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Commemorating the Fallen for Friendship and Encouragement: The Commemoration of Fallen Soldiers in the Military Culture in the Baltic Sea Region 1919-1939.

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In 1934 a Swedish Second Lieutenant Grafström reported on the Estonian Cavalry Regiment's commemoration day in Tartu: "In the regimental grounds there was a memorial in the form of a cairn for those who fell in the war. Daily ceremonies took place when the units passed in the parade march with their heads turned. The memorial day of the Regiment, November 11, was commemorated with a memorial service and the taking of the communion together with the recruits. After the church service the Regiment rode through the city with torches, and formed a square around the memorial. In front was the banner and as many torch carriers as there were fallen soldiers faced the banner. The roll was called and the living answered. When a fallen soldier's name was called the adjutant answered that he had fallen in the war. A torch was extinguished and so the roll call went on squadron by squadron."[1]

The picture conveyed by Grafstöm is characteristic of the kind of ceremonies held in memory of those who had fallen in the war among the new states in Europe during the period between the wars. Equally characteristic was that the ceremony, viewed by an outsider who witnessed the honouring of the dead, and was looked upon as an important feature of a foreign country´s military culture that he had to report home about. The theme of this article is the practice of honouring of the dead and its national and international significance among the military powers of the Baltic States during the interwar period.

In modern times the armed forces are one of the state's most important instruments, and the most essential instrument in terms of international law and preserving the national territory and the sovereignty of the state. The armed forces are intimately connected with the state, both in a national and an international arena. The role of the armed forces in our society has ensured that they are embodied with a special military culture that has international similarities as well as national characteristics. A typical characteristic of this culture is a hierarchical attitude. Irrespective of the state ideology, the armed forces maintain a conservative attitude towards the role of the state and, accordingly, a special love of traditions. Through their culture and education the armed forces also convey a normative and idealised image of war and death. The importance of the history of the military culture makes it possible for this culture to be studied on the basis of what the social anthropologist and philosopher Ernest Gellner's typology called old states. This refers to states with a long historical continuity and a clear national identity and where the history plays a significant role in the military culture. However, even with what Gellner calls the newer states, the recent histories play a role in the military culture with the aim to strengthen the armed forces' own identity and to connect them with an international military culture.[2] The intimate interconnection between the state, its creation, and armed forces in the new states also made the rituals and ceremonies created by the military become part of a national cult, in which combat and death for the nation and the commemoration of the fallen became the focal point. This cult was manifested in living practices in the form of parades and memorial services, and materially as places and monuments, and as a living memory through the teaching of history and the use of role models in military education. On the whole this cult has traits of what Eric Hobsbawm calls invented traditions, reborn and changing traditions claiming to be static and deeply rooted in history.[3]

In this article we study how death was depicted and used in military culture in Sweden, Estonia and Poland during the interwar period with the aim to identify the national characteristics of these states, as well as the traits created by a common military culture in connection with death.

Sweden exemplifies what Gellner calls an old state, while Poland with its historical tradition and newfound independence exemplifies a re-established state. Estonia, which lacked experience as an independent state, exemplifies a new state. These states to be examined formed at the same time different nodes in the security complex of the Baltic region and developed an intimate military interchange.

The study is based on three themes from different sources. In the first theme, military manuals and journals are examined, in the second theme military commemorations and monuments are studied, and finally in the third theme the position that the memory of the dead played in international relations is studied. This latter examination is based on the reports of the military attachés who witnessed the commemorations.

The Memory of the Great War

Death has always been an integral part of the military culture and has been central to its rituals, but it was from the French Revolutionary War in the late 1700s and early 1800s that thoughts about death and sacrifice for the nation came into clear expression. As such, this process was parallel to the growth of modern states as well as the development of mass armies and the concepts of citizenship. Death, in the form of the military hero, came to symbolise the male character, willpower, moral purity, courage and patriotism. Death was the ultimate sacrifice that the soldier and citizen was able to give for his country.[4] The nation was quite often symbolised in the context of a young, immaculate woman or a mother with children in order to connect sacrifice to something real that traditionally would be protected.[5] The military death became even more sacred during the interwar period by the military rites that borrowed features from the church, thus making it easily recognisable for the observers. [6] One of the reasons was that the military death during the First World War differed markedly from earlier wars. The fallen were no longer killed, but rather destroyed and pulverised by the modern industrialised war. Through rituals, feelings and actions were evoked that could only occur in a collective context and which created cohesion where history was as central as the present.[7]

At the same time history entered the public arena in the 1800s, which was embodied by museums, monuments and public commemorations, a culture to which Europe's new states were joined in the interwar period.[8] On the continent monuments were erected to commemorate the dead of the district as well as the allied soldiers who died for the district, or in memory of a great battle. The local monuments tied the area or place to the nation, and in the new states it could also serve to distinguish the nation's borders or symbolise how far the battle had spanned the nation. Likewise, the memorials could also put the district or battle in an international context and commemorate foreign soldiers who had fallen on that spot.[9] Even far from the battlefield, the memory of the dead had a national significance. Historian Jonathan F. Vance wrote that the memory of the war in Canada filled a need for comfort, explanation and inspiration, but also for entertainment.[10] At the same time, the memory of the nation's victims could have a tremendous political force elsewhere. In Italy, for example, the fascist seizure of power was legitimised by claiming that the power should lie with those who risked and sacrificed their lives and fought for the nation. At the same time as the myth arose in Germany that the Fatherland's troops during the World War had been betrayed by the establishment it became a key message of the National Socialist propaganda.[11] In the Nazi myths the interwar SA men became the direct successors of the First World Wars fallen, with the expressed purpose of linking the past and the present and future.

Material

This study is based on archival material, military manuals and journals. The archival material consists of military attaché reports in which mainly Swedish and Polish attachés describe various ceremonies and commemorations that they visited as part of their service. The Swedish journal materials are from the *Ny militär tidskrift* for the period 1927-1939. This magazine was published exclusively for officers. There were also magazines that were geared towards non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and lower officers, called *Den svenske underofficeren* and the *Svensk underbefäls-tidning*. We have studied the journals for the years 1919-1939 and 1925-1939 respectively. The newspaper *Żołnierz Polski* (*The Polish Soldier*) was an

easy-to-read magazine that was directed towards conscript soldiers that was published between 1920 and 1939. The *Polish Zbrojna* (*The Armed Poland*) was the Polish armed forces' official magazine, which had the ambition of being a daily newspaper and was directed towards a broad readership. From 1919 on the military affairs in Estonia were addressed in the journal *Sõdur* (*The Soldier*), which was usually published once or twice a month and was a unifying body of information and debate on military matters, and also an important teaching tool. Generally, the purely military questions covered in the journal were dealt with in a high level of abstraction, making it likely that those sections of the journal were directed towards officers, while the news and historical sections often had a more general appeal and would have been read by the enlisted men and veterans.

The Armed Forces and Death

The education of the conscript armies of the early 1900s rested primarily on a verbal transfer of knowledge from officers and NCOs to the soldiers. But as the weapons and systems became more technically complex and more responsibility was placed on the NCOs and soldiers to independently handle equipment and to solve tasks, the number of printed manuals and instructions for training soldiers also increased.[12] Sweden introduced such manuals in the early 1900s, and they became more complete and detailed in the interwar period, while the first detailed instruction manuals in Estonia began to be issued in the late 1920s.[13] In Poland, the printed instructions, however, were not as common because the literacy rate was low in most parts of the military, especially during the 1920s.

The soldier's instructions always gave death a large, if not explicit role. The Swedish soldier manuals for conscripts soldiers were generally structured around two themes; one about the military service and the other about general education, dealing with everything from soldier hygiene (not to spit on the floor), to how the national holidays were to be celebrated. In both parts, history had a prominent role.[14] In the section dealing with the battle

death was usually hidden behind technically-oriented descriptions of the effects of weapons against enemies, instructions on how the individual soldier should aim their weapons, and stylized images of their own troops' advance through enemy lines, which were marked as coloured fields. In considering likely losses in war the attitude was that 'losses are inevitable' and that 'it took stamina, willpower, resourcefulness and courage to carry out the mission in a responsible manner.'[15] The manual's sections that dealt with the assault were inspired by the tactics of the First World War's Western Front with the clear exhortation that, 'without the attack there is no victory.'[16] The attack must be characterised by a strong spirit and a relentless quest to get close to the enemy, which would inevitably lead to losses. Yet these sacrifices would not be in vain or forgotten and soldiers were indoctrinated with references to the sacrifices of historical heroes.[17] Those who were often extolled as heroes in the Swedish military honour culture were some of the warrior kings of Sweden, mainly Gustaf II Adolf and Karl XII. But in the 1920s there were also cautionary historical examples that described the soldiers who died to save the friends or to save the Swedish flag from falling into enemy hands.[18]

In the newly formed Estonian army proper instruction books for soldiers and officers were lacking, and the regulations that were developed over time primarily addressed issues like the maintenance of horses or individual weapons. In these manuals the reality of war was concealed behind reports of shot angles, the risks of ill-shod horses in the field, or techniques for digging trenches. The instructions provided by the manuals included articles about techniques, tactics and training that were also were mixed with easy to understand stories that highlighted the heroism and contribution of individual soldiers. The key themes expressed in the manuals were friendship, hardship and sacrifice. In these descriptions, death was never sudden or without purpose; instead, it was described as a consequence of heroism and sacrifice, and as the culmination of a phase where individual soldiers or units gained the victory. Through this connection death was for a good purpose, something that only affected their own troops and not the enemy. The descriptions of the Estonian War of Independence were the most prominent, detailed and personal accounts in which the same fight could be described repeatedly, but from

different perspectives. Similarly, the obituaries published in *Sõdur* of officers and distinguished soldiers who had recently passed away, or in memory of those who had fallen in the War of Independence, were also very descriptive. These highlighted the sacrifice and heroism just as the runes also highlighted that the struggle of those who recently passed away had borne fruit because the heroic veterans had died in an independent Estonia. Thus, the fallen were remembered in gratitude. In the latter case, the aim was always to show that no soldier's efforts would be forgotten. Similarly, officers and soldiers were portrayed as being awarded the Freedom Cross because heroism joined the portraits of the dead to the heroes at the same moment that the thin line between life and death in war became clear.[19]

The hero's gallery could also be inclined to show the Estonian officers as being blissful, especially if their efforts were for the same good cause. That is why, for example, Marshal Józef Piłsudski was portrayed in *Sõdur* at the celebration of the Polish National Day in 1927. As a reminder of those who sacrificed their lives for Poland the cover showed a picture of the Unknown Soldier's grave in Warsaw. [20] In other issues there were also descriptions and images of the representatives of the Estonian armed forces who laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in foreign countries. These documents showed respect and desire for friendly relations with foreign powers, at the same time as it sealed the common fate for which the soldiers died. As a result, these descriptions were used as examples and they clearly resembled the Swedish descriptions of heroism, with the main difference that the Swedish examples were historic. Designed to teach a lesson, they could therefore be used to emphasise heroic virtues and show their importance in history, but not to give real lessons about war and warfare.[21]

The Polish infantry instructions also emphasized the importance of sacrifice, but without specifically mentioning death. In these instructions, there were no seasons, weather or terrains that could prevent the Polish infantry 'who advanced to attack full of sacrificial patriotism, defying danger and bravely enduring all kinds of hardships and shortcomings.' The emphasis of their patriotic sacrifice and privation, rather than inflicting

damage to the enemy, was very similar in many respects to the Swedish and Estonian instructions.

The idea behind these stories was to make the instructions more educational and alive, but also to instil courage in the soldiers and the willingness to endure hardships because there was a reward in the future, namely the independent state. An important component of these illustrative examples was that they emphasised that a small country's heroism was so much greater than a large country's soldiers. A small nation's war always meant fighting for its existence, while a large country's war was described as a conflict of imperialist ambitions.[22] There is also a link to this in the Swedish soldier's instructions where the struggle of the Thirty Years War was described as stopping the Catholic worldwide conspiracy. In the same spirit it was pointed out that Sweden, ever since the time of the Crusades, had defended Western civilisation against Russia.[23]

Death as a Military Virtue

When the Polish military word 'Virtuti militari' was reintroduced in 1920, Marshal Piłsudski said that it was a rare luxury to live up to the military virtues of war, 'people dressed in soldier's uniform must go hand in hand with the love of his heart, with death.' Whoever drew the short straw had to resign themselves to die or become crippled and sick. Whoever drew the long straw could enjoy health and life.[24] More distinctly romantic notions of death can hardly be represented. The Polish soldier's masculinity was based on an unconditional commitment to take to the field in order to experience the life - and death - lottery.

There were many regimental days and anniversaries that were celebrated in the 1920s and 1930s that eloquently expressed the Polish military's concept of death. These were held under strict ritual forms. When the 8th Infantry Regiment 'Legionów' celebrated its tenth anniversary in April 1928, the festivities began with a mourning service for the 340 fallen soldiers and officers from 1919 to 1920.[25] The second day was celebrated with an outing to the Monument of the Fallen where a field service was

held. The names of the dead were read, and then the trumpeters at the monument blew a fanfare. Four soldiers dressed in the 8th Regiment's historical uniforms marched forward and presented arms jointly with the honour guard. The historical uniforms emphasised the ties with the past and showed that the soldier's role and responsibilities were eternal.[26] The day ended with a parade, dinner and a ball.[27]

Remembrance of the dead was woven together with activities for the living such as sports and shooting competitions. These served to socialise the soldiers in a military culture of honour, duty and glory in parallel as their military competence developed.[28] During the same month the 14th Field Artillery in Poznań celebrated its regimental ceremony. It began in the evening with the batteries lined up in the square holding torches. The fallen soldiers' names were called one by one, and after each name the regimental commander exclaimed, 'he fell in glory on the battlefield!' Afterwards, there was a speech describing the fallen soldiers' graves as 'scattered around the country's eastern border - Kresy wschodie' and called the 'silent monuments' of loyalty to the native land.[29] The link to the kingdom's eastern border - Kresy wschodie-- was a very powerful symbol that referred to Poland as Christianity's true defender and its boundaries as the boundary between culture and barbarism.[30] The graves thus showed how far to the east the fight and the sacrifice for civilisation stretched, and also showed an imagined boundary from which it was impossible to withdraw without leaving those who died for civilisation in the lurch. The idea of civilisation's boundary was also present in the Estonian military culture and in the Swedish culture, where graves and monuments of Swedish soldiers in Europe gave witness to how far the Swedish fight for civilisation stretched and what sacrifices one historically was willing to make.

The Swedish ceremonies followed a different pattern than in Poland and Estonia since Sweden lacked immediate war experience. Thus, the Swedish ceremonies were historical and during the 1920s many regiments celebrated the 300th anniversary of their foundation with celebrations that were held according to a well-known template. The fallen soldiers of the regiment throughout history were celebrated through poetry, anchored in

the homeland and expressing the legacy that these soldiers lived on in the present.[31] The emphasis was on Sweden's history as a great power and endorsing the Swedish warrior virtues aimed at counteracting the pacifist tendencies in society. When some regiments were disbanded in the period of disarmament after the First World War the military viewed it as denigrating the previous generation's sacrifice.[32]

The Swedish ceremonies during the interwar period were all constructed to make historical events well known and to connect them to current political differences.
The main references to the time of great powers was seen through the example of the hero kings Karl XII and Gustav Adolf II, both who fell in spectacular ways in battle. Both kings also became the subject of their own festivals, both nationally and internationally. Gustaf Adolf II was hailed mainly from 1930 to commemorate the entry into the Thirty Years War, and was followed by remembrance ceremonies for Breitenfeld in 1931 and Lützen in 1932. The king's fate at Lützen personified the will to sacrifice and at the same time portrayed death's historical meaning. In this way, the stories remind one about the way in which the fallen soldiers and officers in Estonia's war of independence were portrayed.[33] Gustav Adolf's Day also gave rise to public ceremonies in Estonia and Latvia. These were followed closely by representatives of the Swedish armed forces, who interpreted them as signs of friendly Swedish-Latvian relationships. The memory of the Great Nordic War was also present in the Estonian military press, which often made references to the Estonians that died in the Swedish king's army and about the battles that were waged on Estonian soil. As a result, the Estonian soldier and his will to make a sacrifice in the war against the East received a historical continuity as well as also demonstrated how Estonia and Sweden shared a history and a historic task. Politically, this could be interpreted as an expression of Estonia's 'Scandinavian', i.e. a neutral orientation in an increasingly tense international atmosphere during the pre-war years.[34]

1928 was the tenth anniversary of independence for Estonia and was a memorable year for the armed forces in the newly formed states around

the Baltic Sea. Around 1928 many local monuments were dedicated in Estonia to honour the fallen soldiers of various districts. Many monuments were erected and paid for by the collections of local associations who organised commemorations for the fallen soldiers.[35] The purpose was not primarily to create a place of mourning, but a place of memory. Monuments were often portrayed, almost without comment, on the cover of *Sõdur*. Most of them consisted of tall stone pedestals with inscriptions and adorned by a struggling or falling soldier in bronze. Remarkably, these soldiers often carried historically symbolic swords or armour and these depictions embodied their death for the nation by holding up the banner in battle constantly striving forward. The Monument in Suure-Jaani, inaugurated in 1926, honoured not only the local fallen soldiers, but also the medieval Estonian national hero Lembit.[36]

Lembit was extolled as a national hero because after his death in the freedom of the Estonian peasants was considered to have ended as the country fell under control of the Teutonic Knights. In an article in Sõdur, which was illustrated with the monument, it was explained that Lembit, like the soldiers in the war of independence, gave his life as a sacrifice to the nation.[37] The monument's historic/mythic references had the same function as the historical articles in journals, namely to link Estonia to an eternal struggle between good and evil, where the right always won in the end. Other monuments embodied the nation by reminding people that the soldiers died in defence of women and children, where the woman represented the home and the child the future. In the same way, school children and students play a prominent role at the ceremonies held at the monuments.[38]

Parades Described by Foreign Guests

As described, the purpose of the rituals was to celebrate national independence and also the national historical roots. It was by paying tribute to the fallen soldiers that one created a visual context. The primary recipient of the message was that one's own nation should display its military power and the authority of the state. The rituals were also directed towards their own soldiers in order to socialise them into this context. But

the rituals and ceremonies were also directed outward. They were a meeting place where honouring the dead could be equated with showing respect for the nation, and the ceremonies were carefully studied by other armed forces in order to note the degree of connectedness between the states and people and how the armed forces lived up to the military virtues. The Swedish military attaché in Riga, Major Karl Lindqvist, provided a description of the Latvian National Day celebrations on 18 November 1937. The celebrations began on the afternoon of November 17 with worship at the War Cemetery in Riga. This was followed the next morning with a march of young students to the cemetery to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In this ceremony the president and members of the government were also present. The whole day was devoted to such arrangements. After the service in the morning the president spoke to the assembly from the parade site in Riga in a speech that was transmitted by radio across the nation. He spoke of the importance of an intimate unity between the people and the army. Parades took place in all the garrison towns and in the evening Riga was fully illuminated with the help of the fleet that lay anchored below the castle on the Daugava River.[39]

The fallen were commemorated in the celebration of the national solidarity. Having the students lay wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was a way to create a community where students became the links in the same chain as the fallen soldiers. The presence of students and school children' in Latvia, but also often in Estonia, symbolised the new state and its ideals with modernity through education, formerly granted to only a few, but now available to all people as a result of the sacrifices made by the fallen soldiers. For the attachés, these celebrations were a way to assess the national cohesion and the national military capacities. There was a distinct recognition in the rituals and the system that the ceremonies followed.

War cemeteries and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier were generally part of military visits of all kinds. For example, the Finnish army chief, Lieutenant General Hugo Österman visited Estonia from 5to 12 July 1938, as a guest of Commanding General Laidoner. The visit began on 6 July

with the official laying of a wreath at the memorial of those who fell in the War of Independence.[40] Already in 1933 Österman had also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw in a similar manner as the Swedish naval officers who visited the Polish capital the same year.[41] Exactly the same liturgy took place when the Polish General Staff Commander, General Wacław Stachiewiczs, visited Finland in July 1938. The visit began after an honorary reception at the airport runway, with the laying of a wreath at the War Memorial in the Old Cemetery. During this occasion the marching band played the Finnish and Polish national anthems.[42] For the Polish attaché this commission was very much about sensing the mood in Finland as that country was a potential ally against the Soviet Union. Therefore, it was also highly important to assess the German strength and scope. This interest appeared especially in the reports of the tenth anniversary of the Independence War in 1928 when German Major General Rüdiger von der Goltz, visited Finland.[43] The Polish attaché Captain Marian Chodacki reported that the visit on 11 April, 1928 began with a mourning prayer for the fallen soldiers and wreaths were laid at the monuments of the dead. Even wreaths from the German organisations Stahlhelm and Jägerbund were laid down.

The day after there was a grand party where letters of gratitude were dispatched to various German patriotic societies. The implication of this was that one commonly sacrificed blood for freedom, for the defence of the Finnish nation and the Germanic culture. For the Polish, the observer signalled the honouring of the dead, where one shared the same view of friend and foe in the international system and a common historical heritage. But the careful honouring of German organisations also raised a concern about a too German-friendly Finland. That same year the Polish military attaché in Helsinki reported that the German graves in the Old Cemetery 'were considered to be the closest to the Unknown Soldier grave.' In the same year there were Polish attempts to identify Poles who died in the fighting against von der Goltz's intervention force to mark their graves. Witnesses were sought among the veterans in western Poland and some overtures appear to have been made to the Finnish government.[44] The Polish correspondence expressed crass willingness to enter a Polish wedge in the Finnish-German celebration – and to mark the

Polish graves was seen as a way to 'reduce the importance of the monuments of these German units."[45] This indicates the power of the memory culture as a common denominator and a bridge builder between states. It is also symptomatic that the role of the Unknown Soldier's grave is mentioned - certainly there was no such memorial in Finland at the time of the reporting, but there was a place that filled its role.

There was a high degree of recognition among all soldiers in these contexts. But it seems as if there was another dimension in recognition between the Baltic States, Finland and Poland which was mainly the common experience of independence and civil war. A good example is the exchange between Finland and Estonia in 1927 that highlights the common link between the countries. The Estonian cadets visited Helsinki in 1927 and laid a wreath at a Monument for the Estonian Independence War for Fallen Finnish Soldiers. Finnish cadets did the same thing when visiting Tallinn. Estonian cadets were also present at the Finnish National Day celebrations when male and female students, the women dressed in white, waved to the parade heading to the war cemetery.[46]

Something that one must also keep in mind is the international discourse of the time then public ceremonies were very common during the interwar period. In its most extreme form such ceremonies often took place in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.[47] It is worth noting, however, that the honouring of the fallen slowed down rather than increased in Estonia after the establishment of authoritarian rule in 1934.[48]

In the interwar period the Swedish victory over Russia in the Battle of Narva in 1700 was an important memory for the Baltic States and Finland. It came to be a symbol of how small states could fight and defeat the great Russian Empire. Thus, the Narva Monument had an international symbolic significance. On 18 October 1936, Sweden unveiled a Monument for the Victory at Narva in 1700 in the town of Narva. The monument was a bronze cast of one of the lions at Lejonbacken from the Royal Palace. Festivities included the laying down of wreaths, parades of the Swedish units that participated in the battle, with representatives from the Finnish Army and the Estonian army acting as hosts.[49] For Sweden it was

about preserving the memory of Swedish victories, but for Finland and Estonia it was about placing a sense of nationhood back in time. In Estonian journals the Battle of Narva was highly relevant. The victory in 1700 created a link between the modern war, the story of the battle and the independent Estonian soldier. His character and sacrifice was thus part of a long chain of historical events. Such historical achievements provided an opportunity to connect with memories and celebrations in other countries.[50]

Celebrations of this kind were not always about an organised cult of death, but also about a military system built around honour. The ceremonies around the Fallen Soldiers filled a recognition function, especially when it came to the formal part of the rituals. Wreath-laying ceremonies at monuments were part of the military concept of honour and glory. But for countries such as Finland, Poland, Estonia and others, this was a step in the maintenance of common rituals where nation and death were linked with the history. In these cases, death was at the individual's level and the fallen embodied the nation. It was not to mourn but to remember. The memory of the fallen soldiers was a celebration of independence in itself made possible by their sacrifices.

Death as a national manifestation - a concluding discussion

The most striking features in the comparison between how death was regarded in military culture between the wars are the major similarities that exist. By comparing how the Fallen Soldiers and the memory of those are viewed in the different countries, a picture of an international military culture emerges, but with distinctive national features. One conclusion is that the ceremonies around death were used to demonstrate military determination. The rituals were, in fact, observed by military attaches, who informed their superiors about the military capacity, encoded in memory of the fallen.

To a large extent, everywhere people devoted themselves to orchestrate the military hero's death in the same way. However, there were some differences in what the rituals meant; in Sweden, the Fallen were anonymous ancestors whose sacrifices were used as tools against

disarmament. The great Swedish war heroes were role models, not only in Sweden but also in Finland and Estonia. The big difference was between Sweden and the countries that recently had fought a war. The Fallen Swedish Soldiers became monuments without being specifically identified as individuals. In Poland and Estonia, it was about unnamed soldiers whose efforts and sacrifices would be remembered. In contrast to Poland and Estonia, the Swedish military hero's death was historic. In Poland, which had its own national history, the victims of the Polish-Bolshevik War and the independence wars became a modern form of the historical war hero. The Estonian government, which lacked national history, was characterised instead by a need to extend the story in time. For example, ceremonies around the memory of the Battle of Narva in 1700 also became the ceremonies for Finland and Estonia. This victory became synonymous with a win over Russia in the independence and civil wars.

The military ceremonies took on the role of a national temple where military and religious liturgy created a context and commemorated the fallen soldiers connected to the nation. The rituals were a visual manifestation of the nation in which participants would feel connected; and at the same time the rituals meant that the newly formed nations took their place among the other nations. Death was a way to justify the nation and the government. They all had the same traditions, the same rituals, and the ceremonies built around those who died. But the ritualised hero's death was also a way to keep the nation constantly mobilised. In Sweden this was done by historical example. However, in Poland and Estonia, it was done by highlighting individual victims. The international system that the ceremonies followed made them recognisable to different observers, but often the rituals developed specific national symbols. One example is the Polish use of Kresy wschodie, while Sweden made reference to a period of great power, and Estonia to the Battle of Narva.

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[1] The 2nd lieutenant of the Royal Norrlands Dragon Regiment A.F.W. Grafström med underdånig redogörelse, jämlikt go 2458/1933 tjänstgjort vid kavalleriförband i estniska armén den 13 juni 1934, (KrA, 200, EIg:74)

[2] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca New York, 1983) pp. 88–101.

[3] Eric Hobsbawn, 'Introduction: inventing traditions', in Eric Hobsbawn and Terrance Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983) p. 6f.

[4] Anders Ahlbäck, *Soldiering and the Making of Finnish Manhood: Conscription and Masculinity in Interwar Finland, 1918–1939* (Åbo, 2010) p. 11f; George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996). *historisk tidskrift* 131:3, 2011; Adriana Cavarero, *In Spite of Plato: A Feminist Rewriting of Ancient Philosophy* (London 1995) s. 15–30, Alan Forrest, "Citizenship and masculinity: the revolutionary citizen-soldier and his legacy", Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and Anna Clark (eds.), *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture* (New York, 2007) pp. 111–129.; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York 1990); See Kallas and Sturfelt (2008) *kriget som hjältesaga*, pp. 75–108.

[5] Maurice Agulhon, "Politics, images and symbols in post-revolutionary France", Sean Wilentz (ed.), *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Rituals and Politics since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999) p. 179; Johanna Valenius, *Undressing the maid: gender, sexuality, and the body in the construction of the Finnish nation* (Helsinki, 2004) p. 68; see also Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London, 2001).

[6] See Michael Sledge, *Soldier Dead: How We Recover, Identify, Bury and Honor Our Military Fallen* (New York, 2004).

[7] Randall Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (Princeton 2004) pp. 47–49; Lars Dahlgren and Bengt Starrin, *Emotioner, vardagsliv och samhälle: en introduktion till emotionssociologi* (Stockholm 2004) p. 57.

[8] Magnus Rodell, *Att gjuta en nation: statyinvigningar och nationsformering i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt* (Stockholm, 2002).

[9] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European*

Cultural history (Cambridge 1995); B. C. and M. W. Stark Mossman, *The Last Salute: Civil and Military Funerals 1921–1969* (Washington, 1991) p. 15; see also K. S. Inglis,"Emtombing unknown soldiers: from London and Paris to Baghdad", *History and Meaning*, 5/2 1993.

[10] Jonathan F. Vance, *Death so noble: memory, meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver, 1997) pp. 9, 229–236.

[11] Madeleine Hurd, "Klädd till gatustrid: uniform, kropp och maskulinitet hos nazis- ternas stormtrupper", Madeleine Hurd, Tom Olsson and Lisa Öberg (eds.), *Iklädd identitet: historiska studier av kropp och kläder* (Stockholm, 2004) pp. 233–245; See Thomas Kühne, *Kameradschaft: die Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006).

[12] Ahlbäck (2010) p. 11.

[13] See also, *Soldier Instructions for the Infantry, 1918 edition* (*SoldI Inf*) (also published in 1919, 1920 and 1922), *SoldI Inf*, 1927 edition (also published in 1929) and *SoldI Inf*, 1938 edition. There are also specific instructions for different types of weapons, individual weapons, horses, vehicles and also general subject areas with defence information and such.

[14] *SoldI Inf*, 1918 edition, p. 42, 31; *SoldI Inf*, 1938 2nd ed. p. 209; 32. *SoldI Inf*, 1918 edition p. 151; 33. Fredrik Eriksson, 'Men of war should fear God and be gentle and faithful to the King: the use of history in Swedish soldier instructions in the interwar period' in *Militärhistorisk tidskrift 2009–2010* (2011).

[15] *SoldI Inf*, 1938, p. 209.

[16] *SoldI Inf*, 1918, p. 151.

[17] Eriksson (2011).

[18] *SoldI Inf*, 1927 edition, describes how a 15 year old youngster named Brakel raised the flag as a sign of resistance at the Battle of Porraslmi in 1789 and the Swedish soldiers then succeeded in ousting the Russian opponents. On the significance of the flag and its meaning see p. 14.

[19] *Sõdur*, no. 16/17, 23/4 1928 p. 378; *Sõdur*, no 28, 3/7 1926 p. 591; *Sõdur*, no 46/47, 6/11 1926 p. 1012; and *Sõdur*, no 6/7/8, 24/2 1928, p. 259.

[20] *Sõdur*, no 18/19, 7/5 1927 p. 425, 439; *Sõdur* no 6/7, 24/1 1934, p. 195.

[21] *Sõdur*, no 16/17, 23/4 1928 p. 378; *Sõdur*, no 28, 3/7 1926 p. 591, *Sõdur*, no 46/47; also Eriksson (2011).

[22] *Sõdur*, no 9/10, 14/3 1928, pp. 386, 393; Also *Sõdur*, no 24/26, 20/7 1936, p. 597.

[23]Eriksson (kommande).

[24] Zołnierz Polski 1920:87 p. 2.

[25] The name ’Legionów’ relates to the Polish Legion whose soldiers fought together with the Triple Alliance (under Austrian-Hungarian leadership) to liberate Poland from Czarist Russia, thus an honorary designation.

[26] For an analysis of these rituals, see Ralph E. Giesey, ”Models of rulership in French Royal ceremonial”, in Wilentz (1999) pp. 41–62.

[27] Zołnierz Polski 1928: 25 p. 522.

[28] Thomas Sörensen, *Det blänkande eländet: en bok om Kronprinsens husarer i sekelskiftets Malmö* (Malmö 1997) pp. 80–86. See also Thomas Sörensen, *Sista striden: de Mörnerska husarerna vid Bornhöft* (Hallstavik, 2004).

[29] Zołnierz Polski 1928: 25 p. 523. Samma form av ceremoni omkring ordern Virtuti Militari återgavs i 7. ulanregementets ”Lubelskych” firande 1928, se Zołnierz Polski 1928: 16 p. 322.

[30] Lucja Kapralska, *Pluralizm kulturowy i etniczny a odrebnosc regionalna Kresów poludni- owo-wschodnich w latach 1918–1939* [Kultur- och etnisk pluralism och regionala särdrag i de sydöstra gränstrakterna 1918–1939] (Kraków 2000) pp. 7, 68, 84–86.

[31] *Den svenska underofficeren*, no. 16 18/8, 1924 p. 453. Between 1924 and 1926 the regiments at Kronobergs, Norrbottens, Dalregementet, Smålands Hussars, Värmlands, Life Guards, Västgöta, etc. also celebrated their 300th anniversary.

[32] *Den svenska underofficeren*, no 16, 18/8 1927 p. 313f. 40; *Den svenska underofficeren*, no 21, 3/11 1928, p. 488.

[33] *Ny militär tidskrift*, no. 19–20, November 1932, pp. 277–280.

[34] Number 116, message no. 25, from the military attaché in Riga to the head of the Defence staff Intelligence Department, 9 November 1937. Archive number 206, Fst/foreign, BI: 2 file 2 1937, KrA.

[35] ERA. 14.11. 277–313.

[36] *Sõdur*, no. 28/29, 16/7 1927 p. 989; *Sõdur*, no. 46/47, 6/11 1926, p. 989; *Sõdur*, no. 10, 12/3 1927.

[37] *Sõdur*, no. 28, 3/7 1926, p. 577.

[38] Sõdur, no. 18, 2/4 1927; 9/10, 14/3 1928 p. 386, 389; Valenius (2004).

[39] Number 133, message no. 23 from the military attaché in Riga to the head of the Defence Staff's Intelligence Department, 23 November 1937. Archive number 206, Fst/foreign, BI:2 file 2 1937. KrA, and Number 299, message 49 from the military attaché in Riga to the head of Fst/ und, September 1938. Archive number 206 , Fst/foreign, BI:3 1938, KrA, about the officer's exam at the Latvian Military School where a similar ceremony at the war cemetery took place.

[40] Number 215, report no. 16/1938, from the military attaché in Riga to the head of the Defence Department 14/7 1938, Archive number 206, Fst/foreign, BI:3 1938, KrA.

[41] Sztab Glówny 616/157, AAN, 28/7 1934, Warszawa, II department to the attaché in Riga, Tallinn and Stockholm; ”Sprawozdanie kdr.ppor.dypl Stokłasy Tadeusza w stazu we flocie szwedzkiej odbytego w czasie od 15. V. do 20.VI.1934” and AAN, Sztab Glówny 616/318, ”Wwa 8 Nov 1933, Sprawozdanie z pobytu w Polsce generala Oestermana, glównodowodzacego armja finlandzka w czasie od 28 X – 1 XI 1933” [Description from the Commander Captain of 2nd degree, Tadeusz Stokłasas, regarding his military service in the Swedish Navy 15/5–20/6 1934 and report about his visit to Poland by the Finnish General Österman between 28/10 and 1/11 1933].

[42] L.dz.153/38 report from the military attaché Colonel Wladysław Łoś in Finland to the General Staff's intelligence department in Warsaw, Attachment 13, HB 02.07.1938, Centralne Archivum Wojskowe [Central Military Archive] (CAW), I.303.4.7184.

[43] General Major von der Goltz was head of the so called Baltic marine Division that supported the White side in the Finnish Civil War. In 1919 he was active as a leader of German volunteer and White Russian units in the independence wars in Latvia and Lithuania.

[44] L.dz.182/28 report from the military attaché Captain Chodacki to the General Staff's 2nd Division in Warsaw, 15/3 1928, CAW, I.303.3956.

[45] 20 December 1928 [probably referred on 20 December 1927], Finnish, Captain Chodacki to the 2nd Department; 29 May 1928, Finnish Captain Chodacki to the head of the 2nd Department.

[46] *Sõdur*, nos 20/21, 21/5 1927 pp. 477, 485. It was common in Finland that the fallen soldiers were buried in their homeland both during the Civil War and during the Second World War, Ilona Kemppainen, *Isänmaan uhrit: sankarikuolema Suomessa toisen maailmansodan aikana* [*Sacrifice for the Native Land: Heroic Death in Finland during the Second World War*] (Finland, 2006) pp. 261–264.

[47] George L. Mosse, *Masses and man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 104–118; and Ingemar Karlsson and Arne Ruth, *Society as Theater: aesthetics and politics in the Third Reich* (Stockholm, 1983). Even in the Soviet Union different types of celebrations became rituals, such as celebration of the defeat of capitalism. See James von Gelder, *Bolshevik Festivals 1917–1920* (Berkeley, 1993).

[48] *Sõdur*, no. 5/6, 10/2 1934, pp. 133; and *Sõdur*, no. 10/13, 10/10 1936 p. 1013.

[49] *Den Svenska underofficeren* no. 21, 3/11 1936 p. 582.

[50] *Sõdur*, nos. 24/26, 20/6 1936, p. 660.