, 84; Riley-Smith 2005, 2–11; Kangas 2007, 55–67.)

Also, the crusades introduced a change in the emphasis of the Pauline topos of the soldiers of Christ. The notion of *ecclesia militans*, the fighting church, sees Christians in earthly life metaphorically as a community of soldiers who are struggling against sin. The famous passage from the Epistle to the Ephesians emphasizes the spiritual dimension of the struggle:

> Put on the full armour of God, so that you can take your stand against the devil's schemes. For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms. (Ephesians 6: 11–12.)

After the affirmation of the spiritual nature of the fight, Paul gives an image of a soldier of Christ and the equipment he needs to fight "the good fight of faith" to which he has been called (1 Tim. 6):

> Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled around your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place, and with your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace. In addition to all this, take up the shield of faith, with which you can extinguish all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. (Ephesians 6: 13–17.)

During the crusades the soldier of Christ *typos* had two major significations. First, *the miles Christi* topos was employed in order to identify earthly warfare and its soldiers with the spiritual battle against "the forces of evil". Second, warriors fighting for the secular fatherland came to be seen on equal terms with the Christian martyr who had sacrificed himself for the Kingdom of Heaven. A crusader who battled against the infidels for the Holy Land in the service of Christ received the crown of martyrdom in the life hereafter. And when the

good of the Holy Land became the same as the good of the secular patria, the crown of martyrdom descended on those who had sacrificed themselves pro patria. The fatherland given quasi-religious founding, and death on the battlefield for the state, equalled the self-sacrifice of martyrs who had sacrificed themselves for God. (Kantorowicz 1997, 234–256.)

In this way the concept of Christ's soldier was gradually reinterpreted to fit the identity of the new secular-Christian warrior. It functioned as an ultimate object of identification for every soldier: a noble and courageous man of arms who would stoutly defend in worldly warfare, not only the earthly fatherland, but the church, Christianity, and the Kingdom of God. Thus it combined in a single concept a militant yet religiously sanctified way of life in which the state was given an emotional charge similar to that of the *corpus mysticum* of the church. In practice this meant that the church officially blessed religious violence as a form of action that would bring religious benefits.

In addition to the general religious sanctification of offensive war, there are two peculiar factors that contribute to the crusading *typos* as counter-act. Firstly, as a form of holy war, crusading holds the territories about to be invaded as originally given by divine grant. Secondly, crusading can be used to emphasize the right to wage war and conquer territories in defence of Christianity. The rhetoric of crusading implies that even an offensive war to conquer foreign territories is ultimately an act of defence. The sacred homeland and the divine mandate to gain possession of it are based on divine ordination which, in turn, precedes all temporal demands over the given territory. Thus even offensive warfare is carried out in order to correct the divine order: a crusade is an act of liberation, not an attack on foreign territories, even if those territories had no "organic" connection to the so-called main land. In this way a crusade is a counter-act that purports to correct the damaged scene – a scene brought into existence by the enemy.

6.1.2 Finland's or God's war?

In clerical rhetoric the Continuation War was identified almost unanimously as a holy war. It was first and foremost a holy war to which Finns had been called by God (Häyrinen 1942, 2). Drawing on the holy war and crusading tradition examined above, the *typos* was supported by three arguments: the holy war was against God's enemies, there was an unshakeable certainty of victory, and Finland had been prepared for the war by God.

Chaplain Topi Vapalahti's account of the nature of the war is a suitable overall starting point before we examine each of the three arguments in more detail. Vapalahti (1941) applied the biblical notion of holy war and the spiritual guidance it called for in a talk he gave on the radio at the opening ceremony of the Aunus[68] division of the Finnish Broadcasting Company. He quoted a famous holy war passage of Deuteronomy in order to explain the situation:

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68 Aunus is a city in East Karelia. The city was occupied by Finns from 1941 to 1944.

> When you go to war against your enemies and see horses and chariots and an army greater than yours, do not be afraid of them, because the Lord your God, who brought you up out of Egypt, will be with you. When you are about to go into battle, the priest shall come forward and address the army. He shall say: "Hear, Israel: Today you are going into battle against your enemies. Do not be fainthearted or afraid; do not panic or be terrified by them. For the Lord your God is the one who goes with you to fight for you against your enemies to give you victory." (Deut. 20:1–4.)

The chaplain saw that this opening ceremony – just as many other ceremonies and services in the Finnish army – was following the old Israelite law of holy war in which a priest speaks to the soldiers before they embark on a battle in which God will fight alongside them. In Vapalahti's view, the biblical passage and the principles of warfare contained in it could be applied without any doubt directly to the Finnish situation. In addition, and perhaps even more importantly, for him the importance of the role of the priests in the war proved that Finland naturally understood that the Continuation War was a holy one. The deuteronomical emphasis on the role of priests is revealing. As Gerhard von Rad (1991, 118–126) has pointed out, in biblical tradition a priestly declaration of war was a practice that surfaced at a point when holy war was being transformed from a defensive cultic act to an offensive religious war against the enemies of Yahweh. Encouragement and spiritual guidance were needed when attacking often overwhelming enemies.

As has been mentioned, the Continuation War could be seen as a holy war for three main reasons. Firstly, drawing on the eschatological scene, it was claimed that it was being waged against God's enemies. According to Bishop Juho Mannermaa, the war was God's war precisely because the main frontier was between God and the Antichrist. Thus Finland's position was clear: the war was a holy war to be fought with God's power and His weapons. (Mannermaa 1941b.) Olavi Lähteenmäki[69] (1941) declared that the war was indeed being waged in the name of God because not only were Finland's fate and the country's borders at stake; more than that, the war would decide whether Christianity or godlessness would prevail. In this sense the war was a holy war, and Finland was furthering the cause of the Kingdom of God. More precisely, it was God himself acting in the time defined as world-historical: God was the warrior that brought about judgment and would give Finland victory by striking down the troops of hell with "His powerful fist". Hence Finland's motto was "Immanuel – God is with us" (Puukko 1941, 365). (Björklund 1941a, 1; 1941b, 1; Kojo 1942, 2; Kalpa 1941a, 2; Hohti 1941, 2; Voutilainen 1942, 2.)

Bishop Mannermaa explained the sacredness of the war by examining and analysing the concept of sacred. For him it meant something set apart from the profanity and uncleanliness of ordinary life, something devoted to God. In this sense Finland's war was also sacred: it was not a war of revenge, not a war of robbery, not a war the people had been forced to take part in by their leaders, not an offensive war, but a war of God's. Thus, as God guides all nations,

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[69] An active member of the Academic Karelia Society, chaplain Olavi Lähteenmäki (1909–2006) was later a professor, and an MP for the National Coalition Party from 1958 to 1975.

Finland had been put into a special situation in which she had to wage this war in order for her people to remain pious. There were two main reasons for this holy war: if Finland had not defended herself against "the unlawful attack" by the Soviet Union, she would have committed carnal as well as a spiritual suicide. (Mannermaa 1943.)

Secondly, as the war was God's war, there was an unshakeable certainty of victory and faith in Finland's cause. The holiness of the war guaranteed the inevitable result:

> The fact that St. Petersburg is burning night and day before its final destruction reveals how the God of vengeance has accompanied our boys in the trip to Karelia. (Pakkala 1941b, 4.)

Thus, as the Bible prophesied, since Finland's battle was a holy war with divine presence, in which were set against each other good and evil, God and Devil, light and darkness, Finns did not have to concern themselves about the outcome of the war: God was Finland's fortress and he would strike down the legions of hell (Kalpa 1942a, 3; 1942e, 3). As such, it was a moment similar to the days of Daniel: God's invisible hand would crush to pieces a power that had seemed gigantic and invincible (Jokipii 1941, 4). Biblical prophecy provided further support: although "the sea of peoples foams, when antichristian powers threaten, when apostasy is rising also in Christendom and also high leaders of the church succumb", the final victory belonged to God. (Kuusisto 1941, 1–2.) Thus, although the battle was going on, Finland was under God's special protection and the end result was clear: Europe would be saved and the enemy of God defeated (Heimosoturi 1941b, 7; H.E. 1941, 2–3.)

In contrast to the situation in Finland, whose inner power the war had strengthened, the war was seen as the final struggle of "the Godless giant of the east" – resembling the death throes of Babylon and Rome. It seemed that the regime of "the beasts of the east" would not last more than a couple of months, and then the persecuted people of Finland would enjoy true peace. Again biblical imagery provided the grounds for feebleness of the enemy. It was claimed that since the enemy was the enemy of God and God was fighting for Finland, the enemy would "melt in fear" (Joshua 2: 24) and would be "thrown into confusion" (Exodus 23: 27) before Finland's troops. The events of the war testified to the fact that the biblical account was true in relation to the Continuation War, for otherwise it would not have been as successful as it had been. Consequently, the emerging view was to be examined with "a trembling and excited heart". (Tiililä 1941b, 142–143; Hakamies 1942, 2; Aarnio 1941, 2–3; Lehto 1941, 2; Risti-veli 1941, 2.)

Thirdly, Finland had been prepared for the war by God. Applying the idea of the temporized essence of the war, it was claimed that all the hardships Finland had suffered during her "national history" had been preparations for one task only: the present holy war. In this way Finland's history up to this time had been a test that God had prepared for the nation. Finland being persecuted by Russia throughout so many centuries had been for this one purpose. Finland

had never wanted any war, but Providence had allowed the evil to attack the country for reasons that were beginning to be revealed to their full extent. The Winter War had been a trial by fire to forge Finland into a united nation to be ready for the holy war. However, the present war was a turning point that would transform the history of Finland. It was the high point of Finland's history: the people of Finland were witnessing the "brightness of a dawn unforeseen in the nation's history". (Tiililä 1941, 142–143; Lehto 1941, 2–3; Lähteenmäki 1941; Ahtola A. 1941, 2.) Similarly Archbishop Erkki Kaila pointed out that Finland's position had not changed throughout her history: Finland was at war against the same enemy as in the Winter War and every war before it, and just as before, this time too Finland had been forced to fight. (Kaila 1941d, 1; Editorial 1941a, 2; Pohjanpää 1941a, 2.)

In this way it was claimed in several accounts that Finland's situation resembled the historical salvation of biblical Israel. Both had been prepared by God to wage His wars, and the events that were described in the Book of Exodus were analogous to the history of Finland: a dangerous journey of the chosen and oppressed people from the yoke of a great empire through the wilderness to the Promised Land, which God has given them in return for keeping their part of the covenant. Just as Israel could not have survived its journey without divine guidance, so too Finland. And Finland's history until the present moment had been God's way of preparing the nation for war – exactly as the Israelites had been prepared. (Aarnio 1941, 2–3; Lehto 1941, 2.)

To use a more detailed analogy, Bishop Juho Mannermaa identified the situation of Finland with that of King Asa of the Old Testament:

> Then Asa called to the Lord his God and said, "Lord, there is no one like you to help the powerless against the mighty. Help us, Lord our God, for we rely on you, and in your name we have come against this vast army. Lord, you are our God; do not let mere mortals prevail against you. (2 Chronicles 14:11.)

According to Mannermaa, the prayer of the king of Judea was also the prayer of Finland because the situation was the same as it was in biblical times: the weak against the strong, and God as their only protector. Moreover, the participants in the war were the same as in biblical times: God versus man, for the enemy had blasphemed God, denied His power and attempted to rise above Him. Thus Mannermaa emphasized that Finland truly was waging such a war for God, and it was He who had prepared Finland to bear His name and who had therefore blessed Finland's weapons. (Mannermaa 1941b.)

The notion of a holy war was not, however, shared by everyone. Bishop Yrjö J. E. Alanen criticized the widely-used definition. According to Alanen, it was wrong to call the war a holy war or a religious war. War could not be religious because the Christian faith and Christian truth would not be furthered with weapons, cannons or war planes; neither the soldier's sword nor the executioner's axe can prove a faith true or false. However, among the values that Finland was fighting for was "the freedom to exercise and teach the religion inherited from our fathers". In this sense, according to Alanen, the

Christian religion had become even dearer to Finns during the war time. Nevertheless, this did not mean that the war could be defined as a religious war or a war of faith. It was a war for Finnish values and the Finnish way of life, which included religious freedom, among many other freedoms such as freedom of speech and freedom of thought, because a society built on "real truths" does not need to suppress the expression of diverse opinions. (Alanen 1941h.)

Thus Alanen followed Martin Luther and rejected religion as a casus belli: faith is a purely spiritual matter and therefore must not be imposed by force. War, or physical coercion, has no place in the spiritual realm, in which one must rely on spiritual weapons alone. The bishop was, however, a lonely exception to the norm that the Continuation War was truly and righteously a holy war. Interestingly, however, Alanen too accepted the church's blessing for the war because the war was definitely a defensive one.

Although various "national churches" had erroneously given their blessing to wars of conquest and subjugation, Alanen claimed that churches had also been an important source of support for peoples who had fought for their freedom and their sacred values. He said that one should not put too much emphasis on Jesus's famous words to Peter that "all who draw the sword will die by the sword" (Matthew 26:52) because many passages in the Bible proved that Christians could be soldiers. As Martin Luther had proclaimed, a Christian could serve as a soldier in order to defend his country against "brutal violence". Accordingly, Alanen stressed, when the Lutheran Church of Finland supported the present war, it was doing nothing un-Christian since the war was one that Finland had been forced to fight. Thus the church had no reason to criticize the present war. (Alanen 1944b, 2–4.)

Based on the finding that there was only one exception among the armada of priests, representatives of the church, examined in the research to the norm that spiritually grounded violence was acceptable, it may be stated that the Finnish Lutheran Church – as a religious institution – was pro-war. Hence the temporal realm and the spiritual realm Martin Luther had labored to keep separated were in fact confused. However, the significant ethical and political decision was based on discretion. As we have seen already and shall observe in more detail below, priests explicated meticulously that the Continuation War was a defensive one from beginning to end. This indicates that they were at least to some extent taking into consideration the theological restrictions to justification of warfare present in Christian and Lutheran tradition: without careful defensive articulation religious sanctification of warfare would have been much more difficult.

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Seeing the Continuation War as a holy war supported a scenic interpretation of the war. This had two consequences. Firstly, considering the war to be a holy war meant continuing to present it in terms set out by the eschatological scene:

it was of spiritual origin and concerned spiritual matters. The holy war functioned as the scene for the Finnish army, and it was the holiness of the war that made demands on the Finnish Army. Secondly, and most importantly, the scenic emphasis of the holy war as the context meant that the acting agent, in fact, was God himself, not Finns and the Finnish army. The Continuation War was, in a word, an act of God. Now we are ready to examine the crusading typology, which was used as a geopolitical extension of holy war as well as a dialectical strategy to present an act of offensive warfare as a counter-act.

6.1.3 An act of defence: a crusade for resurrecting Karelia

Developing further the holy war idea, the crusading *typos* depicted the Continuation War as an answer to God's call. Thus Finland was not engaged in an ordinary act of war: as the intention of a crusade is to correct the divine order, the invasion of Karelia was presented as an act of defence, a counter-act. The offensive in Karelia meant re-conquering the Promised Land and bringing back the true faith. In this sense, the Continuation War as a crusade was a geopolitical act of liberation with a strong theological basis.

The creation of a sacred space defines a symbolic territory for 'us' in opposition to the claims of 'them'. Thus demarcating sacred spaces is an important element of identification. (See Koster 2003.) When East Karelia was described as an area that had been contaminated, it meant a severe crisis. Since people and the land are consubstantial, the desecration of 'our land' also affects the status of the people. The integrity of the borders of the land (and thus of the body politic) needs to be protected in the same way that the laws of ritual cleanliness and the dietary laws guaranteed the integrity of the physical body.[70] (Blenkinsopp 1995, 81, 99–100, 110–114.) A territory can be made again into a part of our order only by consecrating it. The raising of the Cross is equivalent to consecrating the land and creating a new birth (Eliade 1961, 32).

A Senior Chaplain, Rolf Tiivola, reminded his listeners about how Urban II had exhorted his audience to embark on a crusade against the enemies of Christianity who were desecrating the Holy Land. He then referred to Mannerheim's Order of the Day and concluded that the present struggle against the East had taken on the character of a crusade. Tiivola used the biblical motive of archetypical fratricide as the justification for the crusade: Finland's neighbour, the Soviet Union, had committed sins comparable to the slaying of Abel by Cain.[71] Thus he was able to portray Finland as an innocent victim and claim with an intertextual reference that "the evils done by the Soviet leaders screamed for vengeance as far up as the Heavens" (Rev. 18:15). Finns should therefore cry out like the crusaders in the 11th century that "God

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70 For example Leviticus 18:24–25 states that even the land cannot "ingest" idolatry: "Do not defile yourselves in any of these ways, because this is how the nations that I am going to drive out before you became defiled. Even the land was defiled; so I punished it for its sin, and the land vomited out its inhabitants."

71 See Genesis 4:1–10. Cain of the biblical story is a symbol of jealousy and wickedness.

wills! God wills to make Finland great and liberate Karelia from the nightmare that has plagued Finland". (Tiivola 1941, 1; see also Lehtonen 1942a.)

When the Finnish army conquered Karelian territory in the Continuation War it did not merely seize the land. It also created, or expanded, the ritual space of the Finnish national identity – with the Lutheran Church playing no insignificant role in the operation. That is, the army symbolically transformed the physically occupied territory with certain 'Finnish' rituals to make it 'our' sacred space. As the Field Bishop Johannes Björklund wrote at the beginning of the war:

> The cause of the Defence Forces of Finland is that of the Fatherland and religion. The land stolen from us, the land sanctified by the sweat and blood of our forefathers, has been liberated by the Defence Forces and freedom to worship God has been returned. Moving our borders to their natural place is necessary and right, in relation to the Fatherland and in relation to religion. […] The military chaplainry has an honourable role in this. […] In addition to restoration of violated churches, other buildings have been turned into temporary churches to which both soldiers and civilians have been invited to serve God. Similarly, the Eucharist has been delivered wherever it has been possible. (Björklund 1942a, 17–18.)

In relation to the crusading *typos* and understanding the war as a counter-act, there are two important and widely-used notions in the rhetoric of the quotation. First, the land of East Karelia belonged originally to Finland for religious and natural reasons. As another chaplain explained in a sermon:

> Our new, wonderful promised land is opening before my eyes. This new Fatherland is a part of the most Finnish Finland. God speaks to us as He spoke to Israel: "To your offspring I will give this land. I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the yoke of the slavery. I will free you from being slaves, and I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with mighty acts of judgment" (Genesis 12:7; Exodus 6:6). (Koukkari 1941, 1, 3.)

East Karelia was the essence of Finland and a land promised by God. This view is exemplified by Lennart Pinomaa[72], a Lutheran scholar, who quoted a passage from the Book of Exodus[73] and declared that the time had come when God would keep his promise. The war was a moment of dreams being fulfilled. It was "a wonderful time of the Finnic tribe – so wonderful that its importance could hardly be fathomed at all". (Pinomaa 1941a; 1942.) To quote another example, Hannes Anttila compared the Finnish situation with a passage from Deuteronomy in which Moses addresses Israel after the Israelites had crossed the Jordan. According to Anttila, Finland was in a similar situation: Finland was crossing a metaphorical Jordan to seize the land that God would give them

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72 Lennart Pinomaa (1901–1996) was a Luther scholar, and a professor of theology from 1948 to 1968.

73 God declared through Moses that "you yourselves have seen what I did to Egypt, and how I carried you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now if you obey me fully and keep my covenant, then out of all nations you will be my treasured possession. Although the whole earth is mine, you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." (Exodus 19: 3–6.)

(Anttila 1941, 167). Hence Finns resembled the Israelites who after years of wandering in the wilderness were finally in the Promised Land.

A memorandum sent by the government of the United States to the Finnish government to persuade Finland to cease its military operations in East Karelia was also examined in the crusading light. It was claimed that the memorandum hurt the deepest feelings of the Finnish soldier because Finland was waging a holy war. Withdrawal from East Karelia could not be done, for it was more than a strategically important piece of land:

> Should we now give up this holy war and crusade? For us Karelia is more than strategic places for the army or for industry. For us Karelia is a holy land inherited from our fathers. It is a land saturated and sanctified by suffering. In a word, it is a land decreed to us by God. Every millimeter of it has been dearly redeemed by blood and sanctified by prayers. […] We cannot withdraw when God is at work – for if we did, we could not say that we are waging a holy war. Our Finnish soldiers will proceed in East Karelia according to plans and will advance over more and more areas of the holy Karelia, the ancient living space of the Finnic tribe. (Korhonen 1941, 2–3.)

The response to the memorandum gave the idea of holy war geopolitical dimensions. Karelia was a holy land decreed by God and sanctified by blood, and Finland could be certain that the road appointed to her was the road willed by God. Thus withdrawal would equal apostasy: it would mean straying from the divine path and neglecting the moment God had prepared for the nation. (See also Kaukovaara 1942a, 3; Anttila 1941b, 163.)

Second, the other important notion suggested by the crusading *typos*, was that the land needed to be restored to the true faith from a state of strangeness. The idea was reflected by a chaplain at the beginning of the war:

> "Stay in this land for a while, and I will be with you and will bless you."(Genesis 26:2.) This word suits particularly well the soldiers in Karelia. It may seem that we are in a strange land although this land is the ancient area of the Finnic tribe, saturated with work and suffering. No wonder, for our tribal kindred have been under a foreign aegis that has aimed to destroy everything authentically Finnish and transformed it into something strange. (Salomaa 1941, 2–3.)

The Continuation War meant a crusade to rescue "the most sacred" from infidels (Pakkala 1941b, 4.) More specifically, according to Bishop Juho Mannermaa (1941b), the purpose of the war was that the Cross would defeat the godless and cleanse East Karelia. Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen elaborated the argument further and proclaimed that Finland and "her God-provided ally" [Germany] had every right to re-conquer these areas and finish the Christianizing task that "had been begun in the 13th century crusades". With such examples from their leaders, it was natural that the chaplainry had a central role in the consecration and transformation of East Karelia back into "our land". (Lehtonen 1941a, 8–13.)

Argument about sacredness of the land was supported by merging nature and history. Finland's history and the promised land of Karelia became bound together in a reciprocal process of the historicization of nature and the

naturalization of history. The land was considered part of Finland's history and Finland's history, in turn, was seen as an extension of the land and its natural resources (Smith 2003, 135–136). The dual process was explicated in biblical terms. The Dean of the Home Guard, Hannes Anttila, described Karelia as the Garden of Eden of Finland. He declared that re-conquering Karelia meant the construction of a national Eden as depicted in the Book of Ezekiel:

> This is what the Sovereign Lord says: "On the day I cleanse you from all your sins, I will resettle your towns, and the ruins will be rebuilt. The desolate land will be cultivated instead of lying desolate in the sight of all who pass through it. They will say, 'This land that was laid waste has become like the garden of Eden; the cities that were lying in ruins, desolate and destroyed, are now fortified and inhabited.'" (Ezekiel 36:33–35.)

Karelia was for Finland "the desolate land" depicted in the biblical passage that would now become Finland's Garden of Eden: now that the Finnish army had seized Karelia, her "barren fields would wave as gold and muddy waters would run as sparkling rivers" (Anttila 1941a, 1). Anttila considered Karelia to be the natural domain of Finnish holiness: it was its life-enhancing and nurturing power that guaranteed the life of the nation.

In addition, the peculiarities embedded in the notion of Promised Land shaped the nation's history. The history of Finland was seen as analogous to that of Israel in the wilderness: this was a dangerous journey of chosen and oppressed people from the yoke of a great empire through the wilds to the Promised Land, which God has given them in return for keeping their part of the covenant. Drawing on the Book of Nehemiah (29: 11), it was asserted that God knew "all the wrongs Finland had suffered" throughout her history and certainly had plans for Finland. The prophecy was now becoming true as all "the lost territories" of Karelia were going to be returned to Finland, and peace and security would be guaranteed for the whole nation (Heikkala 1941, 3).

At the same time, as Finland returned to the holy land, the Karelian population would be freed from servitude (Hiidenheimo 1941, 2; Salonen 1941, 2.) It was declared that national victories would pave the way for Christ's victory among the people of Finland as well as among "the liberated Karelians". Thus it was important that the geopolitical question should be solved so that the peoples of East Karelia could be "lifted towards a better and a greater life as a Finnish people and a Christian people". (Rinne 1941b, 4; 1941a, 1; R. K. 1942, 3.) The result of the crusade would be the destruction of "the eternal enemy" and the end of the exodus of the Finnish tribe. The war was a blessing for Finland, because it was an answer to the prayers of Finnish and Karelian Christians. (Hakala E. 1941, 201–203; Kalpa 1942f, 5.) According to Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen's letter to chaplains, the liberation of Karelia and the destruction of Bolshevism were precisely the reasons why the war was indeed a holy war (Lehtonen 1941g).

Once again, a fitting analogy was found from Exodus, in which the Lord went ahead of the Israelites in a pillar of cloud to guide them on their way and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light (Exodus 13:21):

> This is the time of visitation for the Finnish people, for maybe the countless prayers and sighs sent throughout the centuries have now been heard, and thus the Lord is guiding us towards the final victory. […] Now the God of grace shall lead the people He has redeemed to His holy abode. The victorious sign of the cross shall guide Finland day and night towards the Promised Land. (Sovijärvi 1941, 2–3.)

Thus return to the holy land, to the land that was God's "holy abode", was the aim of the Finnish crusade. The crusade was a symbol of the political salvation of the Finnish nation, which – according to this typology – was going to be decided on geopolitical grounds. The Finns had not waited for God's help in vain, and Marshall Mannerheim's call to follow him on a crusade had not been without justification: Finland's success was showing that he had not placed his trust in the God that protects Finland's crusade for nothing. (Vauramo 1942, 3; Sovijärvi, 1941, 2–3.)

The plea in the famous Order of the Day to follow Mannerheim "for the final time" on the crusade was identified with Jesus's often used phrase "follow me".[74] Only thus would it be possible to take part in the crusade through which Karelia would be redeemed and a new morning would dawn for Finland. (Kuusi 1941, 1; Muroma 1941, 2; Vauramo 1941; Tiivola 1941a, 1.) Hannes Anttila could proclaim that "the hearts of the people of Finland" would intuitively follow Mannerheim's call to a crusade against the east (Anttila 1941a, 1; Björklund 1941a, 1; 1941b, 1.) It was clerically accepted that Mannerheim was rhetorically identifying himself with a bishop or the pope, religious authorities who in the history of Christianity have had the right to summon a crusade. In a word, priests accepted Mannerheim's identification of himself as an authorized representative of God. In a way, theological recognition of a summons to a crusade issued by a soldier is the apex of Lutheran obedience to a secular authority.

In the Old Testament account a number of symbols, such as the ark, a burning bush, or a blazing torch, are tangible representations of God's presence as divine warrior; in the Crusades the Cross was such a symbol (von Rad 1991, 41–51; Longman & Reid 1995, 40). In the case now under discussion, the Finnish flag was the cross that the crusaders of the Continuation War carried, it was the biblical pillar of fire that threw its light on the way to the Promised Land. As Tuomas Tepora (2008, 162) has shown, seeing Finland as a geographical body symbolized by the flag was an essential part of Finnish culture during the early 20th century. The flag was used to integrate the population and areas of (real or imagined) Finland into a nationalistic unit. The national flag consecrated and made a boundary for the sacred ground. Strengthening not only the physical boundaries of the nation but the mental ones as well simplified the situation and made the image more powerful. Thus also the symbolic boundaries created by the flag were important: there was a stark contrast between areas consecrated by the flag and "the land of the Beast" in the east (Lehtonen 1941a, 8–13).

The flag of Finland was, then, the cross that purified the holy land and

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74 See for example John 8:12, 21:19; Luke 9:57–59, 14:25; 1 Cor. 11:1.

consecrated it once again as belonging to Finland. The flag symbolized two things. First, it resembled the Cross in the sense that both denote a unifying power and endurance (Oksanen 1943, 3). Second, due to its unifying power, it symbolized Finland's victory and "the promise of victory represented by the cross" (Laiho 1941, 2–3; Kalpa 1943a). As such, it represented the power of Christianity in the cities that had been re-conquered in Karelia. (Närhi 1941.) Referring to the Northern crusades, Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen preached that the cross on the flag brought to mind Finland being rescued by Christianity from disappearing or drowning into "forgotten history like a primitive tribe". Hence it was a particularly fitting symbol for the Finnish army since the sign of the Cross was a sign of victory and freedom, under which Finnish soldiers had always been fighting. (Kalpa 1942b, 2–3; Lehtonen 1942a). In the words of the chaplain Jyrki Järnefelt, to the men of Finland it was not important whether they lived or died, but what was important was that the Finnish flag should flutter freely – for in this way the "streams of Jesus's blessing" could spill onto the nation (Järnefelt 1943, 3).

We see here, then, that because it had been under the aegis of diabolical and barbaric Bolshevism, the Lutheranization of the Karelian population was a significant element in the crusading typology. The Lutheran Church of Finland had two main tasks in Karelia. Firstly, it had to encourage a patriotic spirit among the people of Karelia, for Karelia was Lord Sabaoth's gift in the holy crusade. Secondly, the church was responsible for exporting "the Evangelical-Lutheran spirit" to Karelia. When these two tasks were accomplished, Finland's crusade would be complete and it would have followed the purposes of the God of history. (Pakkala 1941b, 5; Mannermaa 1941b.) When the Finnish army advanced into East Karelia, Lutheran chaplains began to hold ecclesiastical services for civilians in the invaded territories. This, as could have been expected, resulted in friction between Greek Orthodox and Lutheran chaplains.

The role Lutheranism was to play in redeeming the holy land of Karelia was not, however, uncomplicated. There were two approaches to the question. First, since force could not be applied in matters of faith, the Lutheran Church and the Greek Orthodox Church of Finland[75] needed to work together in East Karelia, because especially those people in the area who had grown up before Bolshevism were mostly Greek Orthodox. This was understood and supported by most of the high theologians, including Archbishop Erkki Kaila, Field Bishop Johannes Björklund and the Bishop of Kuopio, Erkki Sormunen. The other approach had to do with Lutheran religious nationalism: the Greek Orthodox Church could not "redeem" the Karelian population in the same way as the Lutheran church could since it lacked not only the resources but most

75 The Greek Orthodox Church of Finland had (and still has) a position recognized by law. The Greek Orthodox diocese was established in 1892, when Finland was still part of Russia. Since the independence of Finland in 1917, although autonomous and a part of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople, it has been acknowledged as the other state church (nowadays the "people's church") of Finland.

importantly the proper national fervor.[76] Thus this viewpoint merged Lutheranism and Finnishness into a form of theologico-political orthodoxy and claimed that Lutheran priests and chaplains needed to be given a free hand among the population of East Karelia because Finland's historical situation demanded this. This point of view was supported by for example Kalervo Kurkiala, an army chaplain and an MP, and Professor Paavo Virkkunen[77]. (Murtorinne 2002, 201–203; Vuori 2011, 212–223.)

During the autumn of 1941 the situation in East Karelia became tenser, with each denomination filing complaints about the other. One strategy that was often used was to request that a chaplain or priest should be transferred away from East Karelia due to his (over)enthusiasm in baptizing civilians. In the end the high theological viewpoint won, and proponents of the one that emphasized Lutheran nationalism came in for some heavy criticism. Kalervo Kurkiala, for example, was relieved of his position in the army, although he subsequently continued his career as battalion chaplain of the Finnish SS Battalion Viking. (Murtorinne 2002, 201–204.) Nevertheless, the status of East Karelia as a holy land and the need to re-consecrate it was not questioned. Rather, the issue revolved around the role each church would have in the crusade, i.e. which agents could act in the holy scene.[78]

Archbishop Herman of the Greek Orthodox Church shared the nationalistic viewpoint and declared in July 1941 that God had blessed the Finnish people in the holy war under its God-given leader, Marshal Mannerheim, and the moment was near when the Karelia stolen from us would be liberated (Herman 1941, 2.) The policy of the Greek Orthodox clergy was to emphasize commitment to Finnish nationalistic ideology. The rhetorical strategy was familiar: the Soviet Union was described as "hell on earth", the war as an apocalyptic event and holy crusade against the "Bolshevik monster" (Mihailov 1941a, 6; 1941b, 5). In addition, to counter any doubts, it was also pointed out that Finnishness was not tied to religion or language but to "spirit and blood". In fact, it was asserted, a Greek Orthodox would be severely

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76 Major and chaplain Hannes Anttila, for example, stated in an infamous clerical meeting at Svir in August 1941 that the work of the Greek Catholic Church would never join the East Karelian population to the Finnish people and nation, and thus the Lutheran Church needed to be actively involved in the task. (Virkkunen 1941.)

77 Paavo Virkkunen (1874–1959), a professor of theology, MP, former minister and chairman of parliament, was one of the reasons why the image of the Finnish Lutheran clergy in the early decades of the 20th century was that of "a priest in a helmet". He was a conservative right wing politician who more often than not merged theological and political viewpoints. Although theologically somewhat more liberal than his colleagues, Virkkunen's activities during the Continuation War included cooperation with Nazi Germany's Luther Academy and enthusiastic attempts to further the Lutheranization of East Karelia. (See Murtorinne 2005, 199–204.)

78 *Kotimaa* attempted to soothe the situation by drawing on crusade as an act of unification: co-operation was implicit in the concept of crusade. Its purpose was to plant and cherish Christianity, not denominational discord. Thus it was important that spiritual care should be organized by the joint forces of the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches of Finland. There could be no clear demarcation between the spheres of the churches, and thus it was better that they should act together in Christianizing Karelia. (Editorial 1941b, 2.)

insulted if he or she were said to be anything other than a Finn: it was the cause of the Finnic tribe that united all Finns. (Ryttyläinen 1941, 8.)

Finally, the crusade was seen also in a wider circumference as an act of unification. According to this interpretation, God had summoned all the peoples of Europe to a holy crusade – and Finland had a justified and natural place on this shared frontier. (Hakala E. 1941, 201–203; Kalpa 1942f, 5.) Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen claimed that "a Christian crusade" was taking place in the East and that all Christian peoples were eager to join this battle (Lehtonen 1941c, 3.) Lennart Heljas, an MP (Centre Party) and a priest, in turn, stated that the war was continuation to the crusades that had been carried out nearly a thousand years ago, and just as then, it was precisely the moral character of the "enormous crusade" that was why European nations had joined the campaign to strike back at Bolshevism. Hence Finland, as a European nation, was obliged to take part in the crusade. (Heljas 1941, 2.) For Bishop Eino Sormunen the crusade was the culmination of tensions that had arisen after WWI: the course of history after the first world war had led to this crusade, in which Finland was playing her "natural and glorious part". (Sormunen 1941a; see also Kalpa 1942b, 2–3.) Field Bishop Björklund (1942b) was convinced that this aspect of the crusade was worth emphasizing to the fighting troops. He wrote in some confidential guidelines issued to the chaplainry that it was an integral part of their work to explain to soldiers that Finland's war was connected to the all-European crusade against Bolshevism.

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The dominant pentadic element was counter-act, for the war was justified on the grounds that the enemy had seized Finland's sacred areas, and this constituted a situation that needed to be corrected. As Murray Edelman (1985, 100–101) stressed, an important function of symbolic settings is to legitimize acts for those who might oppose them on the basis of inappropriate motivation. For this purpose it is useful to move backwards in temporal terms to trace the origins of the scene. That is, as for example Clarke Rountree (2007, 169) has noted, when legitimating acts that might be expected to be criticised as inappropriate, it is useful to move attention away from the particular act and towards other acts that can be claimed to have created a scene in which the acts currently being defended can be presented as reluctantly forced upon the actors or necessary. And obviously, if the logic of temporized essence is applied, the malevolent acts constituting the present scene can be traced back to times immemorial, contributing more to the weight of the argument the more "original" or "eternal" those acts can be claimed to be.

In this way the act of crusade was deemed legitimate according to the given scene–act interpretation. Interestingly, however, Bolshevism constituted a spiritual scene that demanded geopolitical counter-acts. In other words, drawing on the eschatological scene typology presented in the previous chapter, the malevolent "eternal being" of the diabolical enemy had created a scene of evil that the Finno-Christian invasion of East Karelia was to put right.

In the Finnish case, the Promised Land that had been captured and desecrated by the enemy demanded that the rupture in the divine order be made good. Importantly, in this way the invasion of Soviet territories could be defined as an act of liberation willed and initiated by God himself. This also had the advantage of distracting attention from the fact that Finland was invading foreign territory.

6.1.4 Put on the armour of God for the good fight of faith

Since an act calls for a certain kind of agent, there is a peculiar quality in the act–agent ratio that tends to transform the act into a scene. In such cases the act ceases to be merely an act but takes on scenic qualities that "overwhelm" other pentadic elements. Now, the dramatistic logic of the scene–agent ratio implies that if the scene is supernatural in quality, the agent "in" the scene will be of the same quality. In other words, the contents of a divine container will synecdochically share its divinity (Burke 1969a, 8). In this way scenic interpretation of the war was supported by transforming holy war and crusade from act to a rhetorical scene that called for a certain kind of agents. As Kenneth Burke (1966, 383–386) stresses, the drama of combat is "perfected" when the protagonist and the antagonist are of equal status and power. Because the agents must be qualitatively of a kind with the scene of divine warfare and the eternal enemy, Finnish soldiers needed to be cast into appropriate roles.[79] Finnish soldiers were therefore defined as soldiers of Christ and crusaders – and presented more or less explicitly with an appropriate set of the demands that such agents were supposed to fulfil. In this section we will examine the rhetorical outfits in which the agents of the crusading scene were clad.

The argument was that as the great time of the fatherland was at hand, each and every soldier was "a crusader warrior, a soldier whose flag is marked by the cross" (Kalpa 1941e, 3). Thus Field Bishop Björklund could proclaim:

> May God bless you crusader soldiers as you spread the Gospel of love and create a greater future for the Finnic tribe. […] The reward for the crusaders is glorious already in this life, for they have made it possible for children and future generations to worship freely the one, true God. (Björklund 1941c, 3.)

The fact that Finland's long and difficult trek through the wilderness was over and that there was a better future and permanent peace on the horizon was symbolized in the role that Finnish soldiers were given in the present war: Finnish troops were crusaders, there to strike down the evil spirits of darkness

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79 It is worth noting that the rhetorical constructions of the protagonist and the antagonist of the eschatological scene illustrate the ambiguous nature of the sacred. The Latin *sacer* denotes both good, pure spiritual powers as well as evil and impure powers, bringers of disorder and instigators of sacrilege. (Durkheim 2008, 409–412; Agamben 1998, 49–51.) Hence, as Kenneth Burke (1957, 46–47) suggests, the sacred refers to an untouchable force whose power can be channelized properly or dangerously, not only to the positive aspect of the concept. Grammatically, then, the legions of the anti-Christ and the crusading soldiers of Christ both had a sacred role in the scene of the eschatological drama.

and to promote the message of the Gospel. It was emphasized that the nature of Finland's war as a crusade against "the arch nemesis of Christianity" demanded that it should be waged also with spiritual weapons. The task of Finnish Christians was to join the fighting army of Christ, since only in this way could the hidden connections of seemingly chaotic events be discerned and seen as part of God's plan for salvation. The role of the Field Bishop and the chaplainry were seen as central, since spiritual warfare was mainly their responsibility. (Repo 1941, 2; Nikolainen 1941a, 3; 1941b, 3).

"Dressing" the crusading soldiers was an integral part of apocalyptic dualism, and thus there were two possible uniforms for Finnish soldiers. For example, the chaplain Voitto Viro (1974, 43) warned that Finns could be either soldiers of Christ or of the Tempter. There was no third way. Viro preached to his battalion, asking:

> Brothers! Many consider us to be crusaders who are fighting for God's cause against His enemies. Do you feel that you are a crusader? What does it mean to be a crusader? It means being a soldier of Christ. We know what it means to be a soldier: obedience and serving. The "military service" of a Christian recognizes no age limits, it starts from childhood and lasts throughout life. Friends, have you signed up for this service? (ibid.)

Soldiers signing up for the service were offered a clear model for the metanoic transformation. The initial step was to understand that "the present time" demanded that one woke up from sleep and recognized that the day of the Lord was near. Thus the battle was a spiritual one: the soldier was called to "fight the good fight of faith" (1 Tim. 6:12). Then soldiers were exhorted to put on the armour of God (Eph. 6:11) and to cover himself with Christ (Gal. 3:27). Another commonly used topos was the armour of light. Drawing on Romans (13:11–12), it was declared that the day was almost there, so Finnish soldiers needed to put aside the deeds of darkness and "put on" the armour of light. (Merimaa 1942, 2–3; Vihervaara 1943, 2; Vaalas 1941, 180–181.) Olavi Päivänsalo[80] emphasized that the passages were applicable to Finnish soldiers who had "resolutely taken arms against the Prince of Darkness and his forces in order to prevent them from invading Finnish territories". The weapons of light of the Finnish soldier were the New Testament, the Eucharist, the Book of Hymns, and most importantly, Jesus Christ. (Päivänsalo O. 1941, 10.)

Secondly, the armour 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 honour and made heavy demands, for it had been worn by "fathers who have liberated Finland from servitude". However, Finns also had another garment that they had received as small children when they were baptized: divine armour. 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

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80 Olavi Päivänsalo was a prominent political figure in post-WWII Finland. He was one of the founders of the Finnish Christian Democratic Party (then The Christian Union of Finland) and its chairman in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

putting "on the full armour of God" in order to take "a stand against the devil's schemes" (Eph. 6:11). That is to say, 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. (Merimaa 1942, 2–3; Vihervaara 1943, 2; Vaalas 1941, 180–181.)

It was explicitly stated by for example chaplain Aimo Nikolainen[81] that the good fight of faith 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 1942g, 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; Nurmi 1942, 2; Nevanko 1942, 3). Conversely, the struggle for the fatherland and for the kingdom of God had been plagued by opponents who had lost their faith or who did not understand what kind of commitment and strength the war required. 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, 120–121; H. E. 1941, 2–3; Pakkala 1941b, 5.) This was the new Finnish soldier (Wallinmaa 1942a).

The white horse of the apocalypse (Rev. 6:2)[82] was also used to summon up the illuminating identity of the soldier. The white horseman, "a conqueror bent on conquest", is often identified as Christ himself, with the white horse representing the successful spread of the Gospel. Soldiers in the army of Finland, they were told, had been given many illustrative examples of the power of truth and purity represented by the white horse and its rider, the most recent one being the "present phase of Finland's war of liberation". Thus Finland – with its army led by the white horseman – was definitely on the side of the victor, and the day of triumph would arrive soon. (Roivas 1942, 2.) The implication of this was that Finnish soldiers of light were the heavenly infantry, with Mannerheim, the commander of the army, identified as the rider of the white horse who was leading them. Similarly, Paavo Virkkunen declared that only by following Christ could Finnish soldiers achieve the heroic attitude that the war required. He exhorted them: "All the Christians of Finland near and far, home and away and at the front, forward in the name of God!" (Virkkunen 1941, 6; see also Jokipii 1941b, 2.)

In this way the religious-political identity of the Finnish soldier was constructed by identifying new testament rhetoric with the purposes of the fatherland, exemplified explicitly in a quotation from the words of the chaplain Väinö Hyvönen:

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81 Aimo T. Nikolainen (1912–1995) was a professor of exegetics from 1945 to 1972 and a bishop from 1972 to 1982. He was one of the most visible theologians after the war, and one of his main achievements was to lead a committee that organized translation of the Bible into modern Finnish.

82 "I looked, and there before me was a white horse! Its rider held a bow, and he was given a crown, and he rode out as a conqueror bent on conquest."

> 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 armour 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.)

Finland's case was identified as analogous with the spiritual fight of a Christian. A Christian fights for eternal life just as the Finnish soldier fights for his fatherland. Every Finnish soldier was "fighting the good fight" against the kingdom of evil. It was emphasized that every soldier was a soldier of faith, whatever his official position in the Finnish army was. Hence every soldier in the army was equally important in "the united frontier of the holy". For example a chaplain called K. R. Salo developed the theme further by referring to a famous passage from the Gospel according to St Mark (1:15), according to which "the time has come" and "the kingdom of God has come near". He said that profound repentance and spiritual transformation was essential for the soldiers of God: otherwise the Commander who was now inspecting His troops "would turn His gaze away". (Honkala 1941, 2–3; Salo K. R. 1941, 2–3; Anonymous 1942a, 3; Tiitinen 1942a, 2–3.)

In addition, the new identity of the Finnish holy war soldier required unshakeable courage. The soldiers were not to be frightened in any way by the enemy, for courage was a sign to the enemy that it would be destroyed, but that Finns would be saved by God (Philippians 1:28). "The victorious nature of the war" and the dawn of a new morning required a noble mind and faithful heart. Those embarked on a holy war as soldiers of Christ against Satan himself were not to be frightened by the enemy under any circumstances, but there were to trust absolutely their leaders and the purity of Finland's cause. The soldiers were encouraged to identify with God's words to Joshua: "Have I not commanded you? Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged, for the Lord your God will be with you wherever you go" (1 Joshua 1:9).This was also the source of Finland's power, and there was no reason to be afraid. (Risti-veli 1941, 2; V. S. 1941, 2; Haapasalo 1941, 2–3; Nevanko 1941, 2–3; also Hohti 1941, 2; Rintamäki 1941, 2; Ahtola 1942, 1.)

The identity of the Finnish soldier was also connected to the task of spreading Christianity in East Karelia. At stake was not only Finland but the freedom of the Karelian people. This was the reason why Finland had marched across the border: to liberate her kindred people. Especially in this role Finnish soldiers, living and deceased, were envoys of Christ. (Salo 1941, 2; Alitalo 1942a, 4.) Chaplain Jussi Sinnemäki, an active member of the Lapua Movement and the Patriotic People's Movement[83] in the 1930s, examined the role of signallers

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83 The Lapua Movement was a radical rightwing nationalist and anticommunist movement in Finland. It was banned after a failed coup d'état in 1932. Its policies were continued by the Patriotic People's Movement (IKL, Isänmaallinen Kansanliike in Finnish). The movement was banned as fascist after the armistice in 1944. In its

in the Finnish army in relation to this theme. He claimed that they had had a crucial role in the crusades. In Finland's crusade each and every soldier was a signaller: their task was to spread the message about something purer and more truthful to East Karelia. (Sinnemäki 1941a, 3.) Thus the Finnish soldier truly had a "cultural mission" in Karelia and as such he was a messenger of civilization and a crusader (Editorial 1943a, 2–3).

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The armour of God *typos* drew on the scene–agent ratio to construct an identity for the audience. With the dialectical transformation of the holy war and crusading from counter-acts to scene, the Finnish army was transformed into a community of holy warriors in battle against the devil and his principalities, fighting to spread the Gospel. The exhortation to make spiritual battle was associated with the actual warfare by linking the holiness of the war to the identity of individual soldiers, with the uniform of the Finnish army symbolizing the dual vocation of the soldier. The theological basis of this rhetorical strategy was in the Protestant *sola fide* doctrine according to which one reaches salvation by faith alone.

In relation to the eschatological scene, putting on the armour of God for the good fight of faith transformed the warring agent and presented him with equipment that was equal to the magnitude of the battle. As has been pointed out, *metanoia* constitutes a shift in perception of the nature of the situation. Thus, by putting on the armour of God one enters a new state of being, that of messianic time: the parenesis is that each individual see himself from a new perspective in relation to the eschatological moment and the tasks it demands. In these terms, the Finnish soldier was encouraged to identify himself with the biblical messianic warrior: he was carrying the day of the Lord into the realm of darkness as a part of divine warfare. As Tom Yoder Neufeld (1997, 150–156) pointed out, the armour of God implies completeness. The group of soldiers is clothed and armed with divine virtues, attributes, and covenant dynamics that render it capable of fighting the final battle of God with him. Thus the *typos* indicates a model of entelechial perfection for the Finnish soldier. Hence the divine armour serves to assure the soldier of his safety in the strongest possible terms when fighting the battle at hand (ibid. 76, 83–84, 132–145).

Lutheran priests applied what Kenneth Burke (1969a, 41–43) has defined at the center of dialectical motivation, namely the terms state (*status*) and act (*actus*), in order to emphasize the importance of God's war as a scene. *Status* refers "scenically" to state of mind, condition, or knowledge, whereas *actus* both to actualization of potentiality of the *status* side and to action in general in distinction to "being". As has been shown, the clerical argument was that the new status of the Finnish soldier would lead to corresponding acts. More specifically, there was an interesting *actus–status–actus* trajectory: (the good

heyday the Patriotic People's Movement had 14 MPs (of 200) in the Finnish Parliament, a third of them Lutheran priests.

fight of) faith was an act that would lead to a state of being that would in turn be actualized in deeds that furthered the cause of the fatherland and met the demands of God's war. Hence we can detect an overall dialectical movement from an act–scene ratio via a scene–agent ratio to an *actus–status–actus* tradeoff, in which the initial act, God's war, was transformed into a scene and implanted in the agent whose new scenic identity (as well as the acts that were alleged to follow) would be equal with the divine scene.

To summarize, with the three dimension of the holy war *typos* examined here the war could be conceived as a holy counter-act in relation to five themes (see Johnson 1997, 45). First, the Continuation War was a war ordained by God against His enemies. Second, since the war was divinely authorized, Finns could be certain of victory. Third, all the ordeals that Finland had been through in its history were interpreted as a prelude to what was now taking place in the Continuation War. Fourth, with the crusading *typos* the war could be presented as a Christianizing counter-measure to correct an infringement upon the divine (geopolitical) order. Fifth and last, those waging the war, Finns, were "set apart" from their neighbours, the rest of the world, and especially from the enemy, as religiously and morally pure eschatological warriors.

Rhetorically this was carried out with alterations of the ratios of pentadic scene, act and agent. The notion of holy war functions as "God's act", which, due to its supernatural circumference, in turn is transformed into the scene for the human agent. Crusade, for its part, redefines a de facto hostile act as a defensive act, a counter-act, so to speak. The symbolic soldier uniform of the follower of Christ, in turn, makes it possible to present the agents as consubstantial with both the scene and the counter-act. In addition, the "earthly uniform" of the soldier is identified with the divine armour described in the Bible – they are both worn by soldiers fighting against the evil that threatens to overwhelm the faithful and are thus furthering the cause of the Kingdom of God. In other words, the war was not only divinely willed, but Finland's war was identified with the Christians' fight for their faith, and the cause of the fatherland was identified with defending and extending the kingdom of God. The overall result of these rhetorical moves was that, again, any notion that Finland and the Finnish army had an active role in this war was effectively phased out.

However, in addition to symbolizing a special status and maintaining a scenic interpretation of the situation in a roundabout way, the summons to put on the armour of God symbolizes how exceptional were the tasks that the country and its soldiers were called on to do, without which the divine virtuosity of the agent could not be demonstrated. Such demands, in turn, tend to transform the agent into a divine agency, since any claim to supernatural circumference, such as divine warfare, tends to define the situation deterministically in scenic terms in a way that relegates human action to mere agency. This is the *typos* that will be discussed next.

7 AGENCY FOR DELIVERING DIVINE JUSTICE

7.1 Finland as God's agency

The typology of Finland as God's agency was developed in two ways, each one twofold. On the one hand, the biblical *typos* applied here drew on the two notions of divine election and of certain missions that this election entailed. On the other hand, using the pentadic agency as the root term, Finland was claimed to be on a double divine mission: a historical mission to save Christian Europe and, with a narrower circumference, a national one to create Greater Finland.

7.1.1 Typos: election & mission

Being God's instrument and the closely-related divine mission are derived from the Old Testament idea of divine election and its spiritualized version, the Great Commission. To begin with, as the text in Genesis (esp. chapters 9, 12 and 17) and Exodus (chapter 19) narrates, God chooses a community (or certain individuals) to fulfil His designs for the world.[84] It is God who chooses and the people respond. God's choice is expressed by a promise to the elected people, usually in the form of land, prosperity and power. Of course, the special and exalted role of the people depends on how well they follow divine precepts: a significant part of the covenant is to be adherents of "the true faith" and to observe certain moral, ritual and legal codes. Obedience to the sacred law then results in God revealing himself through signs and miracles witnessed by the community as a whole. Disobedience, in contrast, will lead to curses and abandonment. (Smith 1992, 441; 2003, 48–54.) It is important to note that in this version the emphasis is on how the community itself fulfils its duty to act as a divinely elected people. That is, the holy community is seen as an exemplum to the rest of the world.

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84 For example Exodus 19:5 "Now therefore, if you will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then you shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people".

In addition to the covenantal type, there is a more aggressive form of the divine election. In this version, the people (and their leaders) are entrusted with a task or a mission on behalf of the deity. As instruments of God, the people are seen to be executing His will and in this way hastening on the day of salvation. Very often the aims in this scenario are related to more universal purposes than that of one particular people. That is, the chosen people bring about universal salvation by carrying out its divine mission, and thus the salvation of all hinges on the conduct of the chosen few. (Smith 2003, 49, 51; Cauthen 2004, 20–23.) This means that trying to be holy is not enough. Rather, the community is obliged to follow a certain line of action in order to fulfil the divine will.

Christian universalization and spiritualization resulted in widening the redemption of the chosen people into a doctrine of universal salvation. The redeemer of the world that is prophesied to come from the chosen people has now entered the stage. That is to say, in Christianity the Judaic idea of the elected people waiting for their future messiah is transformed into a belief in Jesus as the Son of God and the Messiah who will save the whole created world. The idea is embodied in the Great Commission given by Christ to his disciples:

> Then Jesus came to them and said, "all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age." (Matthew 28:18–20, see also Mark 13:10.)

The Commission order makes obedience to the true faith explicitly into expansive action. This politicizes the typology of election and mission on two levels: firstly, in that preaching the Gospel is a divine mission of a rhetorical character; and secondly, since "all authority in heaven and on earth" belongs to Christ, missionary action takes precedence over all earthly demands or orders. For this reason the faithful must be on their guard, for they "will be handed over to the local councils and flogged in the synagogues" for their obedience to Christ (Mark 13:9.) Although controversy and tribulation are bound to follow, the Commission is not to be taken lightly, for the baptized will be saved and unbelievers will be condemned (Mark 16:16).

However, as has been emphasized by for example Anthony D. Smith (2003, 95–130; see also Smith 1999a; Hutchison & Lehmann 1994), the idea of a universal Christian regime has often been transformed into missionary election, in which a single political community takes on the role of bringing about universal salvation. For example, in modern nationalism several nationalist leaders have proclaimed their task to be to transform the world on the basis of their own true faith and the sacred task that has been entrusted to them. The result is not only a heightened sense of national identity but an unyielding conviction that the world needs change, to be brought about by persuasion or force – or both.

A peculiar dramatistic ambivalence is present in the *typos* of election and mission. The historical or national mission that the people are endowed with

stems from the divine election, which is – as has been mentioned – one-sided in the sense that it is the deity that chooses and the people that obey. It is God's "perfect action", i.e. unmotivated by anything outside Him, that makes the human elect as agencies (Burke 1969a, 68–69; Rountree 1994, 39). In this way, what may seem to be a purposive human agent with a mission is in fact a divine agency, and thus not capable of acting on its own. The result is vacillation between missionary action and being an instrument used by greater powers. Next we shall discuss the two missions that Finland as divine agency was claimed to have been fulfilling.

7.1.2 The historical mission to save Christian Europe

Rhetoric that used agency as the root term denoted a change of emphasis in the conception of the war as a holy war. The notion that the Continuation War was Lord Sabaoth's war against His enemies was supported by a claim that Finland had a historical mission given by God. For example Dean E. W. Pakkala proclaimed that "we Finns have the possibility of being the instrument of the Lord Sabaoth and the Lord of history" (Pakkala 1941b, 4). The focus thus was now on missionary thinking according to which the community believes itself to be divinely anointed to preserve and promote not only the true faith, but with cultural and political aims that are identified with a religious aim (Cauthen 2004, 22). As we shall observe, drawing on the so-called bulwark myth, the argument was that Finland had been elected as the northern guard of Christianity (see Kolstø 2005).

Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen proclaimed that "the praying and bleeding people of Finland" had been called to the battle from above. God's mighty help had followed the defence forces of Finland: "Karelia was free, the cross had replaced the red sign of the beast, and prayer and thankfulness have been heard again from many desecrated churches". However, Lehtonen emphasized that the battle was still going on, and that it had to be fought till the end. The crucial thing for the war was that Europe and the western nations would stand or fall depending on whether or not they opened their doors to Christ and whether or not the Gospel would be shut out of the new Europe that was about to emerge. (Lehtonen 1942a.) Finland's world-historical mission was connected to this threat: Finland was the bulwark that guaranteed that the former option would prevail. God's mission to the Christian people of Finland was to pave the way for a better future for all Christendom (Mannermaa 1942b, 2). Hence the Bishop emphasized that Finland's war was unique in the history of the world, and this made one's "heart pound with excitement" (Lehtonen 1941a, 12).

It was Finland's privilege to play the leading role. When the war was seen from such a world historical perspective, "one's heart throbbed joyously in the midst of all suffering – it was wonderful to think that the Lord had entrusted our nation with such a great task". It was only by accomplishing such historic tasks that peoples achieved a position and a future in the long development of mankind. Hence Bishop Lehtonen exhorted Finns to rejoice that the nation did not have to merely stand by in the great, decisive battle of the time. He also

criticized "certain circles" that had not yet realized the true scope of the battle. It was certain that "facts will speak for themselves in time, and Finland's battle will be seen in its historical significance". (Lehtonen 1941a, 12; 1941b, 2; Lehtonen 1942b.)

The whole eastern front was seen to constitute a single scene of the same mission. For example, Major Kalervo Kurkiala, the chaplain of the SS Freiwilligen-Bataillon Nordost, i.e. a battalion of Finnish volunteers in Waffen SS fighting in Ukraine, declared that the Finnish SS Battalion was serving a "twofold patriotic mission" in the German army. He considered the volunteers to be part of the same divine mission that the Finnish Army was carrying out in East Karelia. Hence, according to him, it was acceptable to wage war as a part of the Wehrmacht because the eastern front was part of the same holy war against Bolshevism, being fought in order to create "a new order for Europe". (Kurkiala 1942, 1–2.)

Finland was depicted as the northern guard of Christian civilization.[85] As the last days approached, Finland's mission was to stand as the guardian of Western civilization and Christian tradition against the destructive ideologies of the east in a defining battle not only for Finland, but for the future of the whole of Europe (Kinos 1941, 1; Loimaranta Y. 1941a, 1; Puhakainen 1942, 3). For example, Eino Kalpa foresaw that the day was dawning and the night was going away, and great tasks awaited Finland in the land that had been given to her due to her role as the "Northern protector of the Western Christian way of life and its juridical order". (Kalpa 1941a, 2; see also Kaila 1941g, 1.) Similarly, Professor Ilmari Salomies[86] (1941b, 8) emphasized that throughout its history Finland had occupied the northern guard post in the "eternal battle of west against east" because Finns had always known so profoundly about "the threat of the east". Fulfilling this task also guaranteed that Finland would receive her prize. Carrying out this true vocation of the nation also guaranteed that Finland would gain "a glorious position" among the nations of the world. This historic mission would show that Finland had earned her freedom. (Päivänsalo P. 1942, 4; Alanen 1941i, 4–5.)

Since the nature and development of every war in history had been predicted in the Bible, Finland had to trust that she was once again under divine protection while carrying out the mission. Prophecies about Nineveh and Nahum were the keys to the situation. According to Hannes Anttila, Finnish soldiers were "the feet that brought good news" (Nahum 1:15) to all of Europe. A suitable analogy was found from the prophecies of Nahum:

> Now God's judgment is being fulfilled, and you – brothers in arms – are His instruments. Our war is God's war against Godlessness. It is not a war of vengeance but a war of peace waged for a just peace. As Nahum prophesied about Nineveh, no more will the wicked invade you, for they will be completely destroyed, the same is happening now to

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85 The idea of bulwark of Christianity originates from the 16th century when Pope Leo X stated that Croatia was the *Antemurale Christianitatis* in wars against the Ottoman Empire.

86 Ilmari Salomies (1893–1973) was a professor of church history and Bishop of Vyborg and Mikkeli from 1943 to 1951 until his election as Archbishop.

> Bolshevism. It will have no descendants to bear its name and its grave will be prepared (Nahum 1:14–15). (Anttila 1941b, 147.)

The Finnish soldier was the instrument of God and he had the task of "proclaiming peace to everyone" by waging a "war of peace". The Soviet Union, in turn, was identified with biblical Nineveh. Although it was immense in wealth and power, the Lord decided to destroy the proud capital of Assyria completely and utterly so that it would have no descendants to bear its name. Nineveh thus became a symbol of a great power which God eventually declared himself to be against (Nahum 2: 13). (Anttila 1941b, 146–148; see also Sinko 1942, 3.)[87] In addition, Finland needed only to observe how a prophecy once given of Tyre, who had "built herself a tower, heaped up silver like the dust, and gold like the mire of the streets", was taking place again as the Lord would cast the Soviet Union out and "destroy her power in the sea and have her devoured by fire" (Zechariah 9:3–4). It was stressed that the Finnish soldier had the hands that would strike the prideful and evil, but he should remember that His hand was God's weapon: it was God that had come down upon Finland's enemies with His hand like "the breaking forth of water" (1 Chronicles 14: 11). (Anttila 1941b, 154–156.)

Again, the history of Finland was seen as preparation for the divine agency. Put there by God, Finland was a border zone between east and west, and Finland's hardships during its national history were seen as training for the task at hand (Lehto, V. 1941, 2–3; Mannermaa 1942b, 2). Chaplain Armas Antila (1944a, 1) saw that Finland's history had been filled with "magnificent signs of grace as a story about a people developing and ripening the task appointed for it". According to him, all historiography had to recognize that Finland had been carried by God's righteousness and grace like a people that had been selected. Not only Finland's political and national history, but first and foremost the history of the Kingdom of God among Finns was "like a great sermon about a chosen people". Thus Antila could claim that during its many hardships Finland had developed into a heroic people, and it was rarely that people had been used as God's instruments as many times as had fallen to the lot of the Finns.

Finland's development for the task was narrated with a gradual widening of the scope of the mission. Finland's Civil War of 1918 and the Winter War were interpreted as preludes to this final showdown. First, as a chaplain declared, it was God's obvious providence that in "the first war of independence" ensured that Finland survived and maintained her independence despite the internal strife. It was also emphasised that the internal strife was caused by the same eternal enemy: the Finnish Civil War was "an everlasting crime of Russian Bolsheviks in the pages of history" (Tiivola

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87 This was another rhetorical theme in which Finnish sermons and other clerical texts bore close resemblance to sermons by German Protestant theologians during WWI and WWII. For example, in addition to being a divine elected nation waging a holy war, a prominent notion was that Germany was a divine instrument in God's punishment of the wicked and ungodly (Scholder 1988, 6).

1941c, 1–2). Next, in the Winter War, which was declared to be "the second phase of our war of independence", Finland had experienced the same miracle again. The difference was, however, that in the Winter War the threat was solely from outside: God again wonderfully saved the nation from "being crushed by the stones of the giant", the result being a united nation. Finally, the same divine help was aiding Finland "in the third phase of the war of independence", but now it was time for Finland to complete her earlier training by embarking on the mission to rescue European Christian civilization. (Paunu 1942, 1; Aarnio 1942, 2; Pyy 1942a.)

It was thus emphasized that the present war was not just another instance in which God wanted to use "men of Finland" as His instruments in a holy war: as history was at a turning point, this time Finnish "soldiers of faith from all times" were fighting beside today's Finns in the enormous historic struggle that the nation had been called to. (Kalpa 1943b; Pyy 1942b.) This being the case, Kalpa claimed, if any people wanted to get ready for their divine mission, they must listen carefully to what the Lord was demanding of Finland. So it was not mistaken national pride to listen to what God expected from His people, for the undeniable fact was that "the voice of God declared that Finland had been given one more mission": the historic mission of liberation. Conversely, Finland's defeat would mean the defeat not only of small nations, but of righteousness in the world. (Kalpa 1942a, 3; Puhakainen 1942, 3.)

Taking a more far-reaching historical view, Ilmari Salomies compared Finland with other small nations that had allegedly been in a similar position. Finland was not merely an outpost of Western civilization; with her "eternal heroic battle" she had done a deed for the west that could be equalled only by the acts of the Hellenes of Ancient Greece (Salomies 1941b, 10). Interestingly, Finland was in this way connected to what was claimed to be a line of small nations fighting for the whole world:

> It seems that at different times during history a nation – a small nation – is given the task of fighting for what is right and true. In the old times this was a task given to the Greeks, in the Middle Ages to the people of Switzerland, at the beginning of modernity to the Dutch people and now this calling has been given to the Finns. (Editorial 1944s, 2.)

Finland was another torchbearer in a long line of special nations or peoples that will bring about universal salvation. According to the argument, this was because of Finland's intimate knowledge of her eastern neighbour as well as the well-known high Christian morality of the people. Thus, according to Bishop Juho Mannermaa (1942c, 38–39), when the people of Finland were living their finest hour, it was encouraging to see how looking back to the past one could see how coherently divine providence had bound together disparate and even contradictory events. God had designed a historical path for Finland that no statesmanship could ever have designed (Antila 1944b, 4), and the trajectory of this history had now reached its high point:

> Finnish soldiers have the privilege to be God's weapons in the world-historical battle in which Bolshevik godlessness will meet its doom and in which God will deliver justice to those who have suffered. […] God speaks to us. Let us all listen to His speech. A new morning shall dawn and the day of victory approaches. Amen. (Kalpa 1943b.)

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In this way Finland was demarcated from the surrounding nations: she was to defend the Christian order of Europe against Bolshevism. The scope of the mission was historical because Finland was seen as the gate to Europe – if Finland would fall, then the invasion of Bolshevism and the barbarous east would inevitably take place. However, although being endowed with a mission (which would ordinarily imply capability to act as an agent), Finland was in fact conceived as an agency that God "the super-agent" was using in His actions. This, on the other hand, contributed significantly to Finland's specialty. Seeing Finland as a scenic part of the religion aligned the nation closely with Christianity, which in turn solidified identification of the fatherland with the kingdom of God.

7.1.3 The national mission to create Greater Finland

In addition to the world-historical dimension, the circumference of the dramatistic element of agency was identified with that of the nation. In other words, while drawing on elements from both types of electionary and missionary rhetoric, the typology of divine agency as a whole was also developed in relation to nationalist thinking. In practice this meant that Finnish soldiers were described as being instruments of God with the task of putting Karelia where it was claimed it originally belonged. The argument was that moving the borders of Finland to their "natural" place was not only right but necessary – from the perspective of both religion and the fatherland (Björklund 1942, 15). To put it simply, identifying the divine will with the aims of nationalist politics was the way to travel along the road of God: "to realize what our forefathers had dreamt about, a unified nation" (Hyvönen 1941c, 4).

This was also a *typos* on which official instructions issued about preaching were based. It was said that all Finnish soldiers shared certain qualities such as honesty, humility and content with little. Although the Finnish soldier loved peace, he knew innately what his eternal enemy was. Thus he was ready to sacrifice himself. However, the most significant defect in the Finnish soldier was a certain lack of patriotic perspective. This shortcoming was due to the historical fact that Finland had not been able to develop its own national characteristics under the yoke of foreign powers. As a result, home and family were the primary fields of action for the Finnish soldier, and so, it was claimed, the Finnish soldier could not always understand what protecting the fatherland demanded in terms of "tribal connection" and "living space of the people". Chaplains were expected to explain to the soldiers that after the enemy had

attacked the fatherland, also "long and tenuous offensive operations were acts of defensive warfare". (Muukkonen 1943, 7–10.)

The guidelines for chaplains then proposed two rhetorical steps that could be used to achieve the desired ends. Firstly, with historical examples it was asserted that from the moment that he attacked the enemy who had invaded the fatherland, the Finnish soldier was God's weapon and a bearer of God-given authority (Muukkonen 1943, 7, 74–76). Secondly, since the Finnish soldier expected truthfulness also from sermons, both in terms of theology and patriotism, it would be ineffective to preach with "melodramatic descriptions of Finland's battle as holy war" , because the definition would appeal to only very few men. Rather, it was more truthful to explain carefully that God was also using Finnish soldiers as His weapons in life in this world, and in this sense the war was a sacred war to protect both faith and freedom of conscience (Muukkonen 1943, 29).

In a nationalistic circumference, agency as the root term referred to the ideology of Greater Finland. Greater Finland was a nationalist idea born after 1917. Drawing on European models of one homogenous ethno-linguistic nation within one state, it referred to an area in which all Finnic peoples would create a so-called natural living space (and a political unit) by incorporating the Kola Peninsula, East Karelia and possibly even northern Ingria into contemporary Finland. One particular group that embraced the Greater Finland ideology was the Academic Karelia Society. The AKS bore a close resemblance to all-European post-WWI right-wing radicalism, with fascist overtones that criticized democracy for neglecting national advantage. The AKS considered itself a harbinger of Greater Finland and a defender of the cause of the Finnic tribe and the Finnish language. East Karelia in particular was seen as a region that belonged to Finland.[88] (Eskelinen 2004, 48–67; see also Nygård 1978). The other aspect of the organisation was fierce "Russky hatred", according to which Russians were both of lower racial status than Finns and Finland's sworn enemy (Karemaa 1998).

As a significant number of its members were priests, the nationalistic AKS ideology was permeated with Lutheranism. Consequently, the idea of Greater Finland was raised to an object of semi-religious devotion.[89] Although the heyday of the idea had been in the 1910s and 1920s, the idea experienced a revival during the Continuation War. Explicitly expressed or implicitly used Greater Finland ideology legitimated the "natural defence borderline" that it was alleged would resolve Finland's "question of the east", which had been left unresolved in the aftermath of Finland's independence in 1917. This

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88 The most comprehensive examination of Greater Finland in terms of ideology and practice can be found in Ohto Manninen's (1980) *Suur-Suomen ääriviivat* and Antti Laine's (1982*) Suur-Suomen kahdet kasvot*. For discussion in English see Browning 2008, pp. 131–136.

89 It is worth emphasizing that the AKS was by far the most influential movement in inter-war Finland. Several of its members also mentioned in this research were at the time or later became part of the country's cultural and political elite, such as A. F. Puukko, Eino Kalpa, Hannes Anttila, Armas Antila, Jussi Tenkku, Olavi Lähteenmäki, Jussi Kuoppala and Jussi Sinnemäki.

formulation was subsequently used in military orders, presidential speeches and other official and unofficial statements about the geopolitical aims of the war. The most outstanding example of Greater Finland propaganda was Professor Jalmari Jaakkola's *Die Ostfrage Finnlands* (1941), written at president Risto Ryti's request and published in German, Finnish and English.

In clerical rhetoric the creation of Greater Finland was presented as the perfection of the Finnish nation. Greater Finland was the enormous national mission that the Finnish soldier had been called to accomplish as the will of God. Greater Finland symbolized "the dream about great, undivided Finland" coming true. It was the resurrection of Karelia and the new dawn for the whole, complete Finland, in which the Finnic tribes would be united into one nation state. As chaplain Eino Kalpa proclaimed, Finland had experienced a national Good Friday: the Continuation War signified the coming back to life of a nation that was deemed to be sliced and lifeless. Karelia was thus the place in which the Finnish tribe would fulfil its historical calling. Naturally, Greater Finland had to be cherished and passed on to future generations. Those "living in the luckiest era of our history" had to teach their children to understand the price paid for redeeming the fatherland and the significance of faith and trust in Providence and in the future of Greater Finland. (Kalpa 1941d, 3; 1942u, 8; 1943d; Ahtinen 1941, 2; Anttila 1941b, 176.)

Greater Finland was the dream of centuries that was coming true now, at the high point of Finnish history (Kurvinen 1941, 3). It was God's gift to His obedient people (Alanen 1941j, 4). For example, this is how Senior Chaplain Rolf Tiivola proved that "perfect Finland" was now being realized:

> The Holy Book clearly proclaims that God has marked out the appointed times in history and the boundaries of the lands of each nation. Thus it is God's will that a people that has not achieved the boundaries and rights it deserves shall attempt to reach this goal set by God himself. […] The tribe of Karelia will be liberated and connected to Finland, and most importantly, Finland will receive a new, natural eastern border, a border that is militarily and politically vital to us. The army of Finland is God's instrument in carrying out God's will and creating this "perfect Finland", Greater Finland, which is the greatest act of Finnish history. (Tiivola 1941b, 1.)

In other words, the eastern border was claimed to be "the border of centuries" to which Finnish destiny was bound. The eastern border was now being moved to places that only "insane fantasies" had thus far dared to imagine (Ervamaa 1942, 5–6). Eino Kalpa preached at an evening prayer hour that it was divine providence that the Gospel was resounding on the shores of Svir, in the forests of Karelia and in the villages of "severely tortured" Ingria. According to Kalpa, the resurrection of these areas was the way God did His deeds in history. (Kalpa 1943b.) Similarly, chaplain Jussi Kuoppala saw it that the God of history was carrying out His judgments in an understandable way. According to Kuoppala, even those who a couple of months ago were working for Greater Finland supported only by stubborn faith were now amazed: God had stepped out of His hiding place to guide the cause of the Finnish nation. Greater Finland and dreams of uniting the Finnic tribes to Finland were coming true. (Kuoppala

1941, 165–166; 1942, 6–7; P. S. 1941, 2–3; T. L. 1942, 2; Rinne 1941a, 1; Erkamo 1942, 2–3.)

The biblical passage in which the Lord sets the boundaries and appointed times for each people was often used as a justification for the Greater Finland idea.[90] For example, in the autumn of 1941 Professor Ilmari Salomies (1941, 4) exulted that Finns were about to step into "a new, wonderful land that God had decreed to us already at the beginning of time". That is, the new border of Greater Finland was what God had marked out for Finland already in Creation. Finland's appointed time had come: now she could create "the borders she deserved". (Kortelainen 1941, 2; Kinos 1941, 1.) It was also claimed that moving the borders God had decreed had been a great offence to him, so the new border established by the Finnish army merely restored the proper situation (Alitalo 1943). In the words of Topi Vapalahti (1941, 2–3), the prophecy that God would "take you out of the nations and gather you from all the countries and bring you back into your own land" (Ezekiel 36:24) had truly been fulfilled.

Passages from the Book of Joshua were considered by many chaplains to be suitable for describing the situation – the book is, after all, essentially the story of Israel's conquest of the Promised Land. Chaplain Eino Kalpa pointed out that the Lord had driven out great and powerful nations before Finland in order to fulfil His promise and drive away "the snares and traps" from the land decreed by him (Joshua 23: 9–13) (Kalpa 1943a). It was emphasized that the Lord would give the land only through battle. Thus Finns had to have endurance and courage. They must remember the Lord's words to Joshua: "Have I not commanded you? Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged, for the Lord your God will be with you wherever you go" (1 Joshua 1:9). There was no reason to be afraid, for God would guide Finland. (Haapasalo 1941, 2–3.)

The parable of the workers in the vineyard in the Gospel according to St Matthew was used to compare East Karelia to the Kingdom of God. The parable stresses unmerited grace and points out that God's favour cannot be earned. The gist of the parable is that, with the vineyard representing the Kingdom of Heaven, anyone who accepts the invitation to work in the vineyard no matter how late in the day will receive an equal reward with those who have been faithful for the longest period of time. Accordingly, it was proclaimed that God had expanded Finland's area in His vineyard. Karelia was opening to Finns and to Christianity. Thus every Finn needed to accept the invitation to work in this vineyard, for as the biblical parable stated, God would reward every worker plentifully. (Saarilahti K. A. 1941, 229.)

As the parable of the vineyards suggested, Greater Finland also included a spiritual dimension. The geopolitical aspect was not enough, because Finland had already accomplished only parts of the mission God had given. The people of Karelia must be able to feel the national connection with the united Finnic

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90 Acts 17:26 states "From one man he made all the nations, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he marked out their appointed times in history and the boundaries of their lands." (See Exodus 23:31; Numbers 34:2; Deuteronomy 32:8.)

tribe. The military-religious esprit de corps that had prevailed among Finnish troops was to be taken as the spiritual foundation for the new post-war nation. Finland should be careful not to ally with any of the survivors of God's wrath, for then divine providence would be withdrawn and the nation would perish. The new Finland was to be defined not only by nationally, geographically, economically and militarily more appropriate borders, but also by a spiritual rebirth. (Laiho 1941, 2–3; Kalpa 1943b; Pyy 1942a.) Hence Greater Finland should also be a spiritually new Finland (Hakala E. 1941, 201–203).

It was also claimed that victories, dangerously, could easily create "a feeling of false self-confidence that results in trusting only in our power and denying the role of God". When God was granting an expanded living space to the Finnish people at the same time as a part of the Finnic tribe was being connected to the national body politic, there was reason to rejoice. But it was pointed out that precisely for this reason it was easy not to see the hand of the God of History in all this. Exactly for this reason Greater Finland had to have proper moral and religious principles, for otherwise "the gift from God" would turn out to be standing on legs of clay. In this new national situation one need not be afraid of the enemy. Rather, the gravest threat was a godless Greater Finland. (Editorial 1942a, 2; Alanen 1941j, 4–5; Alanen 1942c, 2; Alanen 1942d, 2; Alanen 1942e, 2; Alaja 1943, 5).

The hopeful atmosphere of national fulfillment as well as the spiritual demands such a fulfillment entailed were captured in a chaplain's sermon at an Independence Day parade in the town of Svir in East Karelia:

> Today we can see with our own eyes that we have not been disappointed by the Lord. Our prayers have been heard, they have been fulfilled. Is it not more than we hoped for that the flag of our fatherland that recently was shattered is now guarding also this town? Finland's lion is approaching all those places to which it belongs. Is it not fulfillment that the land saturated by suffering and blood and the land that has drunk our blood is finally ours? It is fulfillment that we have had the possibility of bringing freedom to the enslaved people of Karelia. But we are all responsible that we shall have not only Greater Finland, but Greater Finland that is not Godless, for it would bring upon herself God's wrath and doom. (Närhi 1941.)

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The root term constructed here in terms of missionary election with both a historic task and a national task relies on a peculiar dialectic between the elements of purpose–agency ratio. In general, of the pentadic terms purpose is most susceptible to dissolution (Burke 1969a, 289). However, when divine purpose enters the scene, it dominates the situation and makes everything there is agencies for this ultimate purpose. It is rhetorically important that in the dramatistic setting based on divine purpose, human agency is a divine instrument fulfilling aims beyond this world. That is, a secular agent becomes a function of divine purpose – in fact a mere agency (ibid. 278). This kind of agency, in turn, readily sees scenic materials – for instance territory – as means which it adapts to its purposes (see ibid. 287). Consequently, the implication

was that, since agency implies purpose, the commonplace that God's purposes are unknown to man (see Psalms 77: 19; Isaiah 55: 8–9) did not apply to Finland.

Ironically, then, the acts of a human agent could be rhetorically described as "determined motions" of a divine agency. And accordingly, it is the mere being of this divine agency that legitimates its "motions", i.e. the movement towards entelechial perfection as it was explicated in terms of rescuing European Christian civilization and creating Greater Finland. In this way the political character of Finland's actions was concealed behind the rhetoric of a divinely elected agency which emphasized the country's obligation to carry out a predetermined plan. Importantly, when Greater Finland was used in association with the holy war and crusading typology, a nationalistic ideal could be endowed with powerful Christian legitimation, in which an expansive aim was described not only as a divine mission but as a counter-act. In practice this meant that Greater Finland was seen as the realization of the bulwark against Bolshevism: it was the concrete defensive wall against the enemy of Christianity.

In this sense agency as the root term was the logical culmination – an entelechy so to speak – of the rhetoric that aimed to distract attention from the fact that Finland took the offensive or the initiative in this war. And as long as the being of the agency, i.e. the status of the elect, remained in accordance with the divine covenant, divine purposes – in whatever circumference – continued to be fulfilled through it. However, this was, as we shall next observe, not always going to be the case.

8 THE TURN OF THE TIDE: AGENT CORRUPTED, AGENT SUFFERING

As the war went on, another biblical typology was taken up and used in clerical rhetoric. The Old Testament idea of jeremiad was used to express doubt and disappointment, since it was gradually becoming clear that the eschatological scene would not develop as had been predicted in terms of apocalyptic, holy war and crusading, nor would the idea of Greater Finland be realized (at least with any stability). The pentadic root term on which jeremiadic typology was constructed was the agent who was failing to reach her entelechy. Supporting the fact that all pentadic terms imply one another, a significant change was that, besides the movement from hope to tragedy, the agent as the root term turned the focus from scenic emphasis to the being (and acts) of the agent. Without changing the root term from agency to agent it would have been impossible to focus on such lamentations because it is implied in dramatistic logic that agency cannot "act" on its own. The agent, however, can be held responsible for its actions. Agent was applied in terms of national and individual circumference.

8.1 The Finnish Jeremiad

8.1.1 Typos: jeremiad

The Mosaic version of the divine covenant with the chosen people is conditional. The covenant is directed towards obedience to the sacred law and creation of a pure moral community. In this sense it is important to note that whereas an apocalyptic view sees the course of history as predetermined and therefore inevitable, jeremiadic rhetoric includes a moment of choice, for it exhorts the audience to see themselves as chosen people confronted with an urgent warning that without change, serious consequences will follow (Brummett 1984, 85). The energizing element in the covenantal *typos* is derived from the fact that the election is dependent on performance, the continuing

execution by the community of God's laws. In addition, the covenant is made for the community as a whole, intergenerationally. Thus collective observance and obedience to his commandments unites the people in temporal terms.

It is on the breaking of the covenant that jeremiadic lamentation focuses. A jeremiad is a rhetorical mode of denunciation of a society for its wickedness, accompanied with a prophesy of its downfall due to its apparent failure to obey the sacred law (Smith 2003, 50). The concept is derived from the biblical prophet Jeremiah, who prophesied the coming downfall of the Kingdom of Judah. Jeremiah attributed the calamities of Israel to its abandonment of the covenant with Yahweh and its return to pagan idolatry. He gloomily denounced Israel for its religious and moral iniquities, and called on the people to repent and reform in order that God might restore them to His favour:

> This is what the Lord says to the people of Judah and Jerusalem: Plough up the hard ground of your hearts! Do not waste your good seed among thorns. O people of Judah and Jerusalem, surrender your pride and power. Change your hearts before the Lord or my anger will burn like an unquenchable fire because of all your sins. (Jeremiah 4: 3–4.)

There are basically three steps: scriptural mandate, human covenant-breaking and divine affliction or outright doom. First the biblical or religious ideal that functions as the communal or national norm is explained. Next, the failures of the community to adhere to that norm and the disasters that have or will result have to be set forth in detail. Finally, the speaker offers a prophetic vision of what is to come if the people repent and reform.[91] (Murphy 1990, 402–403; Bercovitch 1978, 16.) In this sense a biblical jeremiad is a call for repentance. In Burkean terms, jeremiad is a *typos* that relies heavily on guilt. It is the rhetorical vehicle for restoring the obedience of the audience by pointing out their misdeeds. As Jeremiah proclaims, the faithless need but acknowledge their guilt, and the Lord will not "frown on" them any more (Jeremiah 3: 12–13). It is thus the orator's task to point out how the divine covenant has been broken (and the price to be paid for this) and show the way to redemption.

The jeremiad is first and foremost a vehicle to unify and shape a community; its applications in socio-political criticism are severely limited. This is due to the fact that instead of questioning, the jeremiad exhorts listeners to adhere to traditional values even more rigorously than before. Hence, the jeremiad preaches a change to the status quo and a return, because it is traditional values that are to fulfil the prophecies of the past, or the covenant. That is, although there is a crisis at the present, the given and accepted value system is not the problem, rather, it is the solution. (Bercovitch 1978, 71, 179; Johnson 1990, 402, 404, 407.) Hence the crisis always has a spiritual solution: the community needs only to renew its conception of itself in relation to obedience

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91 There are two versions of the jeremiad genre. The traditional version serves to confirm hierarchy and fixed positions in a settled society. In other words, the traditional jeremiad unleashes a torrent of guilt upon its audience by depicting a static society condemned to fall perpetually from its mythic roots. The reformist version of the jeremiad adds a dimension of progress, i.e. the hope of public improvement. (Bercovitch 1978, 16.)

to the ideals of the past. The jeremiad thus offers moral solutions to problems of the day without threatening the socio-political structure (Johnson 1990, 411). In this sense the jeremiad is a rhetorical genre of "controlled progress" that purports to enhance unity and cohesion through affirmation of the given order (Bercovitch 1978, 134, 137).

It is important to note the relationship between the individual and the community in jeremiadic typology. Here salvation concerns the welfare of the people, and thus the responsibility of the individual coincides with the responsibility of the whole people. In other words, the realisation of the promise of history is conditional on obedience (Bultmann 1957, 30–31). The jeremiad thus plays with pentadic ratios and circumference. It moves from the scene to the agent and vice versa. The reason for the scenic malaise of the present is always found in the moral actions of the agent, either individual or collective, and the best – and often the only possible – solution is individual rebirth which will lead to a national revival (Johnson 1990, 407, 409). Thus the jeremiad tends to blur individual and communal pursuits. This means that the jeremiad is effective when an audience recognizes the tension between the public ideal and their individual efforts – and then seeks to purify themselves in order to improve the whole community.

8.1.2 Lamentations for the nation, of the nation

At the beginning of 1942 the front was stabilized and a period of trench warfare began. For the next two and a half years the front did not move significantly. The Soviet Union made four major assaults but these were all repelled. In general, this period meant a return to reality for Finland since the monotony of trench warfare, war fatigue and disease as a result of the various shortages started to manifest themselves as falling morale. There were, however, some politically important events. During the period of trench warfare Finland refused to take part in the siege of Leningrad with the German troops. The siege was deemed too risky both militarily and politically. Politically and symbolically important events were Hitler's visit to Finland to congratulate Mannerheim on his 75th birthday on June 4th 1942 and Mannerheim's visit to Germany in the autumn of 1942. Significantly, after Mannerheim's visit to Germany Finland started to distance herself from Germany's war aims. Another event that caused an outcry was Finland's decision to hand over eight Jewish refugees to the Gestapo in November 1942. (See Leskinen & Juutilainen 2005.)

The rhetorical typology used to explain the new situation was found in a combination of the ideas of biblical holy war and divine election with the jeremiad. As the eschatological scene seemed to have come to a halt and the flags of the crusaders had stopped waving, it seemed that Finland had not been able to fulfil its part of the divine pact. At this point the crusade and the holy war were not directed solely against the external enemy, but also internally to the nation. Sexual decadence, alcohol and drugs, for example, were seen as being instruments of the same demonic power as Bolshevism was based on: the

power that drew nations and individuals away from God – hence the impetus for lamentations.

National-level sins were identified as alcohol and "wild amusements". Bishop Aleksi Lehtonen used the figure of John the Baptist in his call to repentance.[92] Just as John the Baptist had been a victim of evil powers that acted through intoxicating substances, the Finnish people had succumbed to the same powers of darkness. It was through them that the enemy was establishing beachheads in the lives of nations and thus leading them to perdition. According to Lehtonen, lust had led young Finns to sexual depravity that exceeded all moral limits. In addition, alcohol had lured young men and women to carelessness and that was endangering the existence of the whole nation. The road to hell was always covered with enchanting but poisonous flowers, Lehtonen warned. He then lamented that the people that had "ousted the plague of Bolshevism with the certainty of crusaders" from their borders had given themselves up to such sin and depravity. Since "sin and the powers of darkness" had not been eradicated from within, Lehtonen declared that the nation now also had an internal holy war and crusade to carry out. (Lehtonen 1942a; also Mannermaa 1943.)

Bishop Eino 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 commandment, offered a fitting analogy for Finland's situation.[93] The biblical text includes an extended version of the Decalogue, extensive laws, admonitions, and injunctions to the Israelites about how they ought to behave in the promised land. In his sermon Moses urges obedience to divine ordinances and warns the Israelites of the danger of forsaking the God of their ancestors. He then renews the covenant between God and the Israelites, which is conditional upon the people remaining loyal to Yahweh. Priests are then ordered to take responsibility for upholding the new Mosaic Law. The general dialectic in Deuteronomy is thus based on acknowledging the position of the chosen people among the peoples of earth but lamenting its immaturity and rebelliousness.

According to the bishop too, Finland's national existence was threatened not only by the violence, wickedness and godlessness of the external enemy but also by internal dangers, that is, a loss of faith and the loss of moral power. The people of Finland had always endured 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 all could also be lost. In accordance with the biblical analogy, "the people's church" and its priests were entrusted with the task of maintaining the spiritual heritage of the nation. Only preaching about

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92 John the Baptist is an archetypical victim of intoxication and promiscuity: the intoxicated king, who had unlawfully taken his brother's wife Herodias, promised her daughter Salome the head of John the Baptist as a reward for a dance. (See Mark 6: 14–29.)

93 Sormunen quoted Deuteronomy 30:19: "This day I call the heavens and the earth as witnesses against you that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Now choose life, so that you and your children may live."

sin and grace would uphold the distinction between good and evil and prevent people from feeling free to commit sin. The church's task was to show that the life of small nations did not depend on cunning power politics, but on the fact that "the God of our fathers" was with them. (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 on one side after it has played its part. Aarre Lauha (1943a, 95–97) was one of those who warned that the war could signify either the release of divine wrath or an opportunity for the chosen people of the Armageddon to emerge.

Also Bishop Yrjö Wallinmaa drew an analogy between Finland and biblical Israel. Wallinmaa used a passage from Exodus to interpret the situation. He said that God had carried the Israelites as on eagles' wings, but since the covenant had been broken, he had crushed them and set them below all other nations.[94] As a result the people that were meant to be His treasured possession and a kingdom of priests and a holy nation were wandering without a fatherland around the earth, often even hated and scorned by other peoples. Wallinmaa then declared that Finland had also been carried on eagles' wings: that God had helped and rescued Finland from a great danger was "a fact that did not need explication". (Wallinmaa 1942b.)

However, the bishop went on to say that in the life and deeds of the nation there were no signs that people were adhering to the covenant. Finland was inevitably at a crossroads. According to Wallinmaa, there was a lot of evidence that Finland had broken the covenant. Although the external threat had not been completely eradicated, the border was safe. So it was all the more grievous that the great offensive of sin had been so successful. Drunkenness, immorality and violations of the sanctity of marriage and the home were eating away at "the defensive force of the nation". Thus it was the urgent task of the church to preach this word, and the task of the people to repent and "become again a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exodus 19: 3–6). (Ibid.)

Lennart Pinomaa epitomized the growing pessimism. He argued that how the war had developed had most certainly not been due to a twist of fate or to world-political contingencies. On the contrary, it was God who had allowed events to proceed as they had done "as punishment of our sins". Pinomaa declared that Finland had forgotten God because she had become too self-confident; turning her back on Him in the belief that the nation would be successful without God was a grievous error that would not go unpunished. Pinomaa then compared the sinful state of Finland with biblical Chorazin and Bethasaida, that had rejected Jesus's work. As a result, the villages were cursed

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94 "Then Moses went up to God, and the Lord called to him from the mountain and said, 'This is what you are to say to the descendants of Jacob and what you are to tell the people of Israel: 'You yourselves have seen what I did to Egypt, and how I carried you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now if you obey me fully and keep my covenant, then out of all nations you will be my treasured possession. Although the whole earth is mine, you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.' These are the words you are to speak to the Israelites.'" (Exodus 19:3–6.)

(Matthew 11: 20–24). The professor stressed that Finland had had her chance to receive "the rain of divine mercy", but just like Israel, it had let it pass. Thus, as this rain would never fall twice on the same spot, it would be right to shout, "Woe to you, London! Woe to you, Berlin! Woe to you, Helsinki! It would be more bearable for Sodom and Gomorrah on the Day of Judgment than for you." (Pinomaa 1944a; 1944b.)

The war was, on the other hand, considered to be a moment of purification. It was pointed out that God would surely punish sinful peoples and nations but the punishment did not necessarily mean destruction; it was rather a justified but stern indication that it was time to repent. For example, Professor Osmo Tiililä saw the war as "God's whip", a horrible punishment but also a form of fatherly discipline. He taught that this wrath could be appeased only by letting Christ renew the heart. The fact that God was "forcefully pounding European culture" was a sign that this culture was not happy and thus not capable of enduring. This was a sign that we should better our ways in order to avoid complete destruction. (Tiililä 1942a, 3; Tiililä 1942b, 1; Tiililä 1944, 3.) Professor Eelis Gulin[95] declared that "the great shepherd of nation"s was not tired of bearing Finland, although the people had forsaken him many times in the past. Gulin even saw the war itself as a blessing, for it seemed that God truly loved a people that He punished so severely. However, it was time to repent so that God would not have to punish Finland any more. (Gulin 1942, 1.)

The great potter figure of the Book of Jeremiah was used to point out that,the Finnic tribe had been just like Israel, "like clay in the hand of the potter" in God's hand (Jeremiah 18:6). Even the most difficult hardships of the past had been the Great Potter's means of moulding Finland according to His will. However, there was one condition for the future: that every Finn should let the Great Potter mould "the inner person" into new beings in Christ – otherwise godlessness, sin and depravity would surely crush the whole people to pieces. (Vuorela O. 1942a, 2–3.) Thus the war was a moment of *metanoia* for Finland:

> In this war time is hidden a divine purpose that concerns individual men and women as well as nations. […] The purpose is to transform our minds. […] But there is a great danger that we may let the moment of change for permanent internal transformation pass in exchange for emptiness. (Wichmann 1943, 2.)

A prominent priest, Urho Muroma (1943, 1), referred to a passage from the Gospel according to St Luke, in which Jesus rebukes Jerusalem in jeremiadic fashion, saying that it has closed its eyes to what brings peace and failed to recognize Christ, and therefore its enemies will encircle and hem the people in on every side of the city. The enemy will "dash you to the ground, you and the children within your walls. They will not leave one stone on another, because you did not recognize the time of God's coming to you" (Luke 19:41–44). Finland was compared to Jerusalem with a change of emphasis to the effect that

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95 Eelis Gulin (1893–1975) was a professor of New Testament exegetics and Bishop of Tampere, after Aleksi Lehtonen, from 1945 to 1966.

whereas Jerusalem had closed its eyes to the truth, Finland could still recognize the time of God.

Chaplain Veikko Suutarinen set out two conditions for the future of the nation: firstly, that Finnish people should stand firm against sin, Satan and Russia, and secondly, that they would follow a path of truth during times of peace and times of war. Another chaplain took the theme further, saying that Finland's greatest transgression was not social or political, but rather, the most formidable sin was that the nation was not united in religion. This was especially serious from the point of view of the war, because the battle was not Finland's, but God's (2 Chronicles 20:15). Hence Finland's lack of unity on the religious front was jeopardizing the successful outcome of the war. (Suutarinen 1943, 2; Mattila 1943, 3.) Consequently, Finns had two options: either better their ways or be cut off like the dead branches of a tree. (Kalpa 1942b, 2–3; Lauha 1942, 2; Kaukovaara 1942b, 2–3.)

The Bishop of the Swedish speaking parishes, Max von Bonsdorff[96], had an interesting variation on the use of jeremiadic rhetoric. Using a more optimistic rhetoric than his colleagues, von Bonsdorff added the element of hope. There was still lamentation for the present situation, but to his demand for repentance and improvement he added confidence in the future. For example, the bishop declared that Finland as a nation was being called upon to combine the inner and the outer struggle for the Christian faith; however, instead of reproaching the nation for sinfulness, the bishop was confident that Finland with its inner strength would successfully meet the challenges of "this battle of faith", both in times of war and in times of peace.

Von Bonsdorff compared Christianity with the "Nordic love of freedom". He identified the two concepts and said that one was not possible without the other, since the seeds of political freedom are sown in "the faith of the fathers", and without Christian faith the nation could not be truly free. According to von Bonsdorff, the Christian call to be free (Gal. 5:13) was realized in the freedom of an independent state. He therefore concluded that the war had been and continued to be a test especially for the youth of the nation. He was, however, certain that if people would continue to show love and solidarity as "a great Christian family", the nation would pass the test. (von Bonsdorff 1943; 1944.) Max von Bonsdorff remained, however, an exception that validated the dominant rhetorical *typos* of jeremiad.

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In dramatistic terms, the war conceived via the jeremiadic typology was based on agent as the root term. The circumference of the drama was narrowed down from being an eschatological battle towards a nation engaged in a kind of Jacob's wrestling. As rhetoric that draws on the pentadic agent leads easily to

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96 Max von Bonsdorff (1882–1967) was Bishop of Porvoo from 1923 to 1954. He was a diplomatic man and sought to improve dialogue and understanding between the Finnish and Swedish speaking population in Finland.

individual and collective psychologization and moralization, the true battle lay within the people themselves. The war was not primarily a struggle with an alien oppressor or with adverse circumstances. Rather, the actually decisive battle was being waged within Finland. The war had a special ethical impulse that was due to its nature as a holy war: the survival of the nation depended on a politics of collective responsibility, which, in turn, was derived from the biblical demand for "cleanliness" made on a chosen people. Thus nation as the agent creates a bond of obedience among its constitutive members: each individual adds up to the collective agent (see Knapp 1999, 594).

The jeremiad introduced guilt as a forceful factor in clerical rhetoric. The nation was seen as a morally corrupt agent that had been unable to fulfil its part to be "holy like God and a kingdom of priests". Thus the agent had transformed the eschatological scene into a scene of guilt. In this way a change of the circumference of the dramatistic scene and the accompanying jeremiadic topos were used to express the doubt that had inevitably risen due to the prolongation of the war: in contrast to the eschatological prophecies and prognoses made during the early months of the Continuation War, the sinfulness of the whole nation and its transgression of the divine covenant was reflected in Finland's success (or lack of it) in the war. This meant that the certainty that one's community was facing suffering because the powers of evil were at work had to be abandoned. Attention was deflected away from scenic considerations of possible military-political flaws towards alleged shortcomings in individual or collective morality. Significantly, although the operations of war were at a standstill, the norm that the nation needed to return to consisted of the original eschatological vision, soldiers of Christ on a crusade and Finland as God's agency with two missions.

As I have already mentioned, by transforming the circumference it is possible to bring under scrutiny either individuals or the whole community, which eventually tend to merge into one moral entity. Thus the jeremiad involves dialectical movement between collective and individual agents. To start with, particular stress on the moral consistency of the nation as a united whole was said to be the decisive factor in the war: the nation was understood as an agent that could alter the outcome of the war. This, however, introduced a dialectical transformation within the jeremiad. Finland as a collective was engaged in a battle against "the powers of evil" whose externalization the Soviet Union was proclaimed to be. These spiritual powers had also contaminated "the soul of the nation", making the agent itself a scene of the same battle as at the front. In other words, drawing on the agent–scene ratio, the agent could be examined in scenic terms as a battleground of spiritual forces. By narrowing down the circumference, the agent was transformed from the nation to the individual. Thus also a Pauline *typos* of the war within accompanied jeremiadic rhetoric. This leads us to an examination now of how the individual soldier was conceived as the scene of the decisive battle.

8.2 Scenery of internal warfare

8.2.1 Typos: the war within

As I have said, using the jeremiadic *typos*, testifying to the dramatistic ambiguity, the initial scene–act and scene–agent ratios were in fact reversed: the moral corruptness of the nation threatened to transform the eschatological scene into uncertainty and suffering. In addition to reproaching the nation as a collective agent through the jeremiad, clerics also turned their attention to individual soldiers as agents. The rhetorical strategy of what I have called the war within *typos* was based on an application of the agent–scene ratio, in which the external scene and the internality of the agent were merged and the individual soldier was considered a scene for the antagonist forces of the conflict. In this way the circumference of the agent was narrowed down from the nation to the individual whose internal struggles would decide the outcome of the war.

The *typos* is constructed on elements from Pauline theology. In addition to the soldier of Christ *typos*, the flesh and spirit dichotomy constitutes one of the defining antithetical typologies of New Testament warfare. The *typos* draws on the platonizing dualism present in Pauline theology (for example 2 Cor. 4:18). The individual, like the world, is seen to consist of material and spiritual components in correspondence with each other. In this morphology a human being consists of an outer physical shell and an inner spiritual soul which represents his or her true and transcendental essence. The body is not rejected altogether, for it is the necessary housing of the spirit during the earthly sojourn. (Boyarin 1997, 59–62.) However, the body represents "the flesh" (i.e. law and division) and is where the origin of sin lies, whereas "the spirit" (hope and unity) represents life organized in reference to God and His purposes (ibid. 68–69). Thus the agent is a scene in which the soul is constantly in conflict with (bodily) temptations.

From this it follows that life according to the flesh and life according to the spirit are in constant conflict with each other. Paul explains for example in the Epistle to the Galatians that

> So I say, walk by the Spirit, and you will not gratify the desires of the flesh. For the flesh desires what is contrary to the Spirit, and the Spirit what is contrary to the flesh. They are in conflict with each other, so that you are not to do whatever you want. But if you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law. The acts of the flesh are obvious: sexual immorality, impurity and debauchery; idolatry and witchcraft; hatred, discord, jealousy, fits of rage, selfish ambition, dissensions, factions and envy; drunkenness, orgies, and the like. I warn you, as I did before, that those who live like this will not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control. Against such things there is no law. (Gal. 5:16–22.)

Hence the circumference of the defining scene is that of the individual agent, since he or she is the theatre of war of the most decisive battle: the most intense fighting can be found in the human heart between the flesh and the spirit because the enemy of the soul, Satan, is actively tempting believers to sin, i.e. to fulfil their "fleshly desires" by immersing themselves in the "works of the flesh" (i.e. sexual sins, idolatry and sins pertaining to inter-human relations), in contrast to the Lord, who wants believers to imbibe the "fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22–23). Thus those giving in to the flesh will meet the inevitable fate of the physical body - decay and destruction – whereas those living by the spirit will have eternal salvation.

The *typos* is based on the idea that all earthly struggles are adjuncts of an internal struggle. The dichotomy thus claims to capture the timeless essence of human struggle against whatever obstacles we may encounter during our earthly sojourn. That is to say, the source of each obstacle that arises can be traced to the above-mentioned antagonism taking place within the individual him or herself. Focusing on the internal struggle of the agent exemplifies perfectly the dimension of rhetoric in which "I is addressing its me" for moral reasons. In Burkean theory this is defined as rhetoric addressing the individual soul. (Burke 1969b, 28, 37, 38–39). The purpose is to construct a mode of self-conduct or "self-guidance" in which the symbolic relation of the external and the internal scenes is understood and what is presented as an external necessity becomes internal liberty – as Burke puts it, those voices from without are the most effective that can speak in the language of the voice within.

Consequently, the rhetorical applicability of the *typos* is derived from two notions. In the first place, the Pauline "acts of the flesh" are mainly symbolic acts that can be identified with virtually whatever the rhetor sees fit in the given situation for the given audience. Dissension and selfish ambition, for example, can be identified with anything that questions the established order and the path to salvation it urges to travel. Secondly, according to the *typos* it is first and foremost the individual whose conscience and morality are brought under ethical scrutiny. In other words, the external situation is not criticised or blamed, but guidance is given about the spiritual qualities of the individual. For example, economic disasters can be attributed to greedy or otherwise immoral individuals rather than to the ideological or the systemic scene.

8.2.2 The soldier as the defining scene of the war

In contrast to the soldier of Christ *typos* which relied on certainty of the purity of the agent, the typos of the war within introduced a rupture "within" the agent, i.e. a battle that was called a "border struggle" (Loimaranta Y. 1942, 1). Thus, as will be shown, the frontier between God and the Devil did not conform simply to the frontier between the Finnish and Soviet armies; on the contrary, "thousands of temptations to sin and depravity were lurking everywhere" (Lehtinen 1941, 2–3).

It was emphasized that the two fronts had biblical roots: the one between earthly kingdoms and the one within each person. The former was a war of

God, to which the biblical battles testify but which constantly takes place on earth as kingdoms of darkness fight against God. The latter was the battle waged within the individual, the war of sin. The internal war and the external war were analogous, for they were essentially fought against the same enemy. Just like the earthly kingdoms, every soul was fought over by two rulers, Christ and Satan, to establish either the Kingdom of God or the kingdom of darkness. In this battlefield the troops of God confronted the troops of Satan. This meant that man's work in this world was war, for this was the condition decreed by God. Finnish soldiers should therefore remember that since the essence of man was to fight, neither internal nor external war could be strange to him. (Sihvonen 1943, 8; Anonymous 1941, 2; Rissanen 1941, 2; Pyysalo 1941, 2; Sinnemäki 1941b, 2.)

Such a position was put forward by the chaplain Jussi Tenkku[97] (1942, 2–3), for example. The aims of the war, he said, were derived from a Christian's position as a citizen of two kingdoms. Firstly, as citizens of their earthly fatherland Finnish soldiers were in action fighting for a better future for the nation. Secondly, each individual's citizenship and their action in relation to the heavenly kingdom would ultimately also decide the fate of their fatherland on earth. (See also Gulin 1943, 1.) Thus, as several chaplains stressed, the frontier between God and Satan was at two levels: in East Karelia against Bolshevism, and in every soul. The battle front in East Karelia showed that Satan had moved there in order to tempt people and destroy civilization. A similar view opened up in each soul as a battlefield between faith and sin. Each soldier must fight as fiercely against the "dragon that raged within" as they fought against Bolshevism. (Linnansaari 1942, 2–3; Pinomaa 1941, 2; Lampola 1942, 6; Siitonen 1943, 1; Korpijaakko 1944, 9, 20–24, 30–31).

The argument was based on a chain of reasoning. It was claimed that every Christian was in a state of constant struggle against "the East and the powers of Darkness" (Jalkanen 1943, 2), but purity and morality would guarantee divine help, without which the nation would perish. Hence each soldier's obedience to Christian precepts was seen as the defining factor of the war. That constituted "that which restrains" (2 Thess. 2:6) Satanic chaos from being revealed in the fullness of their apostasy and evil. If this restraint was removed from within each individual, Finland too would see a public resurgence of the Antichrist: abandoning Christian morality would mean that "the ruler of this world" (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11) had seduced "the soldiers of righteous, holy crusade" to go over to his side in mutiny against God. Hence, drawing on the *actus-status-actus* tradeoff examined earlier, it was warned that Finnish soldiers should restrain themselves from having anything to do with alcohol, sexual promiscuity or pride, because "the true calling of a soldier receives its power from an inner strength that explodes as heroic deeds in war"

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97 Professor of philosophy from the 1960s to the 1980s, Jussi Tenkku (1917–2005) is an interesting figure. Initially overwhelmed by nationalist enthusiasm and Greater Finland ideology, after the Continuation War he went through a spiritual crisis, re-evaluated his whole religious stance and decided that he could no longer be a priest.

– but only after a victory in the internal struggle of each soldier, the true holy war. (Mannermaa 1942a, 2; Pakkala 1941a, 1; Sormunen 1941c, 2; Jokipii 1941b, 2; Ranta 1942a, 2–3; 1942b, 3; Mattila 1942, 3.)

The Soviet Union was an example of what happened 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 – also the Finns – might call this divine wrath down upon themselves in the future. The reason for the anguish of Russia 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. Consequently, repentance was more than urgent, for 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. (Laurila 1941, 2–3; Sormunen 1941c, 2.)

The earthly enemy was only a means used by the powers of evil. The nature of the enemy as diabolical agency, on the other hand, made it twice as deadly. In addition to its earthly weapons that threatened one's physical existence, its surprise assaults on "the battlefield of the heart", if successful, would result in loss of love for "the worldly fatherland" as well as for "the eternal Fatherland" (Voutilainen 1942, 2). Soldiers in particular were under threat because they had to face constantly this double danger – and there were already numerous warning examples of the moral irresponsibility of Finnish soldiers. (Kuusisto 1941, 2; Lehtola 1941, 2). It was not possible to make an interim peace with sin, for every even momentary agreement with sin meant war against God, which meant, not only certain destruction – as the fate of the Soviet Union testified – but also war against one's own true nature. (Kalpa 1942c, 2–3; Karhumäki 1942, 2–3; Pahikainen 1942, 2–3; Simola 1942, 2–3; Niininen 1942, 2.)

The seeming stability of trench warfare was seen as treacherous because it interfered with one's ethical compass. In several accounts, the summer of 1941 was seen as a time of blessing, a time that had made the situation clear, since Finns had been able to put on the uniform of a soldier of Christ. However, in the eternal struggle confidence and serenity meant a false peace and meant that one was on the wrong side of the front, for the battle required a total fight on two fronts. The fact that operations at the fighting front had stopped showed that the Finnish soldier had not been entirely successful in staying awake at his post. Interestingly, Jesus was described as "the great war leader" who was constantly inspecting guards at their posts and waking them up with his call to put on "the full armour of God", without which "the devil's schemes" could not be resisted (Eph. 6:11). Hence, although the war might be stuck in the trenches, one had to stand strong "with the shield of faith", with which one could "extinguish all the flaming arrows of the evil one" at one's guard post (Eph. 6:10–17). (Porthan 1942, 2–3; Jalkanen 1943, 2–3.) However, in numerous sermons and speeches it was argued that the problem now was that Finnish soldiers did not fully understand the seriousness of the situation. Alcohol and

other sins caused the soldier to "sleep" at his post past the crucial moment when decisive lines were being drawn, and he thereby let the enemy infiltrate the nation.[98] (Kalpa 1942h, 3; see also Hovikoski 1941, 2; Kaukovaara 1941b, 2.)

Senior Chaplain Rolf Tiivola explained the halt to the advance of the Finno-German troops during the winter of 1942–1943 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 1942a, 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" (1 Tim. 6:12) at a personal level. (Kalpa 1942i, 2–3; Pietilä 1943, 2; Mikkonen 1941, 2; Gulin 1941, 1.) 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 1941b.)

The parable of the storm and shipwreck (in Acts 27) was used as an analogy for the Finnish situation in this period of trench warfare. In the parable Paul and his companions get into a storm and eventually their ship is wrecked. However, an angel appears to Paul and assures him that the party will be saved and that they should not be afraid – only the ship will be destroyed. They even have to throw some of their food away in order to lighten the ship, but eventually all the men are saved. The story shows the importance of trust in God even amidst the storms of life. Earthly belongings are presented as a curse: though coveted as a blessing, the time may come when they will be a burden; not only too heavy to be carried safely, but heavy enough to sink the owner.

The parable thus suggests that the external situation is not decisive in matters of salvation, and the shipwreck of goods should be distinguished from a shipwreck of faith. Finland was depicted as being in a storm similar to the biblical one. Finns were exhorted to remember the words of an angel to Paul during the raging storm: "Do not be afraid" (Acts 27:23–24). (Kaukovaara 1942a, 2–3.) They were advised to "be careful, keep calm and do not be afraid" amidst the raging battle, for, after all, as long as Finnish soldiers remained soldiers of Christ, no earthly shipwreck would harm them. Although the Devil was waging an intense war, scaring them and lying to them in order to disturb their trust in God, Finns should not forget that victory depended on keeping aboard the ship of faith and trusting in God (Salmenkivi 1942, 2–3).

King Asa of Judah's purge of idolatry (2 Chronicles 14; 16) was used as another biblical analogy. The acts of King Asa are a biblical example of the

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98 "So then, let us not be like others, who are asleep, but let us be awake and sober" (1 Thess. 5:6).

internal purification of a nation. Asa is considered to be perhaps the godliest and most devoted king of Judah. Asa set himself to destroy the idolatry into which the whole nation had been betrayed by its former ruler, and to restore the worship of and obedience to Yahweh. The pious king purged his kingdom internally: "He removed the foreign altars and the high places, smashed the sacred stones and cut down the Asherah poles. He commanded Judah to seek the Lord, the God of their ancestors, and to obey His laws and commands" (2 Chronicles 14: 3–4). As a result, the kingdom was "at peace under him" (ibid. 5). The biblical account stresses that in return God delivered Judah from the external enemy: the powerful armies of the king of Ethiopia were destroyed. Asa's internal purge is an example of how piousness and loyalty to the divine will result in military success, under any circumstances.

For chaplain Kaarlo Pelkonen (1942, 8) the example of Asa would determine whether Finland's weapons would be blessed or whether it would face "the dreadful fate of Goliath". If Finland would not accept God's call to personal repentance, the blessing reserved for Finland would be transformed into a curse. He declared that the creation of "a frontier of Christ's soldiers ready to serve" was essential if the war was to be continued successfully. The decision was whether to obey God's law or accept Satan's company – and then inevitably the judgment of God. As was stated on several other occasions too, each soldier should approach the question via a series of decisions: the company of sinners or of the righteous? Liquor or sobriety? Fornication or purity? Pride or humility? Worldliness or prayer? (Huhtinen 1942, 4; Launis 1942a, 3; Karhumäki 1942, 3.) In this way, in the words of Yrjö J. E. Alanen, it would be decided whether the war was a curse or a blessing (Alanen 1942b, 2).

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The above discussion has shown how the war within *typos* was based on a set of identifications. The argument narrowed the circumference of the war scene to the individual soldier, at the same time identifying the war at the firing front with "the battle within" each individual person. The typos then identified the internal and external workings of Satan. Sexual sins, alcoholism, jealousy and violence were identified as being consubstantial with the evil force that also the military enemy represented, i.e. immorality, impurity, debauchery and idolatry. As a result, the individual agent was depicted in scenic terms as the crucial battleground in which the outcome of the war would be decided. The individual was also reminded that he was committed to certain actions by his true essence as a Christian soldier. Thus the scene, due to its decisive role, presented forceful demands on the agent. In this way the war within typology was based on a peculiar application of the scene–agent ratio: the individual was at the same time a crucial scene of the war as well as the object of certain demands.

As often in relation to allegedly "autonomous" activities or spheres, this symbolic framework becomes identified with other symbols and values as well

(Burke 1969b, 27–28). Consequently, here the result is that the individual was exhorted to align his and her personal allegiance with certain symbols identified by the rhetor as Christian. Christian morality, in turn, was identified with what was good for the fatherland. In this way the *typos* exemplifies an application of the dialectical transformation of *metanoia* in the Lutheran context: the implication was that the military aims identified with Christian ideals would be "put on" through the act of symbolic rebirth of the individual. Hence no external law would be needed: the Finno-Christian spirit would suffice.

In a sense, it was logical that, with agent as the root term, there gradually entered a stronger emphasis than before on the hexadic term attitude: attitudes of the agent toward for example moral character of the war, authorities and suffering were deemed a defining factor. Hence the *typos* also includes a movement away from the scene–agent ratio to the agent–act ratio and the attitude–act ratio. In this case the act of "the scenic agent" was a refusal to have anything to do with actual sins (alcohol, promiscuity) or attitudinal sins (pride, smugness). However, whereas there was an element of certainty in the soldier of Christ topos, here the status of the Finnish soldier was not stable. This fact is reflected in the next element of the war within *typos*.

8.2.3 Cracks in the foundation: sinful soldiers and impious homes

As it began to be clear that the Soviet Union would not be totally defeated by the Axis, the emphasis in the war within *typos* was transformed into an examination of how the agents, that is, both Finnish soldiers and the people at home, had been corrupted and how this had contaminated the whole scene of the drama. The argument was that the prolongation of the war had been caused by the soldiers and people at home who had begun to falter in their internal struggle. Here the transformation in rhetoric was based on an essential element in symbolic action, namely the potentiality-actuality pair, in which a scenic (or in this case attitudinal) potentiality becomes transformed into certain acts (Burke 1969a, 43, 88–89, 242–243). However, at this time potentiality was actualized into ethically "wrong" acts. In other words, what had been a potential threat to the existential liminality of the soul of the soldier had now become an actuality in deeds that had turned the war into a curse.

An accusation commonly made was that Finns, because of their pride, were guilty of betraying Christ. Drawing on the rhetorical force of the ultimate god-term of Christian rhetoric, it was claimed that 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 till the Heavens". (Leskinen 1942, 2–3; Klami 1942, 2.) Victories gained by the army had led to overwhelming pride. 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. Powerful rhetorical imagery was used to rebuke Finns and make it clear to them that they were "pressing a new crown of thorns on Christ's head". (Häyrinen 1942, 2; Pietilä Eino 1942, 2–3.)

In the rhetoric examined in the previous section any agreement with the enemy was deemed unnatural. Now, however, as a chaplain, M. Häkkinen pointed out regretfully, "the armour of God" worn by every Finnish soldier was beginning to show significant cracks. (Häkkinen 1943, 3.) This was symbolized by a contradiction: the use of alcohol, stealing and profanities were signs of "the pact that Finnish soldiers had made with the devil", although officially the nation was at war against an army propelled by the same satanic, godless power.[99] (Pietilä Hannu 1942a, 2; Pietilä Eino 1942, 2; Anonymous 1942b, 2; Kula 1942, 2–3; Juvonen 1943.) Because of their inclination "to sin and rebel without any pricks of conscience", it was warned, Finland was "dancing its way to doom". (Sinko 1943, 2–3; U. R. 1943, 2; Torma 1943, 3; Räty 1943, 2; K. S. A. 1943, 2–3.) According to the senior chaplain Rolf Tiivola, the breakdown of the internal frontier had resulted in selfishness, disobedience to the authorities and unwillingness to sacrifice themselves on the military front (Tiivola 1942b, 1).

Chaplain Kyösti Kauppinen, an active member of the People's Patriotic Movement, compared Finland with the biblical Israel presented in the Book(s) of Samuel. As the Bible showed, God's plan of salvation has its specific times, times of historical ruptures. Kauppinen said that just as the First Book of Samuel presents Israel as being defeated by the Philistines but eventually being victorious with God's help, the war Finland was waging with God's help was in order to liberate most of the areas inhabited by Finnic peoples. The chaplain took the role of the Prophet Samuel, who warned the Israelites of hubris after a successful campaign against the Philistines. He declared that "thus far the Lord has helped us" (1 Sam. 7:12) but warned that the coming year would require Finland as a nation and Finns as individuals to denounce "their false gods and cleanse their sins" – only then would God continue to fight for Finland. (Kauppinen 1942, 3.)

In chaplain Iivari Leskinen's apocalyptic vision, the fate of Finland was not as certain as in the eschatological prophecies presented at the beginning of the Continuation War. Leskinen threatened that the times when the Lord would "give to each person according to what they have done" (Revelation 22:12) were at hand. Finns must seek the Lord and "call on him while he is near" (Isaiah 55:6). Leskinen warned that the gates to Heaven were still open and the call still rang in the air, but soon – maybe sooner than Finns expected – the gates would be closed. Then outside would be "the dogs, those who practise magic arts, the sexually immoral, the murderers, the idolaters and everyone who loves and practices falsehood" (Rev. 22:15). (Leskinen 1942, 2–3.) This required urgent attention since, as another chaplain claimed, "sin in the crusader army was

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99 For example, a chaplain pointed out in his report to the Field Bishop about the morality of his division at the beginning of trench warfare that although alcohol was strictly banned "the desire to drink was not completely lacking", among both men and officers. He then regretfully mentioned that even a battalion commander had been under the influence of alcohol at the front line, and consequently he had been killed by the enemy. The chaplain pondered that this, in addition to "cursing and frivolous jokes", would probably cause serious problems in the future. He concluded with a laconic remark that it certainly seemed that "we had been closer to God in the Winter War than in the present one". (Virolainen 1941.)

severe and widespread". Finnish crusaders were not to consider themselves an exception, even if they had been entrusted with the divine task of defending Christian civilization. (Virolainen 1942a, 3.)

Reminding the audience about the possibility that a holy war can in fact be reversed, it was stated in a similar vein that Finnish soldiers should not allow themselves to believe that God's holy wrath would be directed only against Bolshevism. Finland had not been selected because of her goodness and righteousness; God could select even a godless, sinful people as His instrument. God had decreed that "the interest of the great Germany required defending small Finland and destroying its arch nemesis". However, there was a danger near: it was probable that "the majority of our people will be made over proud by the victory and will forget God, taking all the honour to themselves only". (Suominen Rudolf 1942, 1–2.) The priests regretted that the internal front had not been as solid as the external frontier, and warned that because of this failure God seemed to be withdrawing His protection from Finland. (Hälvä 1942, 2–3; Finskas 1942, 3; Pakkala 1943, 3; Lauha M. N. 1942, 2.)

Finnish soldiers were not the only ones who had been enticed and led astray by the devil. Those who had remained behind on the home front were accused of sinfulness of a similar kind. In this case, however, the situation was even worse because, as it was pointed out, the army could not survive without support from home. For example Lauri Pohjanpää, a priest, poet and doctor of theology, declared that the demands of a crusade covered also the home front: "the fighting crusader army" could not keep going, he said, without the spiritual support of the home front. Pohjanpää used a biblical example from the Book of Joshua. The Book of Joshua includes instructions about holy land and the conduct of a holy war to cleanse the territory of the Israelites of infidels. However, an initial defeat when trying to conquer the city of Ai was caused by the existence of just one sinner among the Israelites. Pohjanpää warned that just a single sinful individual or deed could jeopardize Finland's crusade – surely no one wanted to be the cause of the collapse of a victorious frontier? (Pohjanpää 1942, 1.) In addition, homes that organized gatherings for dancing and socializing were defined as "nests of evil" that induced men and women, boys and girls to sin (Jokipii 1944, 2).

The women at home were given special attention. For example the Bishop of Tampere, Aleksi Lehtonen, preached in a meeting of clerics that all news about the home front was received and examined with the utmost care at the fighting front. The news that some wives were "succumbing to the hands of other men" had had appalling effects on the morale of the fighting troops. Such information aroused bitterness and hatred, which, according to the bishop, was quickly reflected in what went on at the fighting front. (Lehtonen 1942b.) Similarly, according to Bishop Juho Mannermaa (1943), especially girls were open to "promiscuous adventures". He contended that the church was of particular importance in questions of sexual morality. He also pointed out that the Lutheran Church had always valued highly the task of the state to uphold the political order and to protect and educate its citizens to have ideals that

would ensure decency in both family life and national life even in times of serious crises. (Editorial 1942b, 2; 1942c, 2.)

In addition, the nation was told that hubris and immorality were the most grievous sins also for those on the home front. For instance, an editorial in *Kotimaa* (1942, 2) warned that the victories of the army could easily lead to troubling attitudes of smugness and self-importance, which would result in overconfidence in human power. It surely was a reason to rejoice that the God of history had offered Finland "an expanded living space" and at the same time was making another group of the Finnish peoples into part of the Finnish body politic. But this was also a call to repent, since if the looming Greater Finland was not built on proper religious and moral foundations, it would be a giant on clay feet. Repentance was something Finns had "proudly refrained from doing", and so there was a clear and present danger that also Finland's fate would be to be thrown "into the darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt 8:12) with "all the proud and disobedient children of the 20th century" (Hirvelä 1943, 2–3; Snellman 1943b, 3).

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As the analysis above indicates, the main reason for disappointment in the war was found in soldiers who had faltered in their internal struggle against sin. When the focus was on the individual agent, it was claimed that the armour of God was no longer in mint condition. The reason for the cracking armour was the pact the Finnish soldier had allegedly made with the devil; he had opened the door to alcohol, sexual immorality and hubris. When the circumference of the accused agent was widened to the home front, it was women who were made the object for condemnation: their loose sexual behaviour was making it very difficult for the eschatological prophecies to be realized.

The agent tempted by the devil as the root term reveals also how there can be detected a level of consubstantiality between the protagonist and the antagonist in a dramatic conflict. Discussing the concept of dramatic irony, Kenneth Burke (1969a, 514) notes that "true irony" is based on a sense of kinship with the enemy – the enemy is needed not merely as an outsider but as contained within. Accordingly, with the sinful agent we encounter the ambiguous nature of dramatic substance: since the boundary between the scene and the agent is not intact, the enemy is not only outside but the war rages also within. Hence dramatic irony makes it possible to change the perspective and focus on qualities and motives within, which in turn implies that the malign element needed to be purified (via sacrifice) is internal to the agent (Desilet 2006, 34–37, 53).

Given the alleged sinfulness of Finnish men and women, it was considered appropriate to declare that the holy war was in fact reversed. As a result, "godless Bolshevism" could become God's instrument in punishing disobedient Finns. The immoral attitudes and acts of the agent could in this way transform the Finnish role of divine agency into an object against which

the enemy as a divine agency could be used. It is also certainly ironic that the scene that in earlier phases of the war was the most important element in the motivational configuration of the war was now discounted more or less completely as a factor leading to unwanted conduct. By narrowing down the circumference the brutal nature of war could be ignored as a source of motivation and focus instead on the individual. As the war progressed, however, by applying the agent–scene ratio, the scene was brought into play again as an element that laid growing demands upon the agent.

8.3 Obedience, responsibility and sacrifice

The end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 witnessed yet another rhetorical transformation. Although the agent persisted as the root term, the argument proceeded from war against sin to an emphasis on obedience and the obligation to carry out decisions made by the political and military leadership. By supplementing it with the scene–attitude ratio, the agent as the root term was accompanied with scenic emphasis that urged to create an attitude of trust and loyalty towards the authorities whose decisions would redeem the corrupted scene, with the corresponding implication that disloyalty would be "satanic".

8.3.1 Typos: obedience and mortification

The rhetoric here draws mainly on what I shall call the biblical typology of obedience. In its Judaic form the emphasis is on the nation or the people as a whole, whereas the Christian version is based on a threefold hierarchical structure found in the Gospels and Pauline theology. The starting point is that the Lordship of Christ is the highest source of authority, to which all must answer (Matthew 28:18). However, this authority is delegated to three other main levels. First of all comes the family, in which children must obey their parents and the wife must obey her husband, the head of the family, who in turn must submit to Christ (Eph. 5:22–25, 6:10; 1 Tim. 2:12.) Secondly, the state, in which Christians must cooperate with those in authority and obey the laws of the land, insofar as these are within the limits of God's laws (1 Peter 2:13–14). And finally, the church, in which Christians must submit to the rule of Christ exercised through the Spirit (Rom. 8:14), the Word (2 Tim. 3:16) and the Church leadership (Matt. 18:17–20; Hebrews 13:17).

In addition, the topos emphasizes that just as God is the source of all authority, so Satan is the ultimate devil-term and author of all rebellion – for an insurrection against God was precisely the reason why Lucifer, a former archangel, was cast out of Heaven (Isaiah 14:12–15). Rebellion is the very spirit of Satan's attitude (Eph. 2:2), and such an attitude must not be allowed to dominate Christians and taint their attitude towards all authority: for whoever resists authority resists the ordinance of God. Consequently, disobedience is

depicted as a vice that will bring divine judgment to the whole community. (Rom. 13:2). The typology differs in emphasis from jeremiadic rhetoric, which laments the nation for its sinful behaviour in general; respecting authority especially "with joy" is now the focal issue (Hebrews 13: 17). The obedience *typos* accentuates the importance of submission and duty within all three spheres of life. For instance Martin Luther, as has been pointed out, drew on the Pauline conception of the divine origin of authority in constructing his doctrine of the two regimes.

Finally, the *typos* of obedience also includes a demand for the ultimate sacrifice, that is, one's life. Sacrifice soothes the wrath of God that has come about as a result of disobedience; in general, obedience is better than sacrifice, but in case of disobedience expiatory measures are needed. (Gorringe 1996, 36–45). In Christian theology Christ's suffering and death on the cross is the atonement for the sins of humankind. Drawing on Old Testament imagery, Jesus is the *antitypos* for the *typos* of the sacrificial goat present in Mosaic Law. That is, Christ the Lamb is the perfected (i.e. spiritualized) version of the animal sacrifice of the Old Testament (Leviticus 4: 32–35; Deut. 16; 1 Peter 1:19). Hence Christ dialectically becomes a victor through being a willing victim. From the perspective of symbolic action, one must strive to attain perfection by following the example of Jesus.

Imitatio Christi is a powerful entelechial strategy, its apex reached in willing self-sacrifice.[100] In the Burkean rhetorical theory of symbolic action, self-sacrifice is identified as mortification. It is integral to the idea of redemptive sacrifice associated with the idea of order (Burke 1970, 208). Disobedience – "the symbolic fall" – causes guilt that needs to be purified. The two principal means of purification are mortification and victimage. In the former nothing outside of the person involved needs to be polluted or destroyed in order for the purification to take place, whereas the latter involves some other person, place or thing as the chosen vessel to which the guilt is transferred. In other words, to make others suffer for our "sins" is victimage and to make ourselves suffer for our own "sins" is mortification. That is, while victimage absolves guilt homicidally by slaying the scapegoat, mortification absolves guilt "suicidally" by means of self-punishment and self-denial. The end result of both is redemption, the cathartic moment in which the "guilt" is alleviated and order restored. (Burke 1966, 435, 478; 1969a, 406; 1970, 190, 223, 248; Rueckert 1982, 131, 147.)

Mortification is the ultimate act of obedience, the physical culmination of the attitude of loyalty, so to speak. It is the disciplining of oneself systematically to say no to disorder and yes to the given symbolic order. Importantly, in order to be effective it needs to be derived from within. The mortified must, with one

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100 Burke notes that there are four ideal-types of victim. Firstly, there is the victim chosen for being the most blameless, i.e. the Christ principle of victimage. Secondly, there is the victim chosen for being the most blamable (the villainy principle). Thirdly, there is the victim as the result of a tragic flaw, and fourthly, there are the so-called supernumary victims, that is, those expendable for the good of the whole. (Burke 1959, 361.)

aspect of himself, be saying no to another aspect of himself. (Burke 1970, 190.) Thus mortification is also the most extreme form of self-control: it is conscience-laden repression in response to conditions in the socio-political order (ibid. 208). The means of mortification can vary from the deliberate, disciplinary "symbolic slaying" of any motive that one considers difficult to control and disorderly, via penance and abstinence to painful severities afflicted on the body (ibid. 135, 190, 210–211).

In relation to the war within *typos* and its movement between scene, agent and act, mortification is a logical outcome: here the agent understood in scenic terms is urged to act upon himself in order to respond to the demands of the internal scene. Martyrdom, in turn, is the fulfilment of the act of mortification. According to Burke (1970, 248), martyrdom is the idea of total voluntary self-sacrifice enacted in a "grave cause" before a perfect or absolute witness. As will be shown, as a dramatistic rhetorical strategy, mortification is the act the agent is expected to subject him or herself to in order to pay the debt of honour to the deceased and thus to redeem the community.

8.3.2 Root out apostasy and carry out your duties!

Chronologically, winter 1943 and the retreat of the German army from Soviet territories that had begun after the defeat in Kursk in July 1943 saw the introduction of the typology of obedience forcefully to the rhetorical war scene. Here obedience to the authorities was considered to be the only way the fatherland could survive – upholding Christian morality was not enough. Disobedience was identified with both religious and national apostasy. Since pride is an incipient act of disobedience (see Burke 1970, 94), loyalty and obedience were given a strong emphasis in clerical rhetoric.

Since the future was more than uncertain, the best way to affect Finland's fate was for everyone to repent and carry out the duties assigned to them. It seemed that the God of History was creating yet another scene in which Finland's situation would be decided – but how this would be done was not to be seen by human eyes. The only thing the Finns could do was to be obedient and to rely on faith. A suitable biblical motto was found in Isaiah 30:15: "In repentance and rest is your salvation, in quietness and trust is your strength". (Editorial 1943b, 2; 1943c, 2.) Consequently, it was declared that the signs of the times had plenty to say to anyone who wanted to examine them through faith in the Bible. (Voipio 1943, 2.)

Chaplain Matti Castren referred to Psalm 126, according to which "the Lord restored the fortunes of Zion", which had been kept in captivity by the Babylonians. The chaplain drew a parallel between the psalm and Finland's situation: God had restored the fortunes of Finland by saving it from a dreadful fate in the Winter War. However, the present war had not ended, and its result was not clear – and neither was Finland's future. What, then, was to be done in a situation in which the national future was unfathomable? According to Castren, there were two things: "firstly, as citizens, we must stand faithfully at our guardpost and fulfil our duties without hesitation", and secondly, "we

must restrain ourselves from irresponsible behaviour so that we do not endanger the foundations of our national future". These two factors constituted the demands of the moment. (Castren 1943, 5–6.) The situation, it was claimed, was simple, since there was only one right path to traverse: that of faith and obedience. Otherwise Finland would slide towards "the ever-burning fire" that the Bible warned about. (Sinko 1943, 2–3; U. R. 1943, 2; Torma 1943, 3; Räty 1943, 2; K. S. A. 1943, 2–3.)

Also the fate of Lot's wife in Genesis was used to illustrate the importance of attitude of obedience. Lot's wife had turned into a pillar of salt for failing to heed the orders of the angels of deliverance while fleeing from the city of Sodom. Lot's wife was presented as a symbol of defiance, a person who could not leave the past behind and begin a new life in the Kingdom of God. Now Finland's "sodomic state" had been destroyed and the spirit of the times had changed as new unifying powers were taking hold in Europe: the nation's future was open all the way to Greater Finland, the era of bliss. However, it was emphasized, there were many rebellious people who, like Lot's wife, were inclined to disobey orders, to look back, and return to old habits. This was not the way for Finland to go forward; the old sins had to be abandoned or the nation would perish utterly. (I. A. 1943, 2; Ervamaa 1943, 2.)

Chaplain Martti Simojoki, who later, in the 1960s and the 1970s, was Archbishop and an active figure in post-WWII church politics, quoted Paul[101] when he described the "seeming hopelessness of the present situation". Simojoki used Paul's interpretation of the story of Abraham and Sarah as a persuasive example of how strong faith would guarantee success, no matter how impossible the given situation seemed to us humans. Finns should follow Abraham in his unwavering faith in the promises of God. In addition, although the war seemed to be lasting longer than expected, Simojoki warned that Finland should not frown upon "the gently flowing waters of Shiloah" by reaching towards "the mighty floodwaters of the Euphrates", for Finland would endure only by "the power of serene waters of mercy" (Isaiah 8:6–7). (Simojoki 1942a, 2; 1942b, 2–3; 1942c, 2.)

A true Finnish soldier would be recognized by his faith, trustfulness and obedience to God as well as to his superior officers (Aarnio 1942, 2). In this way, doubt about the military and political objectives of the war or the leadership of the army was identified with theological apostasy: both were the "grumbling" that Paul had warned about (1 Cor. 10:10) (H.W.O. 1943, 2). Readers were told that those who had embarked on a holy war against Satan himself were not to be frightened by the enemy under any circumstances, and they were to put absolute trust in their leaders and in the purity of the cause. The people of

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101 "Against all hope, Abraham in hope believed and so became the father of many nations, just as it had been said to him, 'So shall your offspring be.' Without weakening in his faith, he faced the fact that his body was as good as dead – since he was about a hundred years old – and that Sarah's womb was also dead. Yet he did not waver through unbelief regarding the promise of God, but was strengthened in his faith and gave glory to God, being fully persuaded that God had power to do what he had promised." (Romans 4:18–21.)

Finland were praised for standing united behind their government, taught by the hardships of war, almost until the present moment. Such a sign of power and discipline, without which many warring countries had faced severe internal difficulties, was "already a great victory". The nation was exhorted to stay united and trust the men to whom had been "given the responsibility to govern and lead the fatherland amidst the chaos that ruled the world at the moment". (Editorial 1944c, 1.) In a similar vein Bishop Mannermaa stressed that since the war was holy, God would eventually see that the war would have a victorious end. Doubt was useless. (Mannermaa 1943.)

Professor Eelis Gulin continued the theme by emphasizing the importance of responsibility. He claimed that anyone who denied his nation and his responsibility for its destiny, tore away the roots of his own life. According to Gulin, the Finns should learn from what was written about Jacob in Genesis (28: 10–22), to have a national vision, by realizing that humans are under God's omnipresent eyes everywhere, not only in church. Gulin then discussed the question of why the war was still going on and explained that the war was not according to God's will. On the contrary, the war was the will of God's opponent:

> It is Satan's will that is being realized in the war. As history has proven countless times – Satan will embrace a people whenever it has publicly forsaken God. This is now evident in all the different kinds of hubris and violence that characterize the present moment. However, although God did not will the war, He is using it in order to punish peoples. In this way war is like a whip in God's hand, a means to teach humans to repent. Moreover, although Satan started the war, God used also him in order to let His kingdom come. (Gulin 1943b, 1.)

Thus also Finland was at war, forced to wage war, knowing that it was not God's will, but God was using the war to discipline those who had been disobedient, those led astray by Satan; and the war would last as long as God – not earthly powers – considered suitable. (Gulin 1943a, 1–2; Gulin 1943b, 1.)

Peace negotiations between Finland and the Soviet Union had been taking place somewhat tentatively since Germany's defeat in Stalingrad. The conditions for peace were decided officially by the Soviet Union and its allies in December 1943 in Tehran, but in early 1944 Finland declined them as too harsh. The clergy defended this position. For example according to an editorial in *Kotimaa*, seeking a separate armistice or relying on external help signified also theological apostasy, on account of Finland's historic role. (Editorial 1944b, 1.) It was emphasized that when a people had been ordained to accomplish a task that had not been chosen by them voluntarily, it might have to attempt to do things that required unimaginable strength. Such moments may lead to doubt, but one should still remember that divine providence was watching over the nation. In this way it was maintained still that the war was important for the present moment as one of a series of battles between God and Satan over human souls. Also, this meant that Finland, whose "fortress was the God of Jacob" (Psalms 46:7), still had duties to fulfil. Hence any kind of doubt was to be

sternly rooted out. And for the same reason peace negotiations were useless. (Torma 1944, 2; Ylijoki 1944, 3; Päivänsalo P. 1944, 3.)

Professor Yrjö J. E. Alanen called for consensus "in times of extreme nervous stress". He claimed that Finland, as probably "the most peace-loving nation in the world", surely wanted to be free of the war – but not in a way that would signify cutting herself off from all that was sacred to the country and would mean subjection to Bolshevik power. Although the military-political situation had changed drastically from the beginning of the war, Alanen held on to the eschatological position on the enemy and argued grimly that Finland could not commit political and national suicide: war was hard and sombre, but a peace on the conditions of the proposed armistice would be even harder. Thus Finland needed to "stand as one" and trust in Almighty God, to whom a small nation's right to exist was as important as that of great ones. However, Alanen emphasized, this could only be worthwhile if there was absolute agreement and humble faith. (Alanen 1944e, 2; see also Viljanen 1944a, 3.)

Simultaneously with Operation Normandy, the Soviet Union opened a major offensive in the Karelian Isthmus and in the area of Lake Ladoga on 9th June 1944. By this time there were serious problems with Finland's equipment and supplies, with a shortage, for example, of modern antitank weaponry. The German Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop was willing to offer Finland what she needed, but only in exchange for a guarantee that Finland would not seek a separate peace – as it had been doing for almost a year and a half. On 26th June, President Risto Ryti personally gave such a guarantee, which he intended would last for the remainder of his presidency. With the new supplies they got from Germany, the Finnish army was able to halt the Soviet advance in early July 1944, by which time Finnish forces had been forced to retreat over a hundred kilometres, at approximately the same line of defence they had held at the end of the Winter War. With the number of deserters rising rapidly, at this point clerical rhetoric emphasizing commitment to the decisions of the political and military leadership intensified.[102]

The moment when "the bells were tolling again on the Karelian Isthmus, making the area once again a place in which the battle for Finland's future was taking place" called for a new perspective. The expectations that the world had placed on Finland should be ignored and the situation considered from "God's point of view". One chaplain referred to a passage from the Book of Joshua (7:12–13), which reproaches Israel for transgressing God's covenant and exhorts the people to sanctify themselves for tomorrow and "to remove whatever among you is devoted to destruction" because "you cannot stand against your enemies until you remove them", and declared that this was now God's Order of the Day to the people of Finland. He was certain that the Lord would not let Finland perish. However, Finland's salvation was conditional upon how well the people were able to see themselves from "God's perspective" and root out

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102 Professor Heikki Ylikangas's (2007) claim that during the summer of 1944 almost 400 deserters were executed, some of them as examples in order to maintain obedience, provoked heated national debate.

"that which was devoted to destruction": sin, dissidence and blind confidence in external help. (Seppälä 1944, 1.) An editorial in *Kotimaa* supported this perspective by stating that because Finns had lived "like God's commandments had no meaning", cannons' roar on the Karelian Isthmus was at the same time "a knock on our conscience" and God's wake-up call (Editorial 1944t, 2).

Deserters were a particular subject of clerical attention. It was said that every individual who fled the army or the country was not only a deserter and a traitor to the fatherland, but also a supporter of the enemy. Harsh measures needed to be taken: such people should not be called Finnish anymore and should be deprived of all their rights as Finnish citizens. (Editorial 1944d, 1.) As the decision to fight on had been made, the whole country should with good conscience feel calm and renounce all recklessness and laziness, especially those on the home front. (Editorial 1944e, 1.) An editorial referred to Mannerheim's Order of the Day of August 1944, in which the Marshall stated that he had accepted the office of the country's President "forced by the sense of duty of a Finnish soldier and aware of the magnitude of the responsibility". The editorial identified this kind of "path of duty" as a path that avoided "lying and sensuality" with skills provided by fear of God. Consequently, the editorial hailed Mannerheim as an ideal bearer of responsibility also in times of despair. (Editorial 1944f, 1.)

"Communists" and "persons fleeing the country" were also blacklisted because they both were seen as furthering the cause of the enemy. It was said that most of those who had been Communists had probably changed their minds about the ideology, and anyone who had not could not be considered a member of the nation. Finland had mentally ill people as well as criminals and "incurable Communists". The difference between these people was that the latter were not actually mentally ill, but they were comparable to intellectually retarded people. However, such people could be friends of the fatherland, but Communists could never be patriots. Another group named as Judases were "greedy looters". Rich people gathering their possessions and fleeing the country were called opportunists to whom Finland never had been the fatherland but merely a scene for hunting. Consequently, these groups could not be considered parts of the Finnish nation, because they had never been able to realize its demands, spiritually and materially. (Editorial 1944g, 2; see also Sares 1944, 2–3.)

Dean Armo Nokkala took Psalm 74 as his text in describing the situation. As a lamentation, the psalm implores God to recall His people in these times of despair (in the psalm, the capture of Babylon and the destruction of the Temple). The psalm ends with praise of the might of God and a plea to remember Israel and come to her aid. Nokkala said that "it hardly is necessary to point out that the present moment is similar to the text of the psalm: in both, a brutal and merciless enemy raged across the land". But if the enemy of Israel had been cruel and godless, Finland's enemy was even worse, since it derived its force from the organized propagation of godlessness. However, the dean saw that Finland's present predicament was not hopeless: although man cannot

see the rays of light, he who "established the sun and moon" (Ps. 74:16) provides day just as he provides the night. Consequently, the right moment for the dawn of a new light was not man's to decide; the only thing to do in moments of national despair was to have faith. (Nokkala 1944, 2.)

Other clerics declared that Finland's attempts to repent had thus far not been particularly successful, as the present, "bitter and hard war" testified. Finland's present predicament with the losses on the Karelian Isthmus and the loss of Vyborg were evidence of the effects of national hubris and disobedience. East Karelia was a blessed gift from God, but since the Finns had not persisted in humility and had become estranged from God, abandoning themselves to drinking and fornication, the land was taken away from them. This had resulted in a change of roles: it was not the enemy who had humiliated Finland, but the Lord, who had used the enemy as His instrument. The present era was approaching its end – even laymen had accepted that this was an apocalyptic moment during which "the nets of lies" were being lifted from the basic and inescapable truth that all things in heaven and on earth were created through him and for him (Col. 1:16). The present moment was Finns' last chance to accept the rule of Christ; otherwise they would draw God's wrath permanently on the nation and would suffer the fate of stubborn Israel. (Pakkala 1944, 2; Alanen 1944f, 1–2.)

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Identifying apostasy with obedience to military and political authorities intensified the demands made upon the agent. This intensification was carried out by applying the scene–agent ratio. Responsibility towards the fatherland and the nation as well as the destiny of the chosen people were emphasized in a way that commented implicitly on several important phenomena and events. First, Finland's withdrawal from the exploratory peace negotiations with the Soviet Union was declared to be justified on the grounds that agreeing to such conditions with the eternal enemy would have been national suicide and failure to carry out the divine task. Second, since the number of deserters (not only from the front but occasionally fleeing the country altogether) began to constitute a problem in the summer of 1944, clerical rhetoric attempted to bring the situation under control by identifying such people with the eternal enemy. Deserters and people leaving the country were national Judases.

In this way there was a dialectical movement back to scenic rhetoric – with the crucial difference that this time the scene had been corrupted by Finns themselves. Using the scene–attitude ratio, the chaotic scene was then used to emphasize the need to obey the authorities who, in turn, were given a divine mandate: a scene of guilt calls for agents who can bring about redemption (Burke 1970, 176). By the same token, the implication was that suspicion of those in authority was equal to doubt about God and His purposes. In the words of Kenneth Burke (1969b, 123), with such identification "God-fearing attitudes" were elicited towards agents and agencies that were not divine. In

this sense it is important to note how the Lutheran clergy maneuvered to maintain their status amidst changing circumstances. They did not abandon the spiritual framework, i.e. eschatology and God's war, they had initiated at the beginning of the war. Rather, when the scenic interpretation was met with recalcitrance caused by the complex reality of war, they scapegoated the population instead of admitting that the initial framework could have been off the mark (see Burke 1984a, 255–258).

Applying the dialectical pair of *actus* and *status*, the clergy did not have to criticize or revise the status of their frame of interpretation, but could find an explanation for the situation from the circumstances: Finland was indeed a chosen people waging God's war, but it was Finns who had brought the ordeal on themselves. In other words, the *status* of the war had not changed, but reasons for the blowback could were found from the *actus* side of Finns. This rhetorical strategy helped in maintaining status of the clergy (as well as that of military and political authorities) intact, for they could provide an explanation for the "theodicy of war" from the *actus* side, i.e. the dangerous potentiality of the scenic agent that had been actualized into sinful actions (see Rountree 1995, 327, 344–345).

8.3.3 God's school in the land of burning heat

After the armistice in September 1944 the rhetoric of responsibility was identified with the demands of the new political situation. The outcome of the war was reflected in a scene–act ratio that saw the scene again transformed radically. The new scene was interpreted as difficult and uncertain, and so the most suitable act was either silence or unanimity. Now the rhetoric of the scene–act ratio went through a dialectical movement in the opposite direction to the movement at the beginning of the war. As the act–scene ratio suggested, it was the people's immoral and ungodly acts that had transformed the originally eschatological scene, not only into a scene of failed military operations, but into a scene of utmost desperation and insecurity. The new scene, as the dialectic of dramatic substance implies, was a scene that called for calmness, unanimity and quiet suffering from its agents. Finns had corrupted the eschatological scene prepared by God, and for this reason the nation was in "God's school" for another metanoic transformation.

A passage from the Book of Hosea (13:5) was used to describe Finland's situation. In the Bible, Hosea is one of the so-called Minor Prophets who prophesied during the period of the Northern Kingdom's decline and fall in the 8th century BC. The biblical narrative describes how the apostasy of the people was rampant, as they had turned away from Yahweh in order to serve a Canaanite god. Hosea uses marriage as a metaphor of the covenant between God and His chosen people. The marriage of Hosea and Gomer is used as an allegory to describe the disloyalty of Israel in terms of marital infidelity, which eventually leads to divorce. The text emphasizes the analogous role of wife and chosen people: the role of women in marriage is to be submissive and respect the authority of their husbands. God's disappointment in Israel is thus

expressed through the broken marriage covenant made between husband and wife.

Analogous with the biblical Israel described by Hosea, perfidious Finland was seen to be – deservedly – "in the land of burning heat".[103] However, it was certain that God would care for Finland, which was "wandering in the scorching wilderness", although the path seemed to Finns hopeless amidst the desolate scenery in which everything was dead and barren – the future just as much as the past. The tumults of war or "the bitter peace" must not embitter or harden the mind; one must not attempt to put God on trial for what had happened, because divine providence could not be understood by the children of time. Finland should be thankful that the people had not been eradicated, and it was only "in God's school" that one could see the divine meaning in the present predicament. (Manninen 1944, 2–3; Rekola 1944, 2.)

An editorial in *Kotimaa* declared that

> We are now in a situation that is God's school for our people. Midsummer, the festival of light and our pristine blue-and-white flag, has been made a festival of evil and lewdness. […] God surely does not want to destroy what He has been building during the history of Finland. Rather, in times of distress He wants to teach us to understand what truly is valuable and what is not, and what we should forsake. (Editorial 1944h, 2.)

It was then declared that Finland's fundamental error had been the same as that of the Israelites: Finland had forgotten the first commandment not to have other Gods. The history of biblical Israel showed what this meant. The two gods of the Finnish people seemed to be sexual pleasure and mammon. These, it was claimed, had resulted in estrangement from God and in the desire to live solely according to their own will. The result of this, in turn, had been that "the people elected by God to fulfil His purposes" had begun to believe in a false peace, had begun to ignore Christ and disobey the commandments. (Alanen 1944g, 2; 1944h, 2.) For this reason Finland was in God's school:

> Since last June we have been given a new lesson by God. It has been Him, not our enemy, who has humiliated us. Our enemies are merely agencies in His hands to drive us back to the Lord. We must understand this in the light of the Bible, instead of reason, which is blind. Now, as the clock of history nears twelve, it is time to learn the lesson and to give Christ the due He deserves. (Pakkala 1944, 2.)

"God's school" presented certain demands on the agents of the drama. Thus far, great suffering and ordeals had not transformed the habits and actions of the nation and its overall understanding of the meaning of life. It was claimed that the reason must be that the Finnish people amidst all their tribulations had not seen that grief was the shadow of God approaching. The biblical story about Zacchaeus the tax collector illustrated the transformation that was needed. Zacchaeus was despised because of his office and he knew that he was a sinful man, but he was surprised when Christ did not judge him but decided to visit

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103 The phrase is also an allusion to Deuteronomy 4:20, in which Israel's time in Egypt is described as being in an "iron-smelting furnace".

his house. Eventually – and this was the crucial step after which he was a changed man – Zacchaeus confessed his sins. In the same way Finns should also recognize their sins and return home as changed men, for if "Zacchaeus the sinner" could change, so could the people of Finland (Reimaa 1944, 3).

According to chaplain Eino Kalpa, Finns should look up to Paul as a model of someone who had been able to live as a satisfied person in whatever circumstances. Kalpa pointed out that the external situation could not affect his inner strength. The chaplain used a passage from the Epistle to Phillippians as a motto for Finland: Finns should not be anxious about anything because the peace of God transcended all understanding would guard their hearts and minds (Phillippians 4: 6–11). Eino Kalpa was certain that Finns would learn the ability to be content "in every and any situation with Christ in God's school". (Kalpa 1943c.)

As I have mentioned, much emphasis was put on the idea that Finns themselves were to blame of their predicament. Chaplain Niilo Lilja quoted the Book of Joel (2:17) and begged that God would spare His people and would not "make your inheritance an object of scorn, a byword among the nations". The chaplain lamented that Finland had to cede "lands that our forefathers had ploughed and sown". However, the chaplain emphasized that although hard times were to be expected in the future, Finland would endure them with quiet humility. Importantly, the reason for the present predicament was sinfulness: God was now teaching Finland a lesson because of her sins. A positive side [sic!] to this was that there was no need to blame others, because this was a punishment that Finns deserved. Also, since the outcome of the war "was what it was", it was doubted whether the call to repentance preached by military chaplains had had any effect at all. In any case, the new situation needed transformed men and women who were able "set the record straight before God". The reason for this was that the nation was now in a situation in which "human help was futile": only unanimous faith could help Finland. (Lilja 1944, 2; Kahva 1944, 2; S:s. 1944, 3.)

Finland's co-operation with Germany, whose complete defeat in the war began to seem inevitable, was a theme that was present mainly in its absence. There was said to be no need to "give either honour or shame to any of the sides that were our co-actors in the bloody play in which our nation's role has just ended". The theme was discussed through a biblical analogy from the Book of Nehemiah, in which the Jews begin to rebuild Jerusalem but are forced to work with weapons in their hands since enemies are plotting to attack them. Nehemiah is commissioned by God to lead the rebuilding, but he is faced with opposition that takes the form of laughter and ridicule. Nehemiah, however, proclaims that God will ensure success to His servants who are rebuilding, but those who ridiculed will "have no share in Jerusalem or any claim or historic right to it" (Nehemiah 2:20). The central theme of Nehemiah is acceptance of the need to embrace the responsibility to rebuild (the city). Further, this responsibility is collective: the biblical text emphasizes that it is a shared burden, since no one person can do the work of God on his own. There will,

however, always be opposition, from without and within, occasionally even to the point of physical threat. Thus an important part of a great task is simply learning to conduct oneself properly when faced with what has to be done.

Finns were told that after the armistice, Finland was in a similar situation to the Nehemiah project: while some were returning to their homes and starting to rebuild the nation, others still had to fight. Thus Finland's symbols too were the sword and the trowel. Significantly, the Germans, who under the terms of the armistice had to be driven out of Finland, were cast in the role of an external enemy who were intimidating the chosen people. In addition, it was implied that internal criticism of the situation resembled the internal enemy faced by Nehemiah, muttering about the difficulty of what had to be done, conspiracy and guile. Drawing on the biblical analogy, these two forms of opposition were then merged and those who did not accept Finland's situation were implicitly identified as people who would have no share in the rebuilt and revived nation and its renewed covenant with God. Since this was now the time for rebuilding and fighting, no one could "let his moral or political passions loose". Righteousness and humility should be absolute priorities. They were to guide everyone's personal life, the nation's cultural life, the economy, and most importantly, political life and the press. (Editorial 1944k, 1; Editorial 1944l, 1.)

From this it followed that political, social and economic disagreements as well as criticism of the military situation were to be set aside because "even the smallest nation could be powerful if it remained united". *Kotimaa* proclaimed in a series of editorials that Finns must have the same trust and loyalty in "the great men who had to make the decisions" as in the divinity, because these men needed the spiritual powers that only a unanimous people could bestow upon them; any criticism people might have must be toned down since it would be in any case utterly fruitless. Although the conditions of the armistice was deemed as Finland's autumn, there was no alternative but to "stand tall and continue to put your faith in national unity, stop grumbling, trust in God's providence and fulfil your duties without complaint", for although Finland's situation was difficult, there were nations whose predicament was even worse: namely those nations that were torn by internal strife. It was emphasized that Finland's future depended on two things. First was the ability to remain united and resist all useless divisions and disagreements; criticism must be reserved for the generations to come. Secondly, Finland needed to maintain friendly relations with all her neighbours and fulfil conscientiously all her obligations towards them. (Editorial 1944m, 2; Editorial 1944n, 2; Editorial 1944j, 2; Editorial 1944p, 2; Editorial 1944q, 2; Editorial 1944r, 2.)

It was accepted that the victors of the war had the right to set the terms of peace. For example, chaplain N. J. Kinos applied Isaiah's (9:2) prophecy "The people walking in darkness have seen a great light; on those living in the land of deep darkness a light has dawned" to Finland's situation. According to Kinos, the nation was living in great darkness. The casualties of war, invalids and orphans, darkened the future. There was, however, a light dawning for the nation: the belief that the war had been an act of Providence that would not let

Finland perish. Kinos reminded the Finnish people that the winner had the right to dictate the terms of peace: state after state had made peace with their sworn enemies, often on harsh conditions dictated by the victor, but the loser had no choice but to accept them. Finland's war had revealed that Finns in fact were "sinful beings at war against the righteous God". The only thing that was important now was to accept whatever peace the victor saw fit to demand and "humbly bend one's knees" to the deserved punishment. (Kinos 1944, 4; Takala 1944, 4.)

It was admitted that being "forced to school" could lead to a rebellious mind and questions about why God had let Finland fall into such a predicament again. But contrary to what some people had alleged, God was not to be blamed for Finland's situation. In fact, Finns must just be satisfied with the guidance they were now being given, because it was "true that it may be a necessary and educating experience for our people". A common argument was that, after all, in the light of the sinful life of the Finnish people, it was understandable that God had again had to drive the nation onto the road to the wilderness. This suffering, however, did not mean destruction, but it was a moment of discipline and repentance. For this reason, whatever complaints and grumbles Finns had, they must put their trust in the fact that God was still guiding the nation according to his will. (Editorial 1944j, 2; Editorial 1944o, 2; Suominen, Rudolf 1944, 1; Manninen, J. 1944, 2.)

The metanoic transformation related first and foremost to accepting the demands of the new political situation. This situation was indeed dramatically different from the situation in the decades preceding the war. Although Finland preserved her independence, she was obliged to cede parts of Karelia and Salla, as well as certain islands in the Gulf of Finland. The new armistice also handed all of Petsamo to the Soviet Union, and Finland had to lease Porkkala to the Soviet Union for a period of fifty years (in fact the area was returned to Finnish control in 1956). In addition, the terms included the payment of war reparations to the Soviet Union by Finland of 300 000 000 US dollars, in the form of various commodities over six years. The Finnish political map also changed: the Finnish Communist Party was legalized and those parties that the Soviet Union considered to be fascist (for example the Academic Karelia Society and the People's Patriotic Movement) were banned.

Two further articles of the treaty were widely considered to be difficult and unjust. Firstly, the armistice obliged Finland to drive German troops from its territory. This meant that an ally who, it had been claimed, had been given to them by God, now had to be driven from Finnish soil completely. The result was the Lapland War of 1944–1945. One peculiarity of this war was that the Finnish army was forced to demobilize their forces while at the same time fighting in the north to force the German army to leave Finland. Although Finland eventually succeeded in fulfilling the conditions of the armistice, the Lapland war was a bitter battle between former allies. During their retreat the German forces, led by Lothar Rendulic, destroyed large areas of northern Finland with their scorched earth tactics. Approximately 45 per cent of the

homes in the area were destroyed, leaving 100 000 refugees, and the provincial capital of Rovaniemi was burned to the ground.

Secondly, those people whom the Soviets considered responsible for the war had to be arrested and put on trial, the most famous case being former president Risto Ryti. The so-called war responsibility trials were based on an ex post facto law that incriminated Finland's pre-war politicians. Eight war-time political leaders were convicted and sent to prison for from 2 to 10 years. Also, the Allied Control Commission had arrived in Finland in September 1944 to supervise Finnish compliance with the terms of the armistice, and although the trial was conducted by Finnish judges, the Allied Control Commission interfered on numerous occasions before the trials ended in February 1946. The trials were particularly traumatic for the Finns. They were seen as a kangaroo court set up for the Soviet Union in order to discredit Finnish wartime leaders, since any retroactive law was against the Finnish Constitution. All this also meant that the Soviet leadership responsible for the aggression that started the Winter War was left without punishment. The statements made by the accused politicians at the trial subsequently became crucial elements in popular historical consciousness.[104] (See Leskinen & Juutilainen 2005.)

In a word, the post-war political scene demanded dialectical transcendence after which old opposites would cease to exist and new identifications could be created. The irony was of course that the political scene turned Finland yet again into agency. To exaggerate a bit, Finland was "an instrument" used by the Soviet Union in order to create a scene that would fulfil its world-political objectives.

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Considered in this light, "God's school" probably was a fitting metaphor for the post-armistice situation: it required a radical conversion, or the un-learning of what had been proclaimed to be certainties based on divine truths. In a word, the eschatological scene had changed into a scene of burning heat in a barren wilderness. As has been pointed out by Northrop Frye (1992, 272–313), fire and wilderness are symbols of transformation in the biblical imagery. Fire and heat stand for new creation that is, however, demonic in the sense that it is forged either by man or by Satan himself (ibid. 272). In these terms the wisdom and power of heat are at the same time a refining flame and a container of hell-fire. Thus pain is an inevitable part of the creative process. The positive aspect connected to the symbolism of fire is purgatorial: after descending to the "furnace" the redeemed ascend purified like metal in a smelting operation (Frye 1992, 296). Thus heat and fire transform and educate.

Wilderness – the demonic counterpart of Eden – is thus closely related to the symbolism of creative fire. In general, in the Bible it is portrayed as a scene

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104 Their statements were so strong and forceful that it required foreign researchers to question them: this was done first by Charles Leonard Lundin in the 1950s and then by Anthony Upton and Hans Peter Krosby in the 1960s.

of threat, chaos and alienation: in the barren wilderness one goes beyond civilization and loses one's orientation in terms of good, evil, truth and falsity; one also faces physical and psychological dangers there. However, the wilderness also symbolizes an aspect of God's creation through test and temptation. The journey of the Old Testament Israelites through the wilderness was a liminal state between slavery in Egypt and freedom in the Promised Land. And its *antitypos* in the New Testament presents wilderness as a place or state of individual withdrawal in order to overcome the temptations of evil. The crucial point is that although wilderness with its threats itself is not an ideal, it is a prerequisite for transformation. Hence travelling through the wilderness symbolizes a revelatory event that, although painful, results in spiritual renewal.

Consequently, it was suggested that "Finland's schooling" would be a painful but necessary journey through the wilderness to reach the attitude of humility that the new scene required. The forceful scenic implication made by the imagery of heat is, however, that the predicament is caused by the agent: in this case the dangerous spiritual journey was caused by Finns themselves with their hubris and immorality, not for example by poor decisions on the part of the political or military leadership – let alone by divine misguidance. The symbolism of fire points to the idea that this was not just a case of simple disobedience, but of defiance and rivalry with God, and hence the people needed to be crushed and forged anew.

All in all, continuing the dialectic of pentadic ratios discussed in previous sections, the implication is that the individual agent had created a new scene that had then "acted back" on the individual agents by presenting certain demands. Again, there was a dialectical movement from destruction to new being. The irony is, as has been mentioned, that the act of (symbolic) killing that would result in transformation was now directed against Finland and caused by "the eternal enemy" destined to be destroyed as the eschatological scene (proclaimed at the beginning of the war) would progress.

8.3.4 Paying one's ultimate dues – rhetoric of mortification

The general contours of heroic victimization are well known in the Finnish context (see for example Kemppainen 2006). However, I agree with Niko Huttunen (2010, 185) that rhetoric of mortification can be examined in its full effect only in relation to Christian theology, because its theology of self-sacrifice has been instilled in western audiences for over 2000 years. Otherwise, I believe, the rhetorical appeal of mortification cannot be fully understood. As mentioned earlier, it is important to note that the concept of Burkean guilt is many-faceted. While it contains the usual meaning of the term as a sense of responsibility or shame for having done wrong, it refers also to an ontological human sense of anxiety, a feeling of separation from others or the failure to live up to standards

imposed by self and society. In this sense it is guilt that motivates people to different identifications.[105]

Demand for mortification was the culmination of the guilt laid upon the agent. Willing self-sacrifice was how one could best show one's complete obedience. Although other *typoi* and themes varied from one time to another, mortification was always present. Consequently, what is significant in the *typoi* of clerical rhetoric during the Continuation War is the application of Burkean temporized essence in the relationship between mortification and other *typoi*. That is, although mortification was "narratively" at the end of the continuum of demands, it could be "logically" applied from the beginning of the war. This was by no means rhetorically irrelevant factor. As Kenneth Burke (1969b, 265–266) points out, common involvement in a killing effectively establishes consubstantiality – and since willed dying represents the apex of the principle of killing, a solemn experience in a collective act of mortification denotes ultimate consubstantiality.

The constancy of mortification, I believe, supports Kenneth Burke's insight that conflict is inbuilt in drama, and with conflict comes guilt and the need to sacrifice, i.e. to oust the divisive or "impure" substance – in other words, that these are the "logical principles" of symbolic action (Burke 1966, 55). Interestingly, if victimage and mortification denote the need to sacrifice the perceived source of guilt in order to preserve order, the ubiquity of mortification implied that Finns were, after all, somehow accountable for the war – an extremely intense conflict – from the beginning. An answer to the dilemma can be found in the two motives used in relation to mortification.

Rhetoric of mortification was constructed on two motives: imitation of Christ as perfection of a soldier, and the debt of honour. To begin with, drawing on the adaptation of the rhetorical figure of exemplum in the *imitatio Christi* motive, the aim was that one identified oneself with Jesus and followed the precept that "whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me. For whoever wants to save their life will lose it, but whoever loses their life for me will find it" (Matthew 16:24–25). This imitation could be extended all the way to sacrificing one's life for the community and faith, for there is "no greater love than this: to lay down one's life for one's friends" (John 15:13; see also 1 Peter 4:1).

The crucial point is that by identification with the ultimate "hero-figure", the audience is able to make their own suffering consequential on a broader scene (Burke 1984b, 168–169n; Overington 1977, 148). In this way, willing

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105 For example, Martin Luther King's rhetoric was constructed on an application of the redemption drama. According to David Bobbitt's (2004) analysis, King purified blacks of guilt through victimage by making them martyrs at the altar of American ideals of freedom and justice, when he described "Negro slaves" as having been "seared in the flames of withering injustice"; and blacks as "crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination" and "languish[ing] in the corners of American society". In this way, as Bobbitt points out, the images that symbolized guilt for white America purified guilt for black America, for it was precisely suffering that purified African Americans of guilt and made them virtuous and worthy of redemption. (Bobbitt 2004, 36, 38–39).

mortification is located not only on the individual or military level, but on a level that transcends earthly woes and struggles. Hence dying for the fatherland could be infused with a spiritual dimension by identifying the deceased as consubstantial with Christ: innocent victims purifying the whole fatherland by their mortification. The Finnish soldier was supposed to perfect his being by identifying himself not only with Christ, but with the nation, and to sacrifice his life willingly for it. The fatherland was likened to an altar, and this religious symbolism implied that the Finnish nation had become the custodian of Christ's blood, the most valuable treasure of Christianity (Mosse 1990, 34–35).

Field Bishop Johannes Björklund declared that every Finn must take Christ as their example, for this was the only way the nation would survive the hardships of the war. (Björklund 1941a, 1; 1941b, 1.) Finns were told that they had been called to make a sacrifice. They had no reason for bitterness, since whatever the sacrifice was – being denied the good things of home and family, joy and the pleasures of life, or their life itself – each and every sacrifice was demanded by the model set by Christ (Nuottamo 1942, 3). It was said that the words "come and follow me" (Matthew 9:9) were written by God over the Finnish front, because it was through the sufferings in the war that the Lord was calling Finland to follow Him (Kaukovaara 1941, 2). For this reason Finland's road resembled that of Christ: the scars of the war had been inflicted in fighting for love of the people, and it was through "these wounds Finns may step to our new fatherland" (Koukkari 1941, 1, 3; Viljanen 1944b, 1).

The ideal of the imitation of Christ as a soldier was used by many, but a sermon by 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.)

In this way the ideal Finnish soldier was clearly described: he was a soldier of faith whose calling, his "inner demand", was to embark on a total battle without hesitating to give the ultimate sacrifice for the ultimate cause. Thus those who had fallen in the war were deemed to be in a similar situation to 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. They thus had taken upon themselves to travel the Christian road of sacrifice. Moreover, they had not "asked for anything in return of their unknown deeds of heroism" – the mark of a true hero and loyal servant of God (Valtari 1942, 78–80; Ranta 1942, 90–93). The white crosses [on the graves of the deceased soldiers] were defined as signposts towards self-sacrificing love for the

fatherland (Virolainen 1942b, 27–29). The crosses reminded Finns of their calling and pointed towards the source of their true power, i.e. the Cross stained by blood (Kalpa 1941e, 3; Hakala V. 1941, 3).

Lauri Pohjanpää stated that as had been decreed in the Old Testament, only sacrifice could free a community from the weight of the past. The state of affairs was the same in relation to Finland: sacrifices would pave the way to a new national situation "so wonderful that it could not be fathomed". Accordingly, he used Christ as an example to point out that sacrifice was sacred not only because without it there was no redemption but also because it was the only way: the road of sacrifice was the only way towards national resurrection. In addition, drawing again on Christ's example, Pohjanpää emphasized that just as Christ had been the perfect victim, only the best were accepted to be sacrificed for the fatherland. (Pohjanpää 1941b, 2.)

Metanoic transformation of the identity of the believer required identification of the fatherland with the kingdom of God. In order to become identified with Christ one needed to sacrifice oneself for the earthly fatherland: sacrificing oneself was as close as one could get to achieving "perfect happiness, peace and bliss" (Sora 1942; Heljas 1943). As one chaplain preached, those who died for the fatherland had followed the sacred passion of Christ (Ahtola 1942b, 162–163). Hence the fatherland could be presented as a religiously demanding concept, a quasi-theological god-term – as Richard M. Weaver (1995, 214) points out, the surest indicator of a god-term is the capacity to demand sacrifice. "The altar of the fatherland" made demands on the living:

> The fatherland makes demands: as many times before, many of our battlefields are blazing red with the warm blood that has bled for the fatherland. This tells us that freedom and sacrifice belong together. Defence of freedom always calls for the highest sacrifice. These fallen heroes who have moved to the grim garrison of the dead are still talking to us and showing us the way to preserve our freedom. (Virolainen 1942b, 27–28.)

The identification of Christ and the heroic soldier mortifying himself was legitimated with the biblical metaphor of the kernel of wheat which without falling to the ground and dying would remain only a single seed, but by dying would produce "many seeds" (John 12:24). It was asserted that the example of Christ had taught the Finnish soldier that sacrifice gave life, and without it sacrifice had no meaning. For this reason "the hero suffers for his fatherland just as parents suffer for their children" (Manninen 1942, 3). Thus from the work of those who had fulfilled their duties to the absolute end in the way taught by Christ would grow "a blessed harvest" (Vikatmaa 1942, 3; Sandvik 1941, 2–3.) The deceased were blessed to be resting beneath the soil of the fatherland they had redeemed, knowing that they were now, just as they had been during their lives, guided by the same merciful Christ (Virtanen 1942, 87–90).

For example, a chaplain proclaimed at a funeral of one group of soldiers:

> The seed they [the deceased] have sown with the blood of their hearts will one day give a plentiful harvest. Those who sleep under the blossoming hills are the price of redemption

> of the new Finland. Already now we can almost hear the song of our new Finland playing over the gardens of white crosses. They themselves will not see the dawn of the new morning, but we can come here to their resting places to tell them about it and thank them for what they have done for the future of the fatherland. Dear relatives, you may be consoled by the fact that your loved one has carried out his duties till the end. You are not alone, for the whole of Finland grieves with you. And more, Jesus Christ himself stands next to you in your sorrow. (Litovaara 1942, 133.)

It was declared that after the holy land had again opened up and concealed "these priceless seeds in her bosom", new life and a new Finland would be seen budding and growing from the graves of the deceased, thus "the fatherland will live, the people will live, the family will live" (Kalpa 1942a, 3; Loimaranta S. 1942, 41–43). In addition, from their blood a new morning would dawn for Karelia and for the whole of Greater Finland – the undeserved gift of God, a gift to die for (Kinos 1941, 1; Lyyra 1942, 2; I. M. E. Anttila 1942, 74–77.) Here moral justification is accompanied by the basic Christian rhythm of death and resurrection, suffering and redemption: dying is a joyous sacrifice in the chain of being stretching from earth to heaven, from death to new life for the whole nation.

In the same way blood was depicted as the essential fertilizer to lead to the dawn of the new morning of Finland. The land of Karelia had "drunk gallons of precious blood", which was the prerequisite for its redemption. The land the army was standing on had been redeemed "by the young, warm blood that had been spilled plentifully on it". That is, the blood of the fallen ones guaranteed that Finns would be able to look towards the future and see the dawn of a new day, that a new tomorrow would sprout for Finland from the bloodshed. (Virolainen 1942, 27–29; Nokkala 1942, 56–57.) The battlefields "blazing red with the warm blood that bled for the fatherland" told the living that freedom and sacrifice belonged together. The land redeemed with blood gave survivors the right to live free and independent. Thus the heroic epic of the free people of Finland – a story that would light the way for generations to come and show them in what direction they must venture – was written in blood (Serenius 1942, 84–86). Love for the country was stronger than death (Saartio 1942, 136). Hence blood symbolized the ultimate unification, a communion via common sacrifice.

Being the culmination of seeing the agent in scenic terms, in this way dead soldiers were seen scenically as "blood fertilizer" for the nation's future. As Clarke Rountree (2001, 21) has stressed, the dialectical transformation of agent into scene is a dehumanizing rhetorical strategy that takes attention away from individual action and qualities and highlights mass behaviour. By converting individual agents into a scene those involved can be merged, or subsumed, into a monolithic whole. Accordingly, instead of remembering their individual characteristics and deeds, in clerical rhetoric dead soldiers constituted an inspirational scene for a higher purpose, namely the eagerly-anticipated and highly-touted eschatological new dawn of the Finnish nation. Whereas the enemy constituted a dangerous scene due to Bolshevist contamination, Finnish soldiers constituted a scene of potentiality. The irony is of course that for an

individual person both are equally dehumanizing: the former, drawing on devil-terms, encourages scapegoating and the latter, drawing on god-terms, creates a possibility for mortification.

Graveyards were particularly sacred sites. A fitting biblical analogy was found in Moses's encounter with God himself (Exodus 3:5), when God appeared to Moses as a burning bush and commanded him to take off his sandals because the place where he stood was holy:

> Thus we stand on the holiest of holy, for this place hides within it the bones of our heroes. Here God says to us: put off your shoes from your feet. Here at the graveyard we, who get to harvest the fruit of their blood-sowing, are obliged to live and act so that all that is sacred, noble and pure shall win in our private lives as well as in the lives of our homes and our nation. These sacrifices call us and order us to embark on a new road in unselfish deeds and service and love for our fatherland. (Koivisto 1942, 155.)

As was emphasized in many sermons, the tombs of the fallen heroes were not sites of mourning, but sites of hope (see Vuorela V. 1942a, 101–103; Hovila 1942, 110–111). The graves were to be sacred and cause of trembling and respect, not because of heavy losses, but as holy symbols of faith, hope, love, and victory for generation after generation (Juntunen 1942, 21–23). Eternal life was fluttering above the graves: the graves were signposts towards the eternal fatherland (Jokipii 1941c, 5). Death in war was a national blessing that, it was claimed, outweighed personal loss, and graveyards were depicted as sites in which the sacred connection between religiously sanctified self-sacrifice, the country and future demands took a manifest form for the present generation.

As a general moral ideal, self-sacrifice directs those left alive (see Eddy 2003, 66–67). In this way the rhetoric of dying was used to move the living by making the audience feel guilty for being alive. 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, however, a peculiarly demanding nature in self-sacrifice when *imitatio Christi* is used as the model. The principle of sacrifice is taken from God – a perfect victim – who sacrifices himself for mankind. The implication was that the closest thing to being god can be reached through dying willingly for love of one's community (which in Christ's case was mankind). Thus the guilt energizing the mortification of the soldier did not originate from any particular event but from Christ's example, and it could be narratively identified with a debt that one allegedly owed to the fatherland. In addition, since those delegated to the role of sacrifice must be "worthy" of sacrifice (Burke 1989b, 294–295; Desilet 2006, 49), dramatistically the sacrificial vessel worthy of the god-term fatherland was the soldier of Christ, the most perfect sacrifice. In this sense, mortification followed logically from the soldier of Christ *typos* examined earlier.

Thus the Finnish application of the temporized essence was that the Christian principle of willing self-sacrifice was connected with the earthly fatherland in order to lead to the perfection of the obedient soldier. As Kenneth Burke points out, in entelechial rhetoric the ultimate ending is reached when

the essence of a thing can be defined narratively in terms of its fruition (Burke 1969b, 13). However, entelechy turns into tragedy when the maturity or perfection of a motive is translated into the terms of an outcome that entails the identifying of that motive with a narrative figure whose acts have led to a form of death (ibid. 14). Obviously, Christ is an ideal, a perfect figure, in relation to which only dying is a personal sacrifice worthy enough (Burke 1970, 217). According to the principle of dramatistic irony, then, a perfect soldier was a dead soldier. In typological terms death formed the antitype of a temporal life of the soldier (see Frye 1992, 95). As Burke notes, the logic of god-terms draws on "technical equivalent of mortification": the upward development, *the via negativa*, towards the abstract, pure and generalized divests the world of its sensuous immediacy (Burke 2001, 74). Here, however, the grim perfection of the obedient soldier is an example of how the way towards the god-term fatherland required more than merely symbolic acts of mortification.

As stressed by Kenneth Burke, one way to reach transcendence is by widening the terminology and arriving at a higher order of understanding in which dying is the ultimate form of living (Burke 1969a, 39–40). Hence, whatever problems killing and dying may lead to are transcended by the widened circumference from the realm of mortals to the realm of the heavenly Kingdom, because the implication is that the mortified will triumph in the way Christ conquered (Lindsay 2001, 171). In the words of Yrjö Wallinmaa, nothing could separate the Finnish soldier from Christ; although he had to prove his faith through blood, he could be certain that his death would be the birth to a new life (Wallinmaa 1942c). Although self-sacrifice is the same as suffering, now suffering, instead of being passive, is conceived as action leading to a path towards the divine, the fulfilment (Burke 1969a, 265, 271). In this way being killed is not a passive motion of being slain but perfect action, and a true victor is he who is killed in the battle for the fatherland.

The notion of guilt was made real using a modern god-term taken from the realm of finance. 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). The demand of worthiness was constructed in terms of a debt of honour. In general, the notion of a debt of honour is a powerful rhetorical strategy because it presents in a concise form the idea that one party (the debtor) owes to a second party (the creditor) something symbolic that is expected to be paid back with interest. In addition, honour is a god-term that, due to its abstractness, is applicable in various concrete situations: it implicates an absolutely correct and respectful way to act, with details of the action left to be defined by the rhetor (Burke 1969b, 110–111). As we shall observe below, in rhetoric of mortification the idea of symbolic debt formed a principle of obedience that employed the dramatistic strategy of temporized essence in yet another way.

The debt of honour had two sides to it: freedom and land. Senior chaplain Rolf Tiivola was adamant that when the people of Finland balanced their books at the end of the year, they should show a significant debt. According to him,

this debt was in the form of a debt of honour. Firstly, it was a debt of honour to the Lord, who had graciously led Finland from the valley of death towards a new day. Secondly, it was a debt of honour to the soldiers who had "bravely and persistently fought and sacrificed their blood for home, religion and fatherland". (Tiivola 1942c, 1; Utriainen 1941, 3.) Neither of these "creditors" should be disappointed in what was "perhaps the most decisive moment" of history (Jokipii 1941a, 9).

It was claimed that the memory of the fallen soldiers imposed an obligation since it reminded the living about the debt they owed for the freedom of the fatherland (Ranta 1942, 90–93). The memory of the fallen soldiers was sacred, and respect towards their memory guaranteed the future life of the nation. It was put to the survivors that as a silent, invisible army the deceased would lead the battle of the living, and from below the mounds Finns would hear their words of exhortation. It was avowed that the fallen soldiers expected only one thing: that the living would not forget that the fatherland was God's gift, and thus no sacrifice was too small for it. This was "the absolute obligation" that they set. Importantly, anyone who did not see this was hiding in themselves the seed of destruction. (Kalpa 1942j, 2.) Thus the "invisible comrades-in-arms were the conscience tapping the living": they reminded the living of the debt and the payback method, i.e. the ultimate sacrifice. In this way "the grim garrison of the dead" showed the way to preserve freedom. (Virolainen 1942, 27–29; Sovijärvi 1941, 2.)

Quite often the memory of the deceased was idealized in a way that left virtually no room for the harsh reality of war. A chaplain envisioned at a funeral that

> Who has seen our young men marching forward in all their glory has felt the throb of his heart, for he has seen something great and noble. What is this beautiful dew made of? […] It has been brought forth by Heavenly power and patriotic love. In this shining light our fallen heroes will live forever. Although we cannot see them any more, their memory will be our guiding light for centuries to come. Their memory will show how the light of grace rose over our Finland. […] Like dew as invisible fog waiting to descend to the ground, the souls of these heroes are waiting for the moment when they will descend with Christ the Victor to welcome their own. (Suominen Uuno 1942, 112–114.)

Another chaplain pointed out that the value of human life could not be measured in terms of length, for even a short but beautiful life could leave a memory, an inspiring model that would bring blessings indefinitely. According to this chaplain, the life of the deceased had been beautiful, but even more beautiful was his death. Using death as a sign of reaching perfection, the chaplain, using first-person focalization to underline his message, proclaimed that the death of a soldier – not his life – was an example: "We left a role model. Follow it and the future of the fatherland is secured" (Vähälä 1942, 68–69). A culmination of the idealization was expressed in sermons declaring that the greatest joy of a young soldier was when the fatherland issued a call to the living, and even more so when it called him to make the ultimate sacrifice for its freedom (for example Kytövuori 1942, 139–143.)

The conclusion that one was supposed to draw was that only by embarking on the mission that the fallen had begun was one entitled to any delight in earthly life. For example, Eino Kalpa said that only those who followed the path of their fathers and kept up the memory of those who had fallen were entitled to enjoy the freedom of the fatherland and enter the new Finland that occupied the horizon of many eschatological visions (Kalpa 1941b, 2). Another chaplain spoke in a similar vein:

> This land and its freedom have been redeemed with such precious sacrifices that no one with frivolous or light thoughts has the right to set foot in it or live in it. Let the memory and resting places of these heroes remind everyone of the price they have paid for free Finnish life. When we leave here today, we will be just as much in debt as they will be consecrated, for only thus will the vision of the new Finland be realized. (Vuorela 0. 1942b, 38–39.)

Again identification was made with a biblical example. It was pointed out that every Finn owed everything to the memory of our fallen heroes just as the Christian owed everything to God, who let His son die on the cross for the sins of mankind (Vasunta 1942, 46–48). For this reason no individual or people could violate their memory and the values they had died for without punishment because that would be equal to blasphemy (Virolainen 1942, 27–29; Tiitinen 1942b, 2; Ekko 1942, 2–3).

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 1941d, 4; 1941e, 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". In this way the young ones would understand and follow the teachings of their fathers. (Virkkunen 1942, 14–18.) Grimly enough, the children could play only if they would listen to "the graves of the war heroes preaching" to them about their sacred obligation (Editorial 1944i, 1). Only in this way would the patriotic chain that had lengthened through the centuries remain intact, the chain from fathers to sons approaching the "altar of the fatherland with unfaltering minds, without boasting, but with passionate hearts" when the fatherland called them (Jokipii 1942, 71–72; Vuorela V. 1942b, 33–35).

The debt of honour was a further development of the exhortation to sacrifice oneself for the fatherland in order to imitate Christ. As I have already mentioned, since in Burkean theory "guilt" is an inseparable element of living in a symbolic order, rhetorical costumes of guilt are bound to come in many shapes and forms. In this case, as we have seen, the debt of honour to fallen soldiers was identified with the atemporal principle of theological guilt that followed from Christ's ransom. There is also an aspect to honour that increases the intensity of the demand to mortify oneself.

Since the peculiar character of obedience is that it is embarked upon for the promise of reward, i.e. "as payment for service", the debt of honour emerges as the foundation of an authoritative symbolic order whose logic is that the obedience of the living functions as payment for the "service" of the fallen ones (see Burke 1970, 191). However, the nature of the debt shares the quality of the "scene" in which it is made. Burke stresses that honour is the symbol for the fact that transference of guilt to the scapegoat has been replaced by motives of self-destruction (Burke 1969a, 408). This means that a symbolic debt that can never be paid in full is always present in a rhetoric in which the antagonist is the ultimate evil, "the eternal enemy" and the protagonist is the soldier of Christ. When the enemy with such a quality cannot be blamed or destroyed (for some reason or another), what follows from this ultimate struggle is a form of mortification that cannot be brought to completion as the most respectful course of action.

Although it could be said that one's search for redemption had found its objective at the altar of the fatherland, the debt of honour evoked in this manner is just as much eternal as the original situation of "the transaction" had been. The debt is thus non-terminable and potentially renewable at will. That is to say, when the essence of debt is temporized, the logic of a debt of honour can be narrated over and over again in virtually every historical situation. And as the analysis indicates, the idea of symbolic debt could thus be used to connect past, present and future generations via a powerful bond of obedience. Hence it is fitting to describe the order erected on the graves of the fallen soldiers of Christ as one that will deify them as god-terms who are omnipresent as symbolic creditors, the debt to whom can never be paid off. From this follows an intensification of the sense of guilt and the constant appeal to mortification; and when the authority is declared to be absolute, even slight disobedience may seem fateful (ibid. 190, 234). Thus the fatherland, imitation of Christ, and the debt of honour and mortification formed a grim trinity in terms of which any scene could be interpreted as a "scene of guilt" that demanded acts of redemption (see Bobbitt 2004, 29–34).

9 THE CONTINUATION WAR AS A METANOIC MOMENT

In the course of this study, we have examined the Continuation War from the perspective offered by the rhetoric of Lutheran priests. The starting point of the study was that the clergy played an important role in legitimating the war to different audiences, because the priest had formal power from the fact that, due to the peculiar relationship between the state of Finland and the Lutheran Church, he was *de jure* an official of the state as well as of the church. In addition, Christian and biblical imagery was recognized by virtually all of the population, thus offering a nomenclature of effective topoi. As for example the organizational changes in the church and state support for clerical work testify, the clergy were seen as central in interpreting and presenting the Continuation War to the nation in terms favourable to Finland – and as has been shown, Lutheran priests embarked willingly to this task.

As mentioned, the purpose of this study was to analyse the rhetorical actions of Finland's Lutheran priests. For this reason, organizational questions have been dealt with only in passing. Nevertheless, two crucial points should be borne in mind: firstly, that the newly-established information and propaganda machine set up at the beginning of the Continuation War relied heavily on clerical involvement, and secondly, that the priest was in many cases the official responsible for what the authorities were doing at the home front. Just as services conducted by the chaplain at the front offered a break from "ordinary" everyday warfare, so at home church services were often opportunities for people to gather together and escape for a while from their daily toil, not only to listen to sermons and participate in the liturgy but to hear the latest information read from the pulpit. Also, importantly, speeches and sermons were published regularly in newspapers, in addition to devotional writings. Obviously, since at that time the internet era with its overwhelming sources of information was not even glimpsed over the horizon, newspapers and church services at home and at the front were the source of knowledge.

With the application of Kenneth Burke's theory of symbolic action it has been possible to examine in depth the rhetorical world arising from the clerical texts. My theoretical approach began with an explanation of the key principles

of symbolic action: merger and division. In the broadest possible terms, symbolic action always includes unification and division. Unification is the aim of persuasion, because it enables individuals to act together on the basis of certain shared aims or features. However, as Burke emphasizes, the negative is the other important factor of symbolic action: it enables categorization and hence division. In addition, the negative introduces the expressions "is not" and "do not do that" and creates a dramatic horizon of obedience and disobedience. Once things are named and categorized, a hierarchy is inevitable, and the more systematic the thought is, the more refined are the symbolic orders that will be developed, and thus the more likelihood there is of disobedience.

What is particularly interesting and useful in the Burkean approach is its application of the concept of entelechy. Drawing on Aristotle's physical-biological notion of purposeful movement, Burke holds that a similar "entelechy" is constitutive of symbolic action. According to him, we are born with the need to transcend the existing and always to search for an even better state. Based on this rot for perfection, symbols compel one to carry out the implications of the given set of symbols to the point of purity. Thus, being "teleological", entelechy is here concerned with the ways in which language induces action in the humans who use it and the ways in which this language reveals their purpose, i.e. the concept of perfection, the goals of their actions.

Entelechy is connected to identification in terms of consubstantiality. Identification requires transcendence. When an individual identifies him or herself with a certain grouping or an idea, that person is transcending their distinctness. This is the first step on the ladder towards perfection. The second step is, however, more important here. It is related to the entelechial movement inherent in symbols. Transcendence reaches its climax in communion with "the ultimate". Symbols are a strategy of ultimate transcendence: they offer points of perfection for the given audience. Kenneth Burke names such symbols "god-terms": just as theologians have the Godhead, secular god-terms point to a linguistic drive towards perfection. That is, implicit in linguistic operations is the idea of identification with a supreme term, and it is towards it that the symbolic entelechy strives.

In this way Burke's notion that the theological reflects the linguistic enables one to examine clerical texts as a peculiar realm of persuasion. As presented in Chapter 2, from this perspective religion exemplifies with ideal-typical clarity what rhetoric from the Burkean perspective is all about: the use of persuasion and identification in order to transcend division and draw the audience towards perfection. Religion is understood here as a particular form of symbolic action. Burkean concepts of entelechy and god-term were supplemented with what I defined as typological identification. Drawing on the principle of biblical typology, rhetorical typologies play the role of god-terms. They function as models for entelechial perfection by applying a biblical typology in the present situation in order to indicate the path towards "salvation". In other words, typological identification induces the audience to participate in the biblical drama and to envision the given situation via

analogies adopted from the Bible. As a result, a sacred entelechy will be revealed for each present situation.

In this research, biblical typologies have been analysed as entelechial rhetorical "screens" which were used in clerical rhetoric to interpret the Continuation War to the Finnish people. This notion brings us to the dramatistic pentad. As I have already said, symbols constitute a terminological screen through which the given situation is interpreted. Kenneth Burke claims that such screens can be analysed using what he defines as the pentad: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. The pentad, supplemented by the hexadic attitude, is a "grammatical" method for analysing the structure of any given rhetorical screen. Typological identification has been analysed in relation to three main pentadic principles: root term, ratio, and circumference. Identifying the root term has been used to bring to the fore the perspective from which the drama has been presented at any given moment; ratio has been used in analyzing the relationships and movement between the terms; and finally, circumference has been applied to reveal how changes in the scope of the given element affected interpretation of the war.

My application of Burkean theory obviously has some limitations. By concentrating on the textual analysis of texts written or spoken (or both) by members of the Finnish clergy during the war, I have failed to examine such concepts as culture, tradition, hegemonic ideological currents of Finnish society or the harsh reality of war. I have also left out consideration of such contextual questions as how "real" the danger of Finland's utter destruction was claimed to be at certain moments during the Continuation War. Although such claims in many cases contain valid historical information, it is likely that they tend to function as ex post facto legitimation of symbolic and physical wartime acts. In addition, my focus mainly on biblical analogies leaves out other sources of motivation, such as purely patriotic or nationalistic ones, in construction of clerical motives. Finally, focusing on a textual analysis results in the fact that discussion of the ethical implications of my findings could have been done in a more systematic way. It is, on the other hand, a topic that deserves a study of its own.

However, the selection of method and material has significant advantages as well. To begin with, Kenneth Burke's dramatism combined with the fact that clerical texts have been largely ignored in previous research have made it easier for me not to think simply in terms of contemporary paradigms, unquestioned conventions, given constellations of alternatives or implicit value judgments. In addition to the obvious temporal distance between the present times and my research object, the Burkean approach to this relatively untouched body of textual material has made it possible for me to distance myself from a certain "inborn familiarity" in relation to the language, methods and topics that is associated with research on one's own native country, which, as a sort of methodological nationalism, often tends to be more or less closely related to the grand national narratives. I believe this is of the utmost importance, given the attention given to Finland in WWII in various spheres of Finnish culture.

Although acknowledging the priest as a functionary of organized religion and an authority that enforces orthodoxy, piety and loyalty in the existing order, the priest's role was in this research understood not as pedagogy, law or argumentation, but as care and guidance of the soul. Drawing on Michel Foucault supplemented with Kenneth Burke, I claimed that priestly power aims at obedience by producing a truth in such a way that it becomes adopted as the "hidden, inner truth of the soul", which in turn becomes the means through which the priest's power is exercised from the outside. According to my ideal-typical construction, priestly power is realized through preaching and pastoral care, with the Lutheran priesthood focusing on the former and the Catholic priesthood on the latter. In both cases the priest does not merely guide the individual towards absolution from guilt, but also intensifies the guiltiness of the conscience, which purports to hasten one's way towards salvation. Hence the concept of priesthood applied in this research was that the peculiar intensity of priestly power stems from the priest's role in the Burkean disobedience-guilt-redemption cycle: the priest is a guide who points out the causes of guilt and shows his flock how to achieve redemption.

Metanoia, in turn, was examined in relation to this concept of priestly power. Broadly, I defined *metanoia* as a radical transformation of the mind. More specifically, as a political act, it purports to create conditions of obedience through a dialectical process of spiritual guidance in which the merging of external and internal elements results in the birth of a second nature in which qualities of the scene become internal to the agent. A scenic element (a necessity or truth from without) will be internalized in such a way that it becomes identified as motivation within. In this way, this element becomes a spontaneous rationale, an attitude or "a conduct within". The political interpretation of *metanoia* formed the conceptual basis for understanding priestly power in this research.

According to my interpretation, the Lutheran metanoia or transformation of the mind in relation to the existing political order was most often founded on the nation state. Although Martin Luther aimed at separating spiritual and secular powers and their respective laws, the irony was that his political theology contributed significantly to the rise of Lutheran politico-theological orthodoxy, in which the state provided the external means of maintaining the spiritual dominion (jurisdiction, exaction of taxes, annihilation of heretics) and participated in the appointment of clerical officials. The church, in return, put its religious domination behind the political organization, legitimating its authority and "domesticating" the people. Thus Lutheran metanoia leads to producing religious subjects obedient to the political order, using a technique of power that was originally related to organized religion. Production of the identity of "the sheep" was by constant examination of the conscience, not only in terms of religious truth and its economy of salvation, but in a way that identified the inner truth of the soul with the ideology of the nation state.

In this way, as I have stated, it has been possible to create a deep bond, not only among the members of the church themselves, but also towards the

political order, whether in support of a precarious new order or to lend force to an existing one in the face of challenges or difficulties. I believe that consideration of the logic of metanoic transformation is important in understanding the profound political effects of Lutheranism. In particular, during times of collective crisis Lutheran metanoia is an efficient means of revitalizing the existing order and emphasizing that its authorities can guarantee the survival of the community. The starting point of this research was that war constitutes a situation in which certain measures must inevitably be taken "against" the citizenry. The reason simply is that, at least for the majority, resorting to (collective) violence against other human beings needs careful legitimation. In theological terms, the maxims "thou shalt not kill" and "love thy enemy" need to be given suitable interpretations. Self-sacrifice also needs to be legitimated. It was within this theologico-political framework that Lutheran priestly power was understood in this research.

In Chapter 5 clerical rhetoric was examined taking the pentadic scene as the root term. Based on what consisted mostly of high-theological rhetoric, the war was here conceived in eschatological terms. The Continuation War was an eschatological scene that consisted of three factors. To begin with, the war was more than an ordinary case of warfare: it was an apocalyptic battle that transcended all earthly battles. As such, the war constituted a scene that encompassed all other pentadic elements. Hence widening the circumference was used to emphasize the magnitude of the event. Secondly, drawing on the scene–agent ratio, the scene introduced the enemy as an eschatological antagonist in the divine drama. Thirdly, the enemy represented primordial chaos and barbarism that threatened to devour Finland's Christian order. Thus the enemy Finland was facing was a diabolical enemy, and chaotic Asiatic hordes.

The two descriptions of devil-terms essentialized the enemy and allowed a perspective that encompassed fruition as well as origins. First, since Bolshevism was claimed to be the entelechial perfection of wickedness, the Antichrist, it could be claimed that the reason for all the historical dangers that had ever threatened Finland lay in the developing evil across the border. Second, since Bolshevism was alleged to be a force of chaos, the origins of the situation could be traced back to the primordial struggle between chaos and cosmos. A result of the temporized essence with a two-way narrative movement was that both the argument about the perfection of evil as well as the argument about the barbarism of the enemy could be used. The essentialization of Bolshevism, on the other hand, meant that ordinary Russians were mainly seen as primitive masses, not evil or diabolical per se. They were, nevertheless, considered to be fundamentally spiritually weak people, because otherwise Bolshevism would not have been able to rise. With such a thorough definition of the enemy it was possible to create unity effectively – as Kenneth Burke (1989b, 212) points out, even those who can unite on nothing else can certainly unite on the basis of a foe shared by all.

Since an important political element of symbolic scenes is to capture the essential tension of the given situation and propose a resolution to it, the

eschatological scene embedded the Continuation War in the biblical apocalyptic narrative of the last days. Hence the Finnish apocalyptic seers could posit themselves as *sub specie aeternitatis* and examine the contemporary situation in terms of growing iniquity and apostasy, as had been prophesied in the Bible. Accordingly, the war was the sign of the culmination of evil. In biblical terms, the war meant a removal of *katechon* and the emergence of *anomos* that would – as suggested by the apocalyptic narrative – face its doom in the forests of East Karelia. In this sense the eschatological scene of the Continuation War represented an entelechy of time and the birth of a completely new order of being.

The eschatological scene created suitable conditions for the emergence of the root term analysed in Chapter 6, namely, the pentadic counter-act. The pentadic structure of the root term was interesting. The key point was that since the enemy was essentialized in eschatological terms, whatever acts of warfare Finland embarked on were in fact counter-acts. In other words, although the pentadic act is by definition an active term in the sense that it focuses on what happened or what is going on, the counter-act of clerical rhetoric was paradoxically able to consider the war to be an act that had not been initiated by Finns. Such an interpretation was facilitated by the dialectical movement within the pentadic scene, agent and act. Bolshevist Russia constituted a scene of evil that demanded strict counter-measures in order to be corrected, so the being of the enemy constituted an "act" that called for counter-acts from certain kinds of agents.

The substantial content of the above-mentioned pentadic ratio structure was found in holy war, crusading and the biblical armour of God imagery. Jesuitical clerical argumentation was used to prove that the Continuation War was a holy war being waged for God and with God. Finland was seen as analogous to biblical Israel. Both were led by God on their journey to the Promised Land, and for both divine promise rendered their war not only holy but also defensive. Importantly, since the war was a holy war, it was not only "approved" and willed by God, but Finland had also been divinely prepared for the war. And all this amounted to stating that it was certain that the war would end in Finland's (and her allies') victory, and thus that there could be no suspicion or doubt attached to either the leaders or the aims of the war.

The notion of crusade was then used as a further explication of the nature of the war as counter-act. The implication of a crusade is that it is an answer to God's call to rescue the holy land, restore it to its divinely ordained owners, and Christianize it. Thus Finland was not engaged in an ordinary act of war: as the intention of a crusade is to restore the divine order, the invasion of Karelia was presented as an act of defence. Drawing on biblical analogies, East Karelia was depicted as the holy land of the Finnic tribe, land promised to the Finns by God himself. Since divine promises are over-historical, the implication was that East Karelia belonged essentially to Finland, as God had willed it. Crusading meant that the re-conquered area needed to be symbolically transformed into 'our' land. This was carried out with the flag as the symbol of Finnic unity and the absorption of the population into the Lutheran church. The latter, as has been

mentioned, was questioned by Greek Orthodox priests, with the result that the two churches eventually acted in cooperation in rescuing East Karelia and "liberating" its population from infidels.

Drawing on the act–agent ratio, the final element examined in Chapter 6 was the rhetorical dressing of the agents waging holy war and carrying out the crusade. Here the counter-acts of holy war and crusade took the role of a scene that demanded equally divine agents in terms of their status. To meet this requirement, clerical rhetoric applied Pauline topoi of the armour of God and the good fight of faith in order to construct an entelechial model for the Finnish soldier. On the other hand, as was pointed out, an important result was that the actual uniform of the Finnish army was symbolically taken as the divine armour depicted in Paul's rhetoric. This facilitated merging the cause of the fatherland with that of the Kingdom of God.

Turning to another dialectical transformation of the pentadic elements, Chapter 7 considered clerical rhetoric with agency as the root term. Since the Continuation War was an act of holy warfare originated and led by God, the dramatistic logic "required" that there was an agency with which the act was carried out. In this way purposeful action by an autonomous, willing agent was relegated to being agency. Agency as the root term meant that the Finnish army in East Karelia could be depicted as carrying out mission(s), i.e. merely fulfilling commands from a superior authority. A secular agent thus becomes a function of divine purpose. This kind of agency, in turn, sees scenic materials – for instance territory – as means which it adapts in order to fulfil these purposes.

The war narrated with agency as the root term applied the biblical idea of divine election and mission to the construction of a typology in which entelechial fulfilment was to be found from two types of missions: firstly, Finland had a historical mission to rescue European civilization, and secondly, Finland had a national mission to establish Greater Finland. In the former case Finland was given the role of a Northern torchbearer and a bulwark of Christianity in a series of small nations that bring about universal salvation. In addition, as on several other occasions, Finland's history was interpreted as God's lesson, so to speak, which had been designed to prepare the nation for its present task. The previous wars of independent Finland, the Civil War of 1918 and the Winter War in 1939–1940, were seen as preparatory acts before the climax of the play. In the latter case, the passage in which the Lord sets the boundaries and appointed times for each people was used as the main biblical analogy with which the Greater Finland idea was legitimated. Greater Finland symbolized an undivided Finland, in which the Finnic tribes would be united into one nation state.

In these ways, movement towards entelechial perfection was to be reached by rescuing European Christian civilization and creating Greater Finland. Importantly, this made it possible to conceal the political, i.e. purposeful, character of Finland's war aims behind rhetoric of divinely elected agency that emphasized the obligation to carry out a predetermined plan. In a sense the root term agency was the culmination of rhetoric that aimed to bestow divine

justification on Finland's offensive actions in the Continuation War. Here Finland was given the role of God's hand to bring about both national and European politico-theological salvation.

The root term explored in Chapter 8 marked a significant change in pentadic structure as well as in typological content. First, the root term transformed to agent. Whereas in the previous chapters the respective root term in each was used to emphasize Finland's "passivity" rather than purposeful, deliberately initiated activity, transformation to the pentadic agent meant a drastic movement from predetermined "motions" to action. As a dramatistic term, agent includes a more or less explicit assumption that the agent is the originator of the acts carried out. This means that the term could be applied to change the way the war was seen: the reason for the stalemate in the war was found in the agent. The corrupted agent was constructed rhetorically by modifying the circumference of the term. First, the nation was the reproached collective agent, and then homes and individual soldiers were the focus. In this way, the scene–agent and scene–act ratio was dialectically transformed: the being and acts of the agent were jeopardizing the progress of the eschatological scene. In addition, as the analysis indicates, the root term agent was accompanied with emphasis on a hexadic element that elaborates the pentadic agency and agent, i.e. attitude. The attitudinal dimension was used to induce obedience and loyalty as the symbolic road to perfection and to cast out disloyalty and hubris.

Initially, the agent as root term was narrated in terms of a jeremiad. As pointed out, originating in the Book of Jeremiah, jeremiad is a rhetorical genre that combines practical spiritual guidance with advice on public affairs. In addition, the jeremiad allowed the use of guilt as a rhetorical device to an extent which transformed the tone of clerical rhetoric completely. Using the jeremiad it was possible to demonstrate in detail the failure of the Finnish nation to adhere to the communal patterns of behaviour demanded by the war situation. That is, the nation was conceived as a collective agent that was failing to live up to the demands of the scene. With biblical Israel as the main point of analogy, it was pointed out that Finland was faced with a decisive moment of choice: it either had to turn again to Christian morality or take the Soviet road to perdition.

After that the circumference was reduced and the individual soldier was examined using a *typos* that I called the war within. This *typos* draws on the Pauline concept that the individual, like the world, consists of material and spiritual components. The human being consists of an outer physical shell and an inner spiritual soul, the latter representing their true and transcendental essence. The body symbolizes "the flesh" wherein lies the origin of sin, whereas "the spirit" stands for life organized according to God and His purposes. Hence the agent can be presented as a scene that is in constant conflict between obedience and disobedience, order and chaos. The individual agent is the theatre of war in the decisive battle: the most intense fighting can be found in the human heart, between the flesh and the spirit, because the enemy of the soul, Satan, is actively tempting the believer to sin, i.e. to disobey.

The war within *typos* was based on a series of identifications. First of all, the *typos* identified the war at the battle front with "the battle within" each individual. The typology then identified the internal and external workings of Satan. Personal sins were identified as being consubstantial with the evil that the military enemy represented. As a result, the war within decided how the war on the battlefield would turn out. Secondly, Finns were reminded that every individual had an obligation to do certain actions by their true essence as Christian soldiers. Thus the scene, due to its decisive role, presented forceful demands on the agent. In this way the war between flesh and spirit typology was based on a dialectic application of the scene-agent ratio: the individual was at the same time a crucial scene of the war and the object of certain demands. Finally, the most important identification was that of the Christian faith and obedience to patriotic ideals. In this way Christian piety and the obedience of the soldier, as it was described in clerical rhetoric, could be declared consubstantial.

As it began to become clear that the Soviet Union would not be completely defeated by the Axis, the emphasis was transformed from general depiction of the *typos* to an examination of the "sinfulness" of Finnish soldiers and homes. The key argument was that the prolongation of the war had been caused by soldiers and civilians at home who had begun to falter in their internal struggle. Here the transformation in rhetoric was based on the dramatistic potentiality-actuality pair, in which a scenic or attitudinal potentiality transforms into certain acts. However, at this time potentiality was actualized into ethically "wrong" acts. In other words, what had been a potential threat to the existential liminality of the soul of the soldier had now been actualized in deeds of disobedience that had turned the war into a curse. In addition to the immorality of Finnish soldiers, the reason for God's alleged wrath was found in the pride and sexual promiscuity prevalent amongst civilians.

The end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 witnessed yet another rhetorical transformation. Although the agent persisted as the root term, the argument moved away from a war against sin to an emphasis on the nation's responsibility to accept and follow the decisions made by the political and military leadership. This rhetoric drew mainly on what I shall call the biblical typology of obedience. Drawing on the Gospels and the Epistles, the starting point was that Christ is the highest source of authority but there are three other main categories of delegated authority. First of all comes the family, in which children must obey their parents and the wife must honour and obey her husband, the head of the family. Secondly, Christians must cooperate with the state and obey the laws of the land. And finally, Christians must submit to the government of Christ exercised through the Spirit, the Word and the Church leadership. These are all extensions of God's authority, so disobedience in any of these spheres is the same as resisting God.

The crucial rhetorical strategy was to identify the military leadership with divine authority. This meant that Christian morality was not enough, but it had to be supported with strict obedience to one's commanding officers. The fate of

Lot's wife in Genesis was used as an analogy for what would happen in case of disobedience. After the armistice in September 1944, the rhetoric of responsibility and obedience was identified with the requirements of the new political situation. Analogous with biblical Israel as described in the Book of Hosea, perfidious Finland was seen to be, deservedly, "in the land of burning heat". Finland was "wandering in the scorching wilderness", and although the trek seemed hopeless, Finns were to be thankful that they had not been altogether wiped out. It was only "in God's school" that one could learn to see the divine meaning in the predicament. The main argument here was that rooting out apostasies had failed, and so Finland as a nation was put to school. However, this "education" was related first and foremost to the demands of the new political scene, in which Finland had to carry out the conditions of the armistice, including driving the troops of "the God-given ally", Germany, from Finland. Using heat and wilderness as biblical symbols of transformation, *metanoia* was flexibly harnessed to enforce obedience in a situation that was dramatically different from the eschatological scene at the beginning of the war.

Finally, the culmination of the demands on the agent was reached with rhetoric of mortification. In Burkean theory, mortification is the ultimate act of obedience: in it one rejects disorder and affirms the given symbolic order, with the crucial notion that the "guilt" for being unable to achieve its ideals completely is found within the agent. Mortification is the most extreme form of self-control: it is a conscience-based response to conditions in the socio-political order. In a sense, mortification is a coherent act in a situation in which an individual is conceived as being torn between being a scene or an agent that needs to act according to certain scenic precepts. Obviously, the means of mortification can vary from a symbolic "slaying" of any motive that one considers unruly and disorderly to abstinence and even the infliction of severe pain on the body. Hence, seen from the Burkean perspective, in which the guilt of imperfection is omnipresent in the life of "the symbolic animal", mortification constitutes a forceful rhetorical strategy because it can be used to transfer symbolic guilt into acts of physical killing.

Mortification during the Continuation War was explicated with three rhetorical figures. First, drawing on the soldier of Christ *typos*, the ideal Finnish soldier was presented as a soldier of the faith, whose calling was to embark on a total battle and without hesitation to give his life for the ultimate cause. From this, drawing on the *imitatio Christi* motive, it followed that those who fell on the battlefield were analogous with Christ in that they had travelled the Christian road of sacrifice. In this way the Finnish soldier was identified with the god-term of Christianity, which made his suffering consequential on a broader scene: dying for their country could be fused with a spiritual dimension by identifying the fallen as consubstantial with Christ, i.e. as innocent victims purifying the fatherland with their death.

As for entelechy, the Finnish soldier was supposed to perfect his being by dying: being killed was not the passive motion of being slain, but an act par excellence. The tragic irony was illustrated with the biblical symbol of a kernel

of wheat that, by falling to the ground and dying, yields a blessed harvest. The ultimate identification here was that of the fatherland and the kingdom of God: the more or less explicit message was that death on the altar of the fatherland opens the way to eternal life. In a sense, death was the apex of priestly power: the power to demand not only symbolic mortification via an examination of the conscience but the bodily mortification of the agent – based on the ethical demands of the given order. However, transforming agents into scenes placed the Finnish soldier at the same level with the enemy: whereas the enemy constituted a dangerous scene due to Bolshevist contamination, Finnish soldiers constituted a scene of potentiality. The irony is of course that for an individual person both are equally dehumanizing: the former encourages scapegoating and the latter induces mortification.

There was another interesting dimension to mortification. Rhetoric associated with dying was used to make the audience feel guilty for being alive when large numbers of their compatriots had died. This was a powerful rhetorical move since, if we accept the Burkean notion that "guilt" is an inseparable element of living in a symbolic order and man is in constant search of redemptive measures, the ultimate purification of guilt could be found at the altar of the fatherland. As the analysis showed, the ideal set by Christ was used to emphasize theologically the demanding character of the symbolic debt: extreme guilt was evoked in the living by fusing the fatherland with Christ's ransom for mankind. However, as Kenneth Burke has pointed out, the nature of the debt shares the quality of the "scene" in which it is made: a symbolic debt that can never be paid in full is always present in a rhetoric in which the antagonist is the ultimate evil, "the eternal enemy". Hence, as I have noted, the essence of debt was temporized, which resulted in an everlasting debt which could never be repaid. The irony, of course, was that demands for mortification of the loan were ubiquitous.

As an overall view, spiritual interpretation of the Continuation War by the Lutheran clergy consisted of two main phases: the eschatological and the jeremiadic. Established at beginning of the war, the eschatological scene was the ultimate setting that legitimated adaptations of the quasi-religious concepts of holy war, crusading, and soldier of Christ, as well as historical and national mission as long as the reality of the war continued. However, when the eschatology was halted, the pentadic emphasis and the accompanying typologies of perfection had to change as well to an acceptance of the harsh conditions of the armistice. Hence jeremiadic lamentations and the agent as the root term entered the stage.

Although circumstances changed dramatically during the war, the religious framework brought into play at the beginning of the war remained the dominant terministic screen through which the Continuation War was interpreted. In addition to the obvious fact that the accuracy and applicability of biblical prophecies were not questioned, the most important consequence of the rhetorical strategy of the Lutheran clergy to remain faithful to their frame was that the authority of priests as well as that of the military and political lead

could be left intact. As Murray Edelman (1985, 100–101) has pointed out, an important function of symbolic frames is to legitimize acts for those who might oppose them on the basis that the motivation for them is inappropriate. Thus, the clerical framework entailed that actions of the leadership seemed legitimate and "the sinful Finns" could be scapegoated as the cause for the recalcitrant situation, instead of mortifying the authorities.

On the other hand, as another proof of the pentad's ability to tease out ambiguities inherent in symbolic action, although it can be claimed that the scenic term at the beginning of the war led to the various motivational and typological configurations that followed, there emerged terministic emphases responsive to the given historical situation. When scene, due to changed circumstances, was not rhetorically as useful as before agent became the dominant term. In addition, different rhetorical choices could be found in relation to what biblical analogies were applied as typological content. Having said this, it must be granted that these transformations did not change the initial religious frame. In this sense it is also worth noting how little struggle there was within the pentadic terms. As has been shown, the lone exception was Bishop Yrjö J. E. Alanen who criticized construction of the scene as God's war. According to him, it was wrong to call the war a holy war or a religious war because the Christian faith and Christian truth could not be furthered with weapons, cannons or war planes; neither the soldier's sword nor the executioner's axe can prove a faith true or false. Neither Alanen, however, questioned defensive scene as the root term.

Since the Continuation War was conceived in spiritual terms, although there were changes in pentadic ratios, root terms, and entelechial models suggested by various biblical typologies, three rhetorical strategies remained constant. First, what Kenneth Burke has defined as "the temporizing of essence" was applied throughout the war. This in turn meant that the actual operations of the war were merely reflections of the realm of essences: the war had a spiritual essence throughout. Second, the rhetoric of a debt of honour was applied throughout the Continuation War. No matter what the military or political situation was, it was stressed that willing self-sacrifice, i.e. the willingness to die, was the entelechial perfection of the Finnish soldier. This was the ultimate act that Lutheran metanoia aimed to produce – however, due to the temporized essence of the war, the idea of death as perfection could be adopted from the beginning of the war. Third, the fatherland was identified with the kingdom of God in all phases of the war. In addition to general fusion of nationalist politics and religion, the identification resulted in transcendence of the fatherland from a concrete piece of land to a symbolic god-term that could be applied in whatever situation that demanded piety and obedience. In Kenneth Burke's (1969b, 11) words, the fatherland was seen as superior (and thus neutral) to all other motives.

In addition, the dramatistic strategy of the temporizing of essence led to a peculiar interpretation of Finnish history. As has been pointed out, the essence of Bolshevism was narrated as being the epitome of evil and primordial chaos.

Thus an essentialist claim about an ideology only 20 years old could be expressed in terms of familiar stories. The result was that Bolshevism's "scenic" iniquity always preceded whatever acts Finland carried out, which implied that they were in fact merely reactions. Finland's history, in turn, was subjected to a reading that moved its teleological purpose. The Continuation War meant the realisation of Finland's historic mission to hold back the evil of the east. Using this culmination point to define the atemporal essence of Finland, historical events could be plotted on a continuum of cumulative wrongdoings inflicted on the country by Russia (and the Soviet Union). Hence the climax reached in the war was abstracted and used as an interpretative principle to create a coherent view of what was claimed to constitute the national past.

Examined chronologically, the Continuation War was conceived as a metanoic moment in two ways. At the beginning of the war it was seen in terms of Christian eschatology. Understanding the true nature of the Continuation War required a metanoic transformation into an apocalyptic mode of being from which the war could be recognized as a phase in the eschatological development of history – hence its importance as the final battle before the creation of a new national and international order. Until the winter of 1942, Lutheran metanoia was intimately bound up with the eschatological vision. However, as the tide turned and the prophesied destruction of Bolshevism seemed to be postponed, Finno-Lutheran metanoia changed course and began to emphasize the importance of obedience to the state. By dwelling on the importance of being a soldier of Christ, it was pointed out that Finns had fallen short of the ideal that the typology presented. This was the reason for the stagnation of the war. *Metanoia* in the sense of repentance and obedience could then be demanded in order to prevent complete destruction. Hence we can detect a change in the purpose of clerical rhetoric during the Continuation War: whereas in the so-called eschatological phase the aim was to legitimate the war, in the so-called jeremiadic phase the clergy focused on explaining why the war went astray.

I believe that the Burkean dramatistic approach that stresses the dialectic nature of substance has contributed significantly to understanding how the logic of metanoic power of the Finnish Lutheran clergy functioned in different political situations with various biblical elements. The dramatistic pentad illustrates how it was possible to sustain coherence of the narrative about Finland and the war, despite changes in the military-political situation. As has been mentioned, in Burkean theory of symbolic action form is seen as an integral rhetorical element. Form is conceived as movement from creation of an appetite towards fulfilment of that expectation: one part leads to anticipate another part which, in turn, is gratified by the sequence. The Continuation War was "emplotted" using the form of the Christian master narrative that begins from Edenic bliss and proceeds from fall, pain and toil via guilt and sacrifice towards redemption. In this way the substantial change from eschatological expectations and crusading to lamentations of sinfulness could be carried out

using a rhetorical structure that was familiar to all Finns – and most importantly, without questioning the authority of the church or the state.

All in all, Lutheran priests saw themselves as having an obligation to emphasize loyalty to the state and to its missionary warfare. Invading East Karelia was given the highest endorsement by the church as Finland's calling from God. Consequently, the church was fully behind wartime nationalist policies, and the friction and possible inconsistencies which might have emerged with other biblical or Lutheran interpretations were largely avoided. In practice this meant that two central messages were abandoned. First, peace was generally rejected in favour of prioritizing the national destiny, which was presumed to be guided by God. Second, the Finnish clergy willingly adopted ideas of holy war and crusade and thus ignored Martin Luther's refutation of wars waged and considered just on spiritual or religious criteria. However, the careful (re)description of the Continuation War as defensive shows that the Lutheran theory of just war was, in fact, not completely neglected. On the other hand, in practice this meant that the Lutheran Church of Finland – as a religious institution – sanctified acts of violence conducted by the state. And as we have observed, the most significant ethical consequence of the intensely political act of the church was that in God's war the enemy and Finnish soldiers both were eventually dehumanized.

To conclude, we have seen that the Lutheran Church and its priests eagerly placed their spiritual energy at the disposal of the nation state by giving an offensive war a rhetorical redressing as a defensive war willed by God himself. With careful selection of the biblical (and religious) typologies examined in this research, theological "ultimates of language" were used to powerfully legitimize warfare and explain the given situation. In this sense the study you have been reading has been a story about how the Finnish Lutheran Church and its priests solved the fundamental questions in Christianity pertaining to warfare: firstly, whether violence is acceptable, and secondly, whether war is just or unjust, divinely ordained or temporal skirmishing between human beings. And as the analysis shows, spiritual approach to the war provided the basis for a surprisingly coherent clerical interpretation that was not merely propaganda imagery or haphazard remarks – contrary to what previous research on the topic suggests.

It is the task of further research to examine the immediate post-war years, 1944–1948 (the so-called years of danger), from the perspective of clerical rhetoric. Although the Continuation War ended in September 1944, Finland was at war against Germany until the end of April 1945. The Soviet-led Allied Control Commission entered the country in order to make sure that the conditions of the armistice were carried out properly. One result of the changed political scene was that hundreds of organizations were banned as "fascist" and several war-time leaders were either removed from office or brought to trial as war criminals. In addition, there seemed to be a constant, more or less imagined, threat of a communist coup d'état. Recognising the range of typological identifications applied in different phases of the Continuation War,

a similar analysis could throw light on the ways in which the metanoic power of the Lutheran Church was applied during the Lapland War as well as the tumultuous early years of the Cold War and the manifold challenges of war-to-peace transition.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Jatkosota lienee eräs keskustelluimmista ja tutkituimmista aiheista Suomen historiassa. Tästä syystä onkin erikoista, että luterilaisten pappien sotaretoriikkaa on tutkittu varsin vähän. Papistoa on käsitelty lähinnä organisatorisesti osana kirkko- ja valtioinstituutiota tai kirkkohistoriallisesta näkökulmasta. Saarnaajina pappeja on puolestaan useimmiten tarkasteltu eräänlaisina propagandisteina valtion palveluksessa. Vaikka edellä mainitut lähestymistavat ovatkin sinänsä oikeutettuja, ne eivät tavoita papin jokapäiväisen toiminnan perustavanlaatuisia poliittisia ulottuvuuksia tai pappien retoriikan monipuolisuutta.

Tässä tutkimuksessa luterilaisia pappeja analysoidaan toimijoina, joiden teologisella retoriikalla oli äärimmäisen merkityksellisiä poliittisia seurauksia. Työn poliittis-teologinen lähtökohta on, että papillisen vallankäytön tavoitteena on mielen perinpohjainen muutos ja kokonaan uuden identiteetin omaksuminen. Tällainen radikaali muutos, *metanoia*, on mahdollista yhdistää esimerkiksi nationalistisiin tai valtion ajamiin päämääriin. Niin sanottu luterilainen metanoian politiikka liittyykin nimenomaan tilanteeseen, jossa saarnan ja sielunhoidon avulla vahvistetaan valtion auktoriteettia. Metanoian politiikan jäljet puolestaan löytyvät papiston saarnoista, puheista, hartauskirjoituksista sekä muista sodan aikana julkaistuista teksteistä.

Tässä työssä tekstianalyysiin sovelletaan Kenneth Burken symbolisen toiminnan ja dramatismin teoriaa. Identifikaatio on burkelaisen retoriikan keskeinen käsite. Koska mikä tahansa tapa olla olemassa ja toimia pohjautuu jaettuihin käsitteisiin, mielikuviin, ideoihin ja asenteisiin, suostuttelu on mahdollista ainoastaan siinä määrin kuin pystytään vakuuttavasti osoittamaan, että puhujalla tai kyseessä olevalla aiheella on jotain yhteistä yleisön kanssa. Näin ollen retoriikan perusta on siinä, miten jaottelut, sirpaleisuus ja hierarkiat pystytään ylittämään edes hetkellisesti. Teologinen retoriikka voidaan nähdä symbolisen toiminnan huipentumana, koska se tarjoaa typologioita, joihin identifioitumalla tavanomaiset, ”maalliset” jaottelut on mahdollista ylittää. Typologinen identifikaatio perustuu ”jumala-termeihin”, joilla selitetään, mistä ilmiössä tai tapahtumassa todella on kyse. Symbolinen toiminta on Burken teoriassa aina myös dramaattista. Siihen sisältyy päämäärään tähtäävää toimintaa, erilaisia toimijoita, tilanteita, välineitä sekä konflikti ja ratkaisu. Reetorin on siis kerrottava tavalla tai toisella, mitä tapahtui, missä, kuka tai ketkä tekivät, miten ja miksi.

Jatkosodassa luterilainen papisto rakensi typologisen retoriikkansa kattavasti raamatullisten ja uskonnollisten analogioiden varaan. Niistä muodostui kuusi *typosta*: apokalypsi, pyhä sota ja ristiretki, valittu kansa ja missio, jeremiadi, sisäinen kamppailu sekä totteleminen ja mortifikaatio. Sodan alussa Suomen tilanne ja rooli selitettiin osana eskatologista narratiivia. Jatkosota oli lopunaikojen taistelu, pyhä sota ja ristiretki, jota kävivät Kristuksen sotilaat Jumalan itsensä oikeuttamana ja johtamana ”ikuista vihollista” vastaan. Koska vastustaja oli sekä primitiivisen kaaoksen tilassa että raamatullinen paha, Itä-Karjalan hyökkäykselliset operaatiot pystyttiin kuvaamaan vastaiskuna. Tällä

tavoin bolshevismi symboloi sekä pahuuden huipentumaa että sen alkupistettä. Se tulisi joka tapauksessa kohtaamaan loppunsa Itä-Karjalan metsissä. Suomi puolestaan oli osa tätä jumalallista suunnitelmaa uuden historiallisen järjestyksen luomiseksi. Kristillisen Euroopan pelastamisen lisäksi Suomen, Pohjolan valitun kansan, missioon kuului myös ”täydellinen Suur-Suomi”. Kaiken kaikkiaan jatkosodassa oli siis kyseessä jostain suuremmasta kuin pelkästä maallisesta kamppailusta.

Sodan kestäessä ja Neuvostoliiton varmana julistetun tuhoutumisen pitkittyessä eskatologinen näkökulma oli kuitenkin hylättävä. Jo ennen Stalingradin taistelua alkuvuonna 1943 papiston retorinen fokus siirtyi jeremiadiin, valitusvirteen. Jeremiadin avulla oli mahdollista keskittyä sekä yksittäisten sotilaiden ja kotirintaman naisten syntisyyteen että kansalliseen moraalikatoon. Erityisesti Paavalin teologiaan nojaten kerrottiin, miten jokaisen yksilön sisällä käytävä kamppailu paholaista vastaan tulisi ratkaisemaan myös jatkosodan lopputuloksen. Pappien mukaan näyttikin siltä, että suomalaiset olivat tehneet sopimuksen paholaisen kanssa ja tällä tavoin aiheuttaneet sodan pitkittymisen. Pelkona oli, että Jumalan pyhä sota oli kääntymässä suomalaisia itseään vastaan.

Kevääseen ja kesään 1944 tultaessa vaatimukset esivallan tottelemisesta kiihtyivät. Keskeinen retorinen keino oli identifioida valtiollinen sekä sotilaallinen johto ja jumalallinen auktoriteetti. Tämä tarkoitti, että luterilais-kristillisen moraalin vaatimusten noudattaminen ei ollut tarpeeksi, vaan esivaltaan tuli suhtautua uskonnollisesti. Vastaavasti papillisessa retoriikassa tottelemattomuus tarkoitti samalla myös teologista apostaasia, uskosta luopumista. Tällä tavoin papisto pyrki reagoimaan tilanteeseen, jossa kurittomuus ja sotilaskarkuruus olivat lisääntyneet huomattavasti.

Syksyllä 1944 Moskovan välirauhan myötä tapahtui (sotilaallis-poliittisen muutoksen lisäksi) jälleen retorinen siirtymä. Suomi oli nyt kollektiivisesti ja ansaitusti joutunut vaeltamaan polttavassa erämaassa. Kansakunta oli laitettu Jumalan kouluun tottelemattomuutensa vuoksi, ja suomalaisten tulikin olla kiitollisia, ettei heitä ollut tuhottu kokonaan. Radikaali mielenmuutos oli looginen suhteessa tuolloiseen poliittiseen tilanteeseen, koska aselevon ehtoihin entisen ”ikuisen vihollisen” kanssa kuului alueluovutusten ja sotakorvausten lisäksi entisen ”Jumalan määräämän” liittolaisen, Saksan, karkottaminen Suomen alueilta. Tällä tavoin luterilainen metanoian politiikka seurasi notkeasti valtiotason poliittisia muutoksia.

Sotilaallis-poliittista tilannetta myötäilleiden muutosten lisäksi papiston retoriikassa korostui käytännössä koko sodan ajan niin sanottu mortifikaatio. Kenneth Burken symbolisen toiminnan teoriassa itsensä uhraaminen eli mortifikaatio on itsekurin huipentuma: syyllisyys ongelmiin, häiriöihin ja tavoitteiden saavuttamatta jättämiseen on löydettävissä aina yksilöstä itsestään. Mortifikaatio retorisena figuurina onkin tehokas keino vahvistaa esimerkiksi juuri valtion auktoriteettia kriisiaikoina.

Itsensä isänmaan puolesta uhraaminen rakentui teologiselle *imitatio Christi* -motiiville. Sodassa kaatuneet olivat kulkeneet Kristuksen veroisen uhritien, ja isänmaalle itsensä uhranneet olivat raivanneet itselleen tien Jumalan valtakun-

taan. Näin isänmaa ja Jumalan valtakunta samastettiin. Samalla tehtiin myös toinen keskeinen identifikaatio. Elossa olevien – sekä sotilaiden että siviilien – ”syyllisyyden” voitiin implikoida kumpuavan Kristuksen kärsimyksestä; ei mistään konkreettisesta omakohtaisesta teosta. Tämä syyllisyys oli kuitenkin mahdollista sovittaa isänmaan alttarilla. Edellä mainitusta identifikaatioketjusta juontaa juurensa myös kunniavelka-käsitteen tehokkuus ja pysyvyys: kun raamatullisen pelastusdraaman huipennus yhdistyy nationalistiseen retoriikkaan, suomalaisia milloin ja missä tahansa voidaan vaatia kuolettamaan symbolinen kunniavelkansa isänmaalle ja sodassa kaatuneille. On kuitenkin huomattava, että mytologiasta juurensa juontavaa ”velkaa” ei ajallinen olento pysty kuittaamaan muuten kuin siirtymällä ajasta ikuisuuteen. Onkin traagista ja ironista, että suomalaisen sotilaan ideaali, täydellinen Kristuksen sotilas, oli kuollut sotilas.

Kaiken kaikkiaan luterilainen papisto pysyi sodan aikana varsin uskollisena teologiselle tulkintakehykselleen. Vaikka typologiat vaihtuivat tilanteiden muuttuessa, sodan alussa rakennettua laajempaa tulkintamallia ei kyseenalaistettu käytännössä lainkaan. Sodan luonteen vaihtuminen hyökkäyssodasta asemasodaksi ja lopulta lähes paniikinomaiseksi vetäytymiseksi kudottiin osaksi raamatullista kertomusta, eikä valtion, kirkon tai papiston ratkaisuja näin ollen ollut tarpeen kyseenalaistaa. Toisin sanoen hyökkäysvaiheen aikana korostettiin Jumalan tahtomaa ja johtamaa pyhää sotaa, kun taas asema- ja vetäytymisvaiheessa syyllisiä tapahtumiin olivat syntiin langenneet kansalaiset, jotka olivat ansainneet kurituksensa.

Kuten tutkimus osoittaa, papisto ja sitä kautta myös kirkko instituutiona antoivat hengellisen ja retorisen valtansa valtion sotatavoitteiden palvelukseen. Luterilainen – ja osin myös kreikkalaiskatolinen papisto – olivatkin tärkeässä roolissa, kun jatkosotaa legitimoitiin niin kotimaiselle kuin ulkomaiselle yleisölle käyttäen retorista kuvastoa, joka oli tuttu käytännössä kaikille. Luterilainen kirkko ja sen papit antoivat hyväksyntänsä väkivallalle, koska kyseessä oli teologisesti perusteltavissa oleva oikeutettu sota. Papisto näkikin runsaasti vaivaa, että sota kuvattiin kauttaaltaan puolustuksellisena ja siltä osin kristillisluterilaisen oikeutetun teorian mukaisena. Täten papit eivät lopulta olleet pelkkä valtion propagandan äänitorvi, vaan papit konstruoivat vakaumuksensa pohjalta systemaattisen tulkinnan Suomen jatkosodasta.

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