

RELIGIOUS diversity, tolerance and intolerance, inclusion and exclusion are phenomena that have prevailed throughout the 2,000-year long history of Christianity. In this volume, five Nordic researchers with five different perspectives explore the shifting boundaries of religious tolerance in Finland, Sweden, and beyond. Their contributions deal with different scenarios and a variety of themes; from religious conformity to openness, from misconduct to forgiveness and reconciliation, from Jewish cantonist soldiers to Sami Christians, from the Russian Empire to Ovamboland, and, last but not least, from past events to present remembrance among religious communities.

Studies on Religion and Memory is a book series affiliated with the Religion and Memory Network. It provides a platform for innovative research in the area of collective memory and religious uses of history. Thus, it links cultural memory research with research in theology and comparative religion.

ISBN 978-952-12-3389-0



9 789521 233890 >

The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance

The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance

Inclusion, Exclusion, and Religious Communities of Memory

Edited by Ingvar Dahlbacka,
Kim Groop,
and Jakob Dahlbacka

STUDIES ON RELIGION AND MEMORY

The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance

The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance
Inclusion, Exclusion, and Religious Communities of Memory

Edited by
INGVAR DAHLBACKA, KIM GROOP, AND JAKOB DAHLBACKA

STUDIES ON RELIGION AND MEMORY : 2
ÅBO 2016

Religion and Memory

relmem.net

Åbo

Cover image: *Trial*, Shutterstock.com.

Cover: Jakob Dahlbacka

Typesetting: Maria Vasenkari

ISBN 978-952-12-3389-0 (print)

ISSN 2342-7159 (print)

ISBN 978-952-12-3390-6 (online)

ISSN 2343-211X (online)

Table of Contents

Ingvar Dahlbacka

THE SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF TOLERANCE: A TIMELY PROJECT 7

Jakob Dahlbacka

RELIGIOUS USES OF HISTORY AS INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION 15

Kim Groop

DIVINE LAW ENFORCEMENT AND MISSION TRANSCULTURALITY:
THE FINNISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND THE EMERGENCE
OF THE FIRST CHURCH RULES IN THE OVAMBO MISSION FIELD
IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA 42

André Swanström

NICHOLAS I AND THE JEWISH CANTONIST SOLDIERS IN FINLAND:
A CHAPTER IN THE PSYCHOHISTORY OF INTOLERANCE 81

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts

LIVED FORGIVENESS
IN A FINLAND-SWEDISH LAESTADIAN COMMUNITY 110

Carola Nordbäck

FÖRSONING, ERKÄNNANDE OCH INKLUSION:
PERSPEKTIV PÅ FÖRSONINGSPROCESSEN MELLAN SVENSKA KYRKAN
OCH SAMERNA 135

Contributors 198

Ingvar Dahlbacka

The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance

A timely project

In the year 2011, the Department of Church History at Åbo Akademi University was awarded funding by the Academy of Finland for a research project entitled *The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance: Inclusion and Exclusion in the Context of Nordic Church History, 1750–2000*. The project ran for four years and ended in July 2015.

The purpose of the project was to broaden and deepen the knowledge around religious diversity and the historical boundaries or limits of tolerance. It is a known fact that religious diversity, tolerance, and social exclusion are phenomena which have been present throughout the Church's 2,000-year long history. The Lutheran Church is no exception. Religious conflicts have been a recurring theme in Nordic church history and that is why the church historical research has often taken its starting point from a conflict perspective. With this project, we have chosen another approach. Rather than focusing on conflicts, we have tried to highlight the shifting borders of religious tolerance and thus include both those processes that expand tolerance and those processes where the space for tolerance has diminished. In this way, the project has come to be about issues that are highly relevant in our contemporary society, and, by examining them, our intention has been to contribute to the current public debate and growth of knowledge concerning those questions and issues much discussed in today's Europe.

Theoretical perspectives

The project has taken as its point of departure the concepts of internal and external inclusion and exclusion. These concepts have enabled a new way of analysing the relationships between a religious majority culture and religious minorities. With the concept of exclusion, we have considered a process through which one or more people cannot be accommodated in a religious group identity, and are therefore subjected to sanctions due to some kind of difference regarding their learning or way of life. With inclusion, we have considered the reverse process, i.e. that a group accepts religious difference and thus does not use any sanctions as regards the deviant group. Instead, a state of increased pluralism and tolerance emerges.

The two processes – inclusion and exclusion – have been aimed both at members of the primary group and at other groups that claim complicity. One can, for example, talk about internal exclusion in cases where the members of a group are excluded. Examples of this include the treatment of religious nonconformists by the church and political powers, or the revival movement's exclusion of dissident members. External exclusion, on the other hand, concerns the treatment of individuals and factions that are already, in one way or another, outsiders. For example, it may be about the church's conduct towards individuals professing other faiths. Similarly, inclusion may also be internal as well as external. Internal inclusion concerns, for instance, the successive acceptance of the Lutheran Church of greater diversity within its own domains, while external inclusion, for example, may concern the church's gradual acceptance of a resolution regarding its national religious monopoly. The project has analysed these processes in a Nordic church historical context. In addition to boundaries of tolerance in Finland and Sweden, the project has also aimed to make visible the inclusion and exclusion that has been in effect far outside Europe via the Christian mission.

The project consisted of five single studies. These studies have analysed the same phenomenon – changes of religious based boundaries

between various groups – but on different social levels. These levels have interacted empirically but have been separated in theory in order to be studied, conceptualised, and integrated into the overall interpretations and end result. The first level of inquiry concerned different societal discursive arenas. It is mainly the political and church historical discourses, which have been analysed in this regard. On the second level, the project scrutinised how exclusion and inclusion has been manifested at a local level and in the relationships between religious as well as non-religious groups. The third level dealt with the micro level where these processes have been analysed at the individual level. By combining a discursive perspective with an actor perspective, the project has strived to make analyses where the individuals' room for manoeuvre and concrete actions have been made transparent.

The common task for all the single studies was to analyse the internal and external inclusive processes that have led to increased tolerance, as well as the internal and external exclusive processes that have led to exclusion and religious alienation. The project proceeded from a socio-cultural perspective and understood the formation of religious identities as characterised or influenced by power relations, where tolerance boundaries form an important part. Religious group identities have – like other types of identities – been defined through the group's external relations. As a result, various groups have become apparent through their borders. However, these borders are often mere constructions and their importance may have varied, and what was once inside the borders may have changed. It is in this context that the two concepts of inclusion and exclusion, is to be understood. Tolerance boundaries have thus helped to create value based communities, which are often manifested through rituals, codes, and markers. This approach has in the project been combined with a historical theoretical perspective whereby the historic dimensions of the religious group identities have come into focus. It has been considered relevant to analyse the church historical portraying of the past on the basis of issues of identity processes as well as in the shaping of tolerance boundaries.

The period investigated

The project's period of investigation begins around 1750 when religious confessionalism began to be challenged in the Swedish Empire and certain religions and faith communities at the beginning of the 1780s were given some measure of freedom. Thereafter the project follows the successive deconfessionalisation that would finally result in citizenship being separated from church membership and religious affiliation being turned into a private matter. In Sweden, citizens were not guaranteed full freedom of religion until in 1951. The trend towards religious freedom was much more rapid in Finland, partly because of the religious diversity which characterised the country during the Czarist period.

During the period 1750–2000, the religious landscape of Finland and Sweden changed radically. It was transformed from having been influenced by confessionalism and a symbiotic relationship between the State and the Lutheran Church to a secular form of government and religious pluralism. However, even though the eighteenth century was permeated with the Lutheran Church's religious monopoly, a number of religious minority groups lived in the Swedish Empire. As early as in 1741, Anglicans and Reformed Protestants received expanded religious freedoms in the Swedish Empire. There were also Catholics and Jews. In Finland, there were already practicing Muslims resident during the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, there were some groups of critical and reformist Lutherans who were members of the Church, but who did not observe the enforced doctrine or, who, for various reasons, criticised the church order. The enlargement of religious diversity became particularly apparent during the second half of the twentieth century.

The project's period of investigation has therefore lasted until the turn of the twenty-first century. This has given the researchers the opportunity to follow the evolution into our own time and to analyse the tolerance boundaries that characterise our modern society. Furthermore, this has also been a way to break new scientific ground

as a framework covering such an extended period of time is rare in church historical research of this kind. The project's starting point was that a framework covering a longer period of time provided favourable conditions for new observations relating to such slow tolerance processes that would not otherwise be visible. Thus, it has been possible to highlight the shifting boundaries of tolerance as a societal process. By combining studies from short and long term perspectives with concrete case studies and discursive analyses the project has tried to capture the exciting relationship between the periodically fixed, yet constantly moving, boundaries of tolerance.

The research team and the articles

The research team consisted of six people. When the project began, two of these members were professors, namely Ingvar Dahlbacka and Ulrika Wolf-Knuts. Two were adjunct professors (docents), namely Carola Nordbäck and André Swanström. The others were Kim Groop who was a university teacher, and Jakob Dahlbacka who was a doctoral student. During the four years that the project has lasted Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has been appointed chancellor of Åbo Akademi, Carola Nordbäck professor of Church History at Uppsala University, Kim Groop adjunct professor of Church History at Åbo Akademi, and Jakob Dahlbacka has obtained a doctorate in Church History at Åbo Akademi. Ingvar Dahlbacka served as the project's leader.

An important objective for this project was to investigate how the religious boundaries of tolerance have been drawn, have been maintained, and have changed in Nordic church history from 1750–2000. The findings have been reported in articles in various scientific journals and anthologies, but also through the monographs that have been written within the project.

The present anthology – *The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Religious Communities of Memory* – can be viewed as somewhat of an end report. It consists of five articles, where

the participants in the project, in their own ways, approach the shifting boundaries of tolerance.

Adopting a combination of theories from the Uses of History-perspective and from the Cultural Memory-perspective, Jakob Dahlbacka, in his article “Religious Uses of History as Inclusion and Exclusion”, tries to uncover some general characteristics of a religious use of history. He does this by analysing the literary legacy of Anders Svedberg (1832–1889) – the man who founded the first elementary school in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, wrote actively in newspapers, and also represented the peasants in the Diet of Finland. Dahlbacka claims that religious uses of history, when used within religious communities of memory, can on the one hand serve as legitimacy and guarantee and on the other hand as a wake-up call and a driving force. Finally, and especially tangent to the theme of this anthology, Dahlbacka argues that the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are not only to be found *in* the history of the church but, what is more, the use of such history, *in itself*, has the capacity to work by inclusion and exclusion.

In the second article, Divine Law Enforcement and Mission Transculturality, Kim Groop scrutinises the Finnish Missionary Society and its creation of the first Church Law in the emerging Ovambo Lutheran Church – today the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. The Finnish missionaries had ambitions to lay “proper” foundations for a future church of their own preference. In their work, they utilised the Finnish Church Law of 1869, a number of elements from the old Swedish Church Law from 1686, as well as their own discretion. Groop also examines issues of transculturality. He maintains that the Finnish undertaking in Africa was not simply characterised by the imposition of a new religion and new values, but rather that this work was a fitting example of cultural exchange and transfusion, resulting in a church with hybridised cultural traditions, religious practices, and memories.

In “Nicholas I and the Jewish Cantonist Soldiers in Finland” André Swanström examines issues of tolerance as regards the Jews in Finland during the time when Finland was a Grand Duchy, or autonomous part of the Russian Empire. Czar Nicholas I wanted to reform and modernise the lives of his Jewish subjects through education and military training. The reign of Nicholas I would have far reaching consequences for the Jewish communities in the Russian Empire. Swanström studies the psychological causes of Czar Nicholas’ policies with regard to the Jews. He aspires to grasp the psychohistorical ramifications of Nicholas’ troubled mind over the Jews in Finland.

The fourth article, “Lived Forgiveness in a Finland-Swedish Laestadian community”, is written by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts. In this study, Wolf-Knuts explores a religious movement – the Lutheran Laestadians – in which, a few years ago a case of paedophilia was exposed. She studies how forgiveness functions in praxis or what lived forgiveness looks like, or, more explicitly, how a member of a Laestadian community relates his experience of guilt, shame, and forgiveness. None of Wolf-Knuts informants were victims themselves, but they had known the paedophile and/or his family.

In the last article, “Försoning, erkännande och inklusion” (“Reconciliation, recognition and inclusion”), Carola Nordbäck deals with the Church of Sweden and its treatment of its colonial heritage and in particular the religious exclusion of the Sami people. Nordbäck examines how this church dealt with its responsibility for the historical repression that the Sami people were subjected to. In this article inclusion, exclusion, and the uses of history are combined in a new way. By relating to the reconciliation process, which is at present under way between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people, Nordbäck explores churchly reconciliation processes from a historical perspective. She studies the including aspects of reconciliation and sheds light on the societal exclusion which the Sami have faced and from which they are still suffering. This article is written in Swedish.

For a variety of reasons, many of the articles that have been written within the project have come to deal with issues pertaining to the uses of history as well as cultural memory. Therefore, we are delighted that the present anthology could be published in the publication series Religion and Memory. All five articles have been peer-reviewed.

Religious Uses of History as Inclusion and Exclusion

Introduction

The purpose of the project *The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance: Inclusion and Exclusion in the Context of Nordic Church History, 1750–2000*, funded by the Academy of Finland, has been to investigate religious diversity and (in)tolerance in Finnish and Swedish Church History, and to highlight the historical processes and events that have given rise to the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the fields of church and religion. With respect to this, the present article takes a somewhat different approach. Adopting a combination of theories from the *Uses of History*-perspective on the one hand, and the *Cultural Memory*-perspective on the other, the aim is to uncover some characteristics of a *religious* use of history. It will be argued, among other things, that the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are not only to be found *in* the history of the church but, what is more, the use of such history, *in itself*, has the capacity to work by inclusion and exclusion.

As point of departure and as source material for this objective, I will turn to a person called Anders Svedberg. Anders Svedberg (1832–1889) was born and lived all of his life in Munsala (a village in Ostrobothnia, Finland). In addition to having founded the first elementary school in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, he wrote actively in newspapers and also represented the peasants in the Diet of Finland.¹

1 See, for instance, Huldén, J.J. 1932 and Strömborg 1932.

Consequently, all of his work can be said to have had an educating and democratizing quality that focused above all on the Swedish-speaking peasantry of Ostrobothnia.

At this time, religion played an important role in the lives of the common people, especially those living in Ostrobothnia. The Christian faith provided a foundation, a “social cement” or a “Symbolic Universe” through which the peasantry understood, verified, and valued the reality that faced them.² Even though Munsala had been highly influenced by the Pietistic revival in the 1830s and 1840s – and later on became a breeding ground for both the Baptist and the Evangelical movements – the Bible remained *the* universal guiding principle for most inhabitants.³ Thus, ideologically, people were close to one another. This is why I suggest that Munsala, and its surroundings, could be labeled a “Religious Community of Memory” – a concept I will discuss and use later in the text. Briefly, a community of memory is used to describe groups that found their identity and self-image in a common narrative and on certain events in the past. For the people of Munsala, the Bible, but also the Lutheran tradition and the Pietistic revival, can be said to have constituted such formative and normative narratives. This is why Anders Svedberg, in his rhetoric, was able to make use of a religious use of history. He was able to make references, for instance, to the history of the Christian Church, to the Reformation, to the Pietistic revival and to the trials against the Pietistic movement that had taken place in the area. When making use of these historical events, Svedberg was speaking a language that the peasantry understood.

2 Hartikainen 2005, 17; Mikkola 2009, 17, 44, 46–47, 236–238. See also Pleijel 1970, 14.

3 Dahlbacka 1987, 65; Smeds 1928, 2. For the Baptist movement in Swedish Ostrobothnia, see Näsman 1962. The progress of the Evangelical movement in Munsala is documented for instance by Rev. Emeleus. See The Provincial Archives of Turku, Åbo Domkapitels arkiv, E VI 127 Berättelse om Munsala församling ... 1887.

Three Case Studies

The religious uses of history that Svedberg made use of in his communication with the peasantry, and which serves as source material for this article, has been examined by me in three articles that have been peer-reviewed and published, or accepted to be published. The first case study focuses on two quite different history textbooks, written by Svedberg during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴ The first of these books served as a means of assistance for Svedberg in his ambulatory school in Munsala, and is permeated with a Christian vocabulary.⁵ This Christian undertone is played down in the second and more recent book, which constituted Svedberg's competition entry in an open contest to write a national textbook for elementary schools in Finland.⁶ In this second book the Christian undertone has given way to a focus on the national and patriotic. This change of focus – from God to Country – can be said to have been typical of the period.⁷

In my opinion, the former book is used to point out God and God's actions in history, and also to show how the Christian Church has grown and developed: God steers history towards its final destination,

- 4 The article on Svedberg's history schoolbooks, written by Jakob Dahlbacka, is titled "För Gud och fosterland. Religiöst historiebruk i Anders Svedbergs historieskrivning". It is accepted for publication in *Finnish Journal of Theology* 3/2016.
- 5 This schoolbook, titled *Berättelser för Barn ur Finlands Historia eller en kort redogörelse för de viktigaste förändringar Finland såväl uti politiskt som kyrkligt afseende undergått från kristendomens första utbredande till närvarande tid. Sammanskrefne i början af år 1856*, was written in 1856. It is stored in the Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Anders Svedbergs samling 2.5.1.
- 6 This schoolbook, titled *Finlands Historia för Folkskolan och Hemmet*, was written in 1875. It is stored in Åbo Akademi University Library, Manuscript Unit, J. J. Huldéns samling 61.
- 7 Zander 1997, 104–105. Zander refers to Tingsten 1969 and Sødtring Jensen 1978. See also Andersson 1979, 85, 175.

i.e. heaven, which at the same time becomes the final aim for the history education as well. The purpose of teaching history to children is therefore to show that God is active and to lead the children to heaven. In all of this, Svedberg refers both to history in general and to Church history. However, he is careful to stress the fact that both are directed by God, which ultimately means that the two are one and the same.

Despite the change of focus, mentioned above, the Christian contribution is not entirely missing in the latter book either. However, in this book, the Christian element is more or less at the service of the nation. God's actions and the growth of the Christian Church are used to illustrate the rise of the Finnish state, a rise which Svedberg claims has gone hand in hand with the spreading of Christianity. One could also say that Svedberg, in his first book, asserts that God has guided the Christian people from the past to the present, whereas the second book demonstrates God guiding the Finnish people throughout history. The addressees are unmistakable: in his first book Svedberg speaks to Christians whereas he, in the second book, speaks to the Finnish people.

The two later case studies bring the discussion down to a more concrete level. The first study examines the historical narratives, used by Anders Svedberg in his struggle to create a wider freedom of religion.⁸ I argue that the question concerning the freedom of religion posed a threat or a problem to the peasants of Ostrobothnia. By means of his historical narratives, Svedberg tried to tackle and answer these problems and questions. In line with his admittedly liberal position, he naturally wanted to include both Pietists and Baptists, and to

8 This article, written by Jakob Dahlbacka, is titled "Med historien som vittne. Anders Svedbergs bruk av historien som argument för religionsfrihet". It is published in *Historiebruk i väckelseforskningen* (ed. Kurt E. Larsen), a conference publication connected to a conference held in Copenhagen in 2013 by NORDVECK (Network of Nordic Researchers and Research on Revivals and Revival Culture).

provide these groups with the right to exercise their belief.⁹ He was more afraid of the schisms that would occur if the Baptists were not granted freedom of religion, than the errors in doctrine that he, as a Lutheran, obviously recognized in other communions.

To express his point of view, Svedberg compared his contemporaries with earlier periods in history, during which religious groups had been oppressed. For instance, he refers to the Catholic persecution of Lutherans after the Reformation and to the trials against the Pietistic movement mentioned above. Such a “critical use of history”, where Svedberg scrutinizes and criticizes previous historical events, leads to an attribution of negative loadings in his historical narrative.¹⁰ This, in its turn, motivates and legitimates a change of course in the present. Furthermore, when Svedberg makes use of events that his target audience recognizes, are familiar with, and are able to relate to, he is able to bring together the past with the present and the future; thus giving present events a continuity and a context and helping his audience to see itself as part of a greater whole.

What is indicated in the second case study, but further developed in the third, is the assumption that Svedberg’s use of history has been handed down and passed on by earlier generations.¹¹ Supported by insights developed within Cultural Memory Studies I argue that, for instance, Svedberg’s anti-Catholicism was part of a so-called “cultural memory” with roots reaching back as far as the Reformation. This memory was part of a pervasive discourse or a collective historical consciousness, and thus something that most people were able

9 See *Jakobstads Tidning* 10.3.1982, *Lantdagsmannen: I kamp för kvinnors och olikränkandes rätt; Österbottniska Posten*, 31.1.1889, Anders Svedberg; Huldén, A. 1932, 12.

10 Rösen 1987, 92; Wiklund 2012, 201–202, 217–220.

11 This article, written by Jakob Dahlbacka, is titled “Inklusion genom exklusion. Anders Svedbergs antikatolicism som exempel på kollektivt historiemedvetande”. It has been published in the *Yearbook of the Finnish Society of Church History* 2014.

to relate to, even if they themselves had never personally made contacts with the Catholic Church.

In one sense, the three case studies touch upon different levels of the Uses of History. Whereas the first one deals with more comprehensive and theoretical matters, the focus of the second and the third case studies are confined to a more concrete and detailed level. In these latter cases, the historical narratives and single words and phrases are examined. Through all three case studies, the connecting thought is the question of how does the religious use of history manifest and function. I will now move on to a discussion on this question.

Religious Uses of History as Legitimacy and Guarantee

What all the three case studies mentioned above have in common is an emphasis on how the use of history is tied to its context – how it is rooted in and marked by the specific historical culture in which it comes into being and in which it is used. With the words of Swedish historian Peter Aronsson, uses of history can be described as “those processes where parts of the historical culture are activated in order to form certain meaning making and orientating entireties”.¹² In other words, what connects the uses of history to a historical culture is the fact that historical cultures determine the shape of the uses of history. To serve its purpose successfully a use of history consequently has to correlate to the surrounding historical culture. German philosopher of history Jörn Rüsen accentuates the fact that uses of history – or more precisely historical narratives, by means of which the uses of history are expressed – have to be characterized by three qualities, or dimensions, in order to have a good effect. These qualities he terms “memory”, “continuity,” and “context”.¹³ Narratives or stories that possess these qualities are easy to relate to, they bind together

12 Aronsson 2004, 17 (my translation).

13 Rüsen 1988, 25–26; Karlsson 2009, 53.

the past, the present, and the future, and they help people to orientate themselves in a larger context. Such narratives subsequently have the potential to be identity-forming and meaning-making.

The three case studies dealing with Anders Svedberg's uses of history show that he was familiar with the Christian peasantry in Ostrobothnia. He knew his target audience and their history. Thus, Svedberg's uses of history in many ways meet the demands that Rüsen makes on successful historical narratives. To some extent, this can probably be explained by the fact that Svedberg himself had grown up in these settings, and that he had adopted and internalized the local customs and practices. Furthermore, due to his esteemed local status as a teacher, journalist, and Member of Parliament, Svedberg had reached a position where he, with the words of Jan Assmann, can be said to have been part of the elite that had the capacity and the authority to interpret and mediate the local history and tradition.¹⁴ In the following, I will use Rüsen's terms "memory", "continuity" and "context" to examine the uses of history that have appeared in Svedberg's writings. By doing so I will try to distinguish what could possibly be seen as characteristic qualities of the religious uses of history.

Svedberg's uses of history meet the demands of "memory" especially when it is founded on a past that lies near at hand and that his target audience has witnessed and can easily relate to. A good example of this is the reference Svedberg makes to the trials against the Pietistic movement in Nykarleby, which had taken place only a few decades earlier, in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁵ In accordance with Jan Assmann's distinction between communicative and cultural memory, one could say that the memory of the trials, at the time when Svedberg referred to these trials, was for many still part of the communicative memory.¹⁶

14 Assmann, J. 2008, 112. Assmann, J. 2011, 38–39.

15 See for instance *Folkvännen* 26.8.1863, Bilder ur folklifvet. Ljus och skuggsidor; *Österbottniska Posten* 28.2.1884, Om religionsfriheten.

16 Assmann, J. 2008, 109–111.

In other words, the addressees had themselves witnessed the trials, or they knew people that had experienced them.

What is important to notice, and what I try to demonstrate, is that the quality of “memory” of a historical narrative is not dependent on a past that the addressees have witnessed and been part of. In the same way that a person’s individual memory is said to be influenced by a social, a collective or a cultural dimension, I argue that one can also speak of a collective historical consciousness that influences a person’s individual historical consciousness.¹⁷ Thus, a person’s frame of reference is not limited to events that take place during his or her own lifetime, but also comprises events that exceed his or her individual memory, and go far beyond his or her own horizon of experience. Swedish historian Kenneth Nordgren describes this unerringly by writing that “the historical consciousness is an individual work of thought but it contains inherited notions”.¹⁸ The anti-Catholicism that Svedberg, from time to time, expresses in his writings is a good example of this. It can be described as a cultural memory according to Assmann, which has been passed on and survived from generation to generation. Svedberg himself had hardly even met a Catholic.¹⁹ This was unquestionably also the case with a solid majority of his audience. It is probable that the anti-Catholicism, which can

17 A person’s historical consciousness is generally defined as a “concept that incorporates the connection between the interpretation of the past, the understanding of the present, and perspectives on the future”, thus reflecting German history didactical researcher Karl-Ernst Jeismann’s original definition. See for instance: Thorp 2014, 20; Karlsson 2010, 56. See also: Jeismann 1979, 42–44.

18 Nordgren 2006, 16 (my translation).

19 One encounter between Svedberg and the Catholic Church is documented. In a letter to his wife Brita Greta, Svedberg reveals that he has visited a Catholic service in Helsinki that he describes as odd. See Åbo Akademi University Library, the Manuscript Unit, J.J. Huldén’s samling 21, Anders Svedberg’s letter to Brita Greta Pesonen May 13 (1877).

be seen in Svedberg's rhetoric, was an inheritance of the seventeenth century Lutheran orthodoxy, or even the Reformation in the sixteenth century.²⁰

In my opinion the quality of "memory" of historical narratives is of particular interest when speaking of the religious uses of history. I claim that this quality might just reach its full potential within a religious use of history that is directed towards a religious group. According to Jan Assmann, the collective memory is an essential part of the identity building and continued existence of practically every collective and group. Such groups, for which memory plays an especially pivotal role, Assmann, referring to Pierre Nora, calls "memory communities".²¹ This is often the case with religious groups, which means that they construct their identity with the help of a continuously retold narrative that is built up of certain specific events in the past. French sociologist of religion Danièle Hervieu-Léger states that such a narrative, as time goes on, is attributed with a legitimating authority, which gives it credibility and substance.²² According to Canadian historian Allan Megill this canon – or tradition as he calls it – is much more persuasive and meaningful for adherents of a certain tradition than personal and – in Megill's mind – subjective memories are. He writes:

Adherents of a tradition that is confident of its own validity are unlikely to make an appeal to memory: instead, when required to defend the tradition, they characteristically appeal to nonsubjective factors – to a canon, to a set of institutional structure. An identity that solidly exists has little need for an explicit, thematized appeal to memory. When memory approximates to tradition, it approximates to weak tradition. In other words, an appeal to memory – that is,

20 Dahlbacka, J. 2014.

21 Assmann, J. 2011, 16.

22 Hervieu-Léger 2000, 86–88, 97.

an appeal to what is subjective and personal – is likely to arise only when objectively existing supports are felt to be inadequate.²³

As an umbrella term for the narrative, around which memory communities build their identity, Jan and Aleida Assmann have coined the word “cultural text”. Cultural texts are not exclusively limited to writing, but also include places, persons and events. Thanks to their canonical status they have both a normative function (what shall we do) and a formative function (who are we), and as such they possess a particularly strong symbolic value for the group.²⁴ They differ from what Aleida Assmann calls “literary texts”. A literary text is first and foremost directed to the individual reader, whereas the cultural text is directed to the reader as part of a collective.²⁵ The reader thus becomes, as Astrid Erll puts it, certain that “he or she is, through the act of reading, part of a mnemonic community”.²⁶

This is also why the cultural text of a religious memory community is especially powerful when applied in a use of history. In the setting where Svedberg lived and worked, the Bible and the Lutheran tradition, as well as the Pietistic revival, were all part of this cultural text or identity shaping narrative. Referring to these events or texts gave Svedberg’s use of history a distinct quality of “memory”. The target audience, for one thing, was familiar with these events and texts. Secondly, the events and texts gave legitimacy and substance to Svedberg’s argumentation. They were more than simply personal memories – they were part of a common cultural canon or a collective historical consciousness. I propose that these kinds of uses of history,

23 McGill 1998, 45.

24 Assmann, J. 2006, 104. This is made concrete for instance in questions about whom the group members should identify themselves with, and whom they should dissociate themselves from. See Sakaranaho 2011, 145 who refers to Burke 1950.

25 Assmann A. 1995, 241.

26 Erll 2011, 162.

where the cultural texts of a religious memory community are used to strengthen the argument, could be termed “Prophetical Use of History”. Such a use of history serves a twofold purpose. It not only legitimizes predictions and statements about the present time and the future with examples from history but it also guarantees them with an authority that is based on the cultural text. Why I call it prophetical, thus implying that it convincingly predicts future events, has to do with the promises that these kinds of cultural texts of a religious memory community often contain, and that are brought to the fore by references to the past. I will return to this in the next chapter.

Religious Uses of History as a Wake-up Call and Driving Force

Beside the quality of “memory”, Jörn Rusen talks about the “continuity” and the “context” of historical narratives. He claims that historical narratives function as meaning-making if they, on the one hand, manage to weave together the past, the present and the future, and on the other hand if they, by placing their addressees in a wider historical context, manage to help these people to orientate themselves in the present and towards the future.²⁷ The uses of history thus operate with the three tenses: past tense, present tense, and future tense. References to the past give guidance in the present and indicate a way ahead. This is the case, for instance, when Svedberg compares the negative attitudes towards dissenters, which he sees in the present-day church, with similar negative historical events such as the Catholic persecution of Martin Luther, or the victimization of the Pietists in Ostrobothnia.²⁸ The historical references not only criticize the present-day situation and suggest an answer to the problem; they also blueprint a possible future scenario. Another example is when Svedberg, in his first history

27 Rusen 1988, 25–26.

28 See, for instance, *Österbottniska Posten* 16.12.1886, Religionsfriheten i Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan.

textbook, warns his pupils about not listening to God's voice when He visits them, as people earlier in history have done.²⁹ Svedberg's aim is to help them to avoid God's judgment in the present, but also to make sure that they will receive God's gifts in days to come. The rhetoric places the addressees in a temporal context while simultaneously orienting them towards the future.

As was the case with the quality of "memory", I argue that also the quality of "continuity" of Svedberg's uses of history shows some features that might be characteristic of the religious uses of history. As background to my reasoning, I want to advance a comparison between Jan Assmann's terms "Foundational Memory" and "Contra-Present Memory" and the German political theologian Johann Metz's terms "Pacifying Memories" and "Dangerous Memories". All of these concepts describe similar ways in which a collective memory can have an orientating function for a group.

A "foundational memory" turns the present into something meaningful and necessary, even a godsend. Here history aims ahead and runs like a straight line from the past towards the point where the group is located at the moment. The past thus serves as a foundation for the present and the present as an extension of the past. A "contrapresent memory" however indicates a break between past and present. By pointing at a previous golden age it is implied what has later on gone wrong and what is wrong with the present situation. A memory can be both foundational and contrapresent, depending on current circumstances, but the latter one especially appears during a perceived crisis or when a group is oppressed or wronged. On such occasions the group receives fresh support for its hope for the future from the past. Or, as Jan Assmann puts it: "memory turns into expectation". What he implies is that the memory of an earlier golden age

29 The Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Anders Svedbergs samling 2.5.1. Anders Svedberg's first history textbook, page 23.

becomes subversive, making the group believe that the golden age can be achieved and brought back to life once again. The past is turned into “a social and political Utopia toward which one can direct one’s life and work”. This theory is, by Assmann, connected with what ethnologists call “messianism” or “millenniarism”, which are movements that anticipate a total change in the future.³⁰

The distinction that Assmann makes between foundational and contrapresent memories, is very similar to the one that Johann Metz makes between “pacifying memories” and “dangerous memories” in his book *Faith in History and Society*. According to Metz, pacifying memories originate from the Enlightenment and its evolutionary time. This means a kind of tunnel vision directed at progression and development that eradicates credence in tradition. Things have their certain order and the status quo is not questioned. History is seen as a series of past and thus unimportant events that do not fill any certain purpose. Pacifying memories are:

[M]emories in which one does not take the relationship to the past very seriously, memories in which the past turns into an untroubled paradise, an asylum from the disillusionments of the present – the past as “the good old days.” Here memory bathes everything in the past in a mild, conciliatory light. ... The past passes through a filter of harmlessness; everything dangerous and haunting, everything challenging has vanished from it; it seems robbed of any future. This is how memory easily turns into a false consciousness of the past, an opium for the present.³¹

Metz calls the second category of memories “dangerous memories”. These memories are dangerous because they draw our attention to human suffering in the past, and therefore wake us from our everyday

30 Assmann, J. 2011, 62–66.

31 Metz 2007, 105.

slumbering, and disturb us in our ingrained evolutionary time, according to which things are going on just as usual.³²

But there is another way to remember: dangerous memories, memories that challenge. These are memories in which earlier experiences flare up and unleash new dangerous insights for the present. ... They break through the canon of the ruling plausibility structures and take on a virtually subversive character. Memories of this sort are like dangerous and uncalculable visitations from the past. They are memories that one has to take into account, memories that have a future content, so to speak.³³

As is the case with Assmann's contrapresent memories, the memories that Metz calls dangerous are also subversive. The difference between the two, as I can see it, is rather that contrapresent memories become subversive as a consequence of external circumstances, whereas dangerous memories have the capacity to function as a wake-up call even in a passive and slumbering environment. This is true especially in Christianity – a religion based upon the memory of the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus.³⁴ Thus, the remembrance not only calls forth images of a past event but also conjures up a vision of the future – forward memories – that actualizes those promises that God has given for the future. The promises serve as a reminder of the hope, in which members of the religious community of memory have a share.³⁵ This also illustrates the fact that a religious community of memory is a “community of hope”. In other words, communities of memory not only bind their members to the past, but

32 Metz 2007, 170.

33 Metz 2007, 105.

34 Metz 2007, 88–89, 107–108.

35 Metz 2007, 88–89.

also turn them towards the future.³⁶ In this way, both the present situation and the current view on history may be challenged. The status quo is questioned, which has consequences not only on the personal level but also on the political level.³⁷

What I find especially interesting with the two theories described above is that they illustrate how the past can be transformed into a possible and achievable future – a future that might furthermore differ drastically from the present. This is the case in particular with contra-present memories. In addition, the theories show how the memory of the past can be used as a reminder of a previously promised future, and how this in its turn can induce someone to take action. This becomes evident in Metz’s dangerous memories, which deal with the hope and the prophetic nuance that often are included in the cultural texts of religious communities of memory. In Svedberg’s writings this appears when he, in his schoolbook, urges his pupils to pay attention to God’s visits, in order to avoid His punishment and in order to make it to heaven. As a warning example he proffers groups in history and in the Bible that have not taken God’s cautions seriously.³⁸ These examples at the same time bring to the fore the hope for a better future promised by God. It is worth noticing how this shows that the religious uses of history also has a fourth tense at its disposal, in addition to the three tenses previously mentioned. *Past* and *present* are not only connected to the *future* but also to *eternity*. This “tense” is as real and concrete within a religious use of history as the three other tenses, which is why it also possesses a strong driving force. The choices you make in this life therefore have consequences not only for the future but also for eternity. This, if anything, can serve as a strong incentive.

36 Bellah et. al. 1985, 153.

37 Metz 2007, 89, 110–113.

38 The Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Anders Svedbergs samling 2.5.1. Anders Svedberg’s first history textbook, page 23.

Religious Uses of History as Inclusion and Exclusion

I have illustrated how a use of history that is based on the cultural texts of a religious community of memory can serve as legitimacy in an argumentation, and as a guarantee for promises that have been made. It can also arouse, in the addressees of the use of history, a hope for the future, and spur them to aim at a certain goal. However, the study of Anders Svedberg has displayed one additional function of the religious uses of history. This function is tightly connected to the dimension of “orientation” that Rösen ascribes to historical narratives. This has much to do with creating a “historical identity”, a term Rösen uses to describe people’s experience of themselves in relation to the course of times, but also in relation to previous and future generations. He writes:

Historical identity is a comprehensive idea synthesizing past, future and present and going beyond the horizon of one’s own time of life. History, in a way, gives men an idea of their own eternity. ... Historical identity combines different generations and stabilizes given forms of life through the change of generations. It is a form of rooting a society in the subjectivity of its members by a diachronic perspective, which furnishes continuity, the idea of duration in the course of time.³⁹

According to the Norwegian historian Ola Svein Stugu, the fact that the past has a decisive impact on a person’s identity, is practically considered to be an axiom among historians.⁴⁰ Stugu here makes no distinction between history, myth, or memory. According to him the question of scientific evidence is not of vital importance when it comes to the past’s ability to have an identity forming function.

39 Rösen 1988, 27.

40 Stugu 2010, 34, 44.

Rather, the crucial question is whether the past is believed or not. A past or a history that is believed, can, just as much as any scientifically demonstrated fact, convey fundamental values, beliefs, and ideas that tell us not only who we are but also who we are not. Such a past can give us an answer to basic existential questions and give meaning to our lives.⁴¹ Another Norwegian, the social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, follows the same line as Stugu. He is of the opinion that myths can “offer an individual a sense of belonging to a larger whole and a metaphorically eternal life through the mythical past he has a party to”.⁴²

The past is a decisive identity shaping force for individuals as well as for collectives. American historian Geoffrey Cubitt points out that there certainly are groups for whom memory serves as the true *raison d'être*, for instance veteran associations. However, he stresses that all sorts of groups are dependent on keeping the past alive. He lists three main purposes that the collective memory serves in a group. First of all, memory, or knowledge of the past, is needed in order to maintain the core activity of the group, whether it is families following patterns of previous birthdays when planning future festivities, or companies dependent on maintaining contact with previous customers in order to carry on with their business. Second of all, memory is pivotal for establishing and maintaining a group identity. Cubitt states that all groups, as time goes by, amass a number of legends, anecdotes, folklore etc. that together form a complicated narrative. This narrative does not first and foremost serve to facilitate the performing of the core activity. Rather, it helps the group members to realize and understand what kind of collective they are members of. To be initiated, and to be in agreement with this narrative, is what keeps the group together and gives its members a sense of belonging.⁴³ This is what Jan Assmann

41 Stugu 2010, 39.

42 Hylland Eriksen 1996, 105 (my translation).

43 Cubitt 2007, 132–135.

calls “Memory Culture” or “Erinnerungskultur”. He states that groups or cultures have a kind of “connective structure” that ties together the past with the present, but also people to other people, through “acts of remembering”.⁴⁴ He writes:

This connective structure is the aspect of culture that underlies myths and histories. Both the normative and the narrative elements of these – mixing instructions with storytelling – create a basis of belonging, of identity, so that the individual can talk of “we”. What binds him to this plural is the connective structure of common knowledge and characteristics – first through adherence to the same laws and values, and second through the memory of a shared past.⁴⁵

Thirdly, Cubitt writes that groups need the past in order to maintain their relations with other groups, or to position themselves in relation to them. He states that a group’s perception of other groups affects its members understanding of the past.⁴⁶ Moreover, the opposite should quite likely be true, namely, that a group’s view of the past affects its perception of other groups. This becomes evident, for instance, when Svedberg bases his view of Catholicism upon historical events and inherited conceptions.⁴⁷ Stugu writes that the word “identity” originates from the Latin word *idem* which means the same of or to be identical with. Identity, therefore, has to do with “self-comprehension” and “self-interpretation”. Who I am is, to some extent, discovered and understood by looking at those who share my thoughts, ideas and characteristics, but equally as much by looking at those who differ from me in the above-mentioned aspects. Thus, the forming of identity has to do with who and what we are, but also with who and

44 Assmann 2011, 2, 16–17; Erll 2011, 33.

45 Assmann 2011, 2–3.

46 Cubitt 2007, 135–136.

47 Dahlbacka, J. 2014.

what we are not. Stugu writes that the development of identity is a prerequisite of an individual's socialization process, which has to do with "I" becoming part of a "We" – that is a community or a collective.⁴⁸

In the same way that the "I" needs an "Other" to understand itself, the "We" needs an "Other" that "does not have 'our' characteristics, and against which it can fix the boundaries." According to Stugu, a group's collective memory – with its ideas of origin, evolution, and past – has proven to possess a strong identity shaping potential. This is why it is often used to fix the boundaries against others.⁴⁹ Swedish historian, Cecilia Trentner, points out that this kind of contrast thinking is a basic quality of all sorts of cultural thinking, and that dichotomies work as tools for sorting out knowledge, but also for creating new knowledge. She writes that the "Other" is not always personal but that it is often stereotyped for the purpose of bringing the story to life. According to her, the source of these stereotypes is the past, of which Svedberg's use of Catholicism is a good example.⁵⁰ Further research could elucidate whether the "Other" appearing in religious settings have certain characteristics, typical for the religious historical culture.⁵¹

To conclude, the past has not only an identity-forming function, but also a connecting function. This becomes evident in the English words "re-membering" and "re-collecting", which indicate "the idea of putting 'members' back together (re-membering and dis-membering) and 're-collecting' things that have been dispersed."⁵²

48 Stugu 2010, 36.

49 Stugu 2010, 36–39 (my translation).

50 Trentner 2002, 293–294.

51 An example that touches upon this issue is Kristina Öhman's research respecting the portrayal of Judas Iscariot in artistic works. See Öhman 2014.

52 Assmann J. 2006, 11.

[J]ust as we can speak of “collective” memory, we can also speak of a “connective” memory. When collectives “remember”, they thereby secure a unifying, “connective” semantics that “holds them inwardly together” and reintegrates their individual members so that they possess a common point of view. Wherever people join together in larger groups they generate a connective semantics, thereby producing forms of memory that are designed to stabilize a common identity and a point of view that span several generations.⁵³

With all of this in mind, it is easy to understand why the past, in its different forms, is used by groups and their leaders with the aim of upholding and strengthening their own identity, by fixing boundaries against “Others”. This has become apparent in history especially when states and nations have tried to legitimize themselves. Social scientist Peter Verovšek writes that: “Paradigmatic works of nationalism generally all maintain that a shared past is a necessary precondition for any form of nationality”,⁵⁴ and Jan Assmann concludes:

If someone wishes to emigrate to a foreign country and acquire its citizenship, he must study the history of that country. ... The past is a decisive resource for the consciousness of national identity. Whoever wishes to belong must share the group memory.⁵⁵

In religious communities of memory the common past appears above all in the cultural and canonical texts. Finnish researcher on religion Tuula Sakaranaho writes: “Endowing a particular memory of continuity with authority over others, a community creates a tradition which can operate as a source of consensus. It also creates boundaries

53 Assmann, J. 2006, 11.

54 Verovšek refers to Hayes 1926; Kohn 1946; Deutsch 1953; Smith 2003. See also: Olick et al. 2011, 10–14.

55 Assmann 2006, 87.

between ‘us’ and ‘them’”.⁵⁶ German literary scholar and cultural scientist Astrid Erll in her turn writes that a person reading, or by other means acquiring the cultural text, is guided by a “certainty that he or she is, through the act of reading, part of a mnemonic community.”⁵⁷ Referring to such texts and memories, therefore, not only gives legitimacy to an argument, but also ties individuals to larger communities on the one hand and, on the other hand, keeps others out. American philosopher W. James Booth therefore, quite appropriately, refers to the Croatian author Dubravka Ugrešić who writes about “the exclusivity of collective memory”.⁵⁸

Anders Svedberg’s references to Christian leaders such as Martin Luther or Gustavus Adolphus the Great or his allusions to Queen Kristina (of Sweden) or other Catholics carry with them a normative function.⁵⁹ These individuals are portrayed and serve as either good or warning examples for the addressees to follow or keep away from. However, simultaneously these references activate a formative mechanism. Martin Luther and Gustavus Adolfus the Great are namely part of a Christian community, with a life span reaching far back in history but also far ahead in the future. When Svedberg, for instance, hopes that his pupils will get to meet Gustavus Adolfus the Great in heaven, he incorporates them into the community of which both Martin Luther and Gustav Adolfus the Great are members.⁶⁰ The pupils feel a certainty that they are part of a larger community of memory. A religious use of memory thus obviously creates a social identification both

56 Sakaranaho 2011, 151.

57 Erll 2011, 162.

58 Booth 2006, 51. Booth refers to Ugrešić’s book *The Culture of Lies*.

59 See, for instance, The Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Anders Svedbergs samling 2.5.1. Anders Svedberg’s first history textbook, page 23; Åbo Akademi University Library, Manuscript Unit, J. J. Huldéns samling 61, Anders Svedbergs second history textbook, pages 43–46, 51–52.

60 See, for instance, The Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Anders Svedbergs samling 2.5.1. Anders Svedberg’s first history textbook, page 18–19.

ad intra, as well as *ad extra*, which is needed in order to tie individuals to larger communities.

In this respect the function of the religious uses of history also resembles the “existential use of history”. Swedish historian Ulf Zander describes the existential use of history as “closely related to both individual and collective identities and memories” and as something that is linked to “people’s need to ‘remember’ beyond their own living, in order to anchor themselves in the past and be part of a larger community and context.”⁶¹ What Zander describes as people’s need to “remember past their own living”, and to “be part of a larger community and context”, is something that Rösen, Assmann and Cubitt touch upon in the quotations given above. Cubitt, referring to Irish political scientist Benedict Anderson’s well-known theory of “imagined communities”, writes that groups, as a rule:

[A]re constituted less through immediate personal connections than through assumptions of shared identity and imagined kinship. These assumptions are applied, furthermore, in ways which cut imaginatively across the experimental separation of people who are not each other’s contemporaries: the communities that are imagined are communities not just of the living, but of the living with the dead and (by projection) the yet-to-be-born.⁶²

For members of religious communities of memory, such an experience of kinship with contemporary, previous and future members that “cut[s] imaginatively across the experimental separation of people who are not each other’s contemporaries”, becomes especially powerful and tangible. Danièle Hervieu-Leger, in her book *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, expresses this by defining religion as an all-embracing system that maintains and controls man’s sense of belonging to a chain of

61 Zander 2001, 54.

62 Cubitt 2007, 138. Cubitt refers to Anderson 1991.

belief.⁶³ In short, she means that members of a religion see themselves as part of a tradition, or as links in a chain of common memories, through which the past, the present, and the future can be interpreted and understood. Through their adherence to a religion, human beings feel communion and kinship, not only with contemporary fellow-believers, but also with departed and future ones. Religion, or the chain of memories, is what ties the individual together with the community.⁶⁴ Or, to put it in other words and exposing the consequences for the uses of history: a use of history that alludes to the communion with previous, contemporary, and future fellow-believers, and thereby strengthens a sense of belonging or dis-belonging, creates boundaries. The religious uses of history, in actual fact, work both by inclusion and exclusion.

References

ARCHIVES

The Provincial Archives of Turku, Turku

Åbo Domkapitelsarkiv

E VI 127 Munsalan emäseurakunta 1873–1908

The Municipal Archives of Nykarleby, Nykarleby

Anders Svedbergs samling

Åbo Akademi University Library, The Manuscript Unit, Turku

J.J. Huldéns samling 21, 61

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict

1991 *Imagined Nations: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London/New York: Verso.

63 Hervieu-Leger 2006, 82: “an ideological, practical and symbolic system through which consciousness, both individual and collective, of belonging to a particular chain of belief is constituted, maintained, developed and controlled”.

64 Kallioniemi 2008, 14–15.

- Andersson, Håkan
1979 *Kampen om det förflutna. Studier i historieundervisningens målfrågor i Finland 1843–1917*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi. Diss.
- Aronsson, Peter
2004 *Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Assmann, Aleida
1995 "Was sind kulturelle Texte?" *Literaturkanon – Medienereignis – kultureller Text. Formen interkultureller Kommunikation und Übersetzung*. Ed. A. Poltermann. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 232–244.
- Assmann, Jan
2006 *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
2008 "Communicative and Cultural Memory". *Media and Cultural Memory/Medien und Kulturelle Erinnerung*. Ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin.
2011 *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Bellah Robert N., et al.
1985 *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. California: University of California Press.
- Booth, W. James
2006 *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Burke, Kenneth
1950 *A Rhetoric of Motives*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey
2007 *History and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dahlbacka, Ingvar
1987 *Den evangeliska rörelsen i svenska Österbotten 1845–1910*. Diss. Åbo: Åbo Akademi's förlag.
- Dahlbacka, Jakob
2014 "Inklusion genom exklusion. Anders Svedbergs antikatolicism som exempel på kollektivt historiemedvetande". *Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets årsskrift 2014*. Helsingfors: Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet, 29–53.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland
1996 *Historia, myt och identitet*. Stockholm: Bonnier Alba Essä.
- Deutsch, Karl Wolfgang
1953 *Nationalism and Social Communication: an Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Erll, Astrid
2011 *Memory in Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York; Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hartikainen, Esko
2005 *Heränneitä ja nukahtaneita. Kulttuuri, kontrolli ja herätys 1800-luvun Lipperissä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Hayes, Carlton Joseph Huntley
1926 *Essays on Nationalism*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Hervieu-Léger, Danièle
2000 *Religion as a Chain of Memory*. Cambridge UK, Malden USA: Polity Press.
- Huldén, Alfred
1932 *Ur Anders Svedbergs skrifter och tal: med data ur hans levnad*. Jakobstad: Munsala hembygdsförenings förlag.
- Huldén, J. J.
1932 *Anders Svedberg: Skolman, tidningsman, lantdagsman*. Helsingfors: Söderström & C:o Förlagsaktiebolag.
- Jeismann, Karl-Ernst
1979 "Geschichtsbewusstsein". *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik* Band 1. Ed. Klaus Bergmann et al. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.
- Kallioniemi, Arto
2008 "Koulun toimintakulttuurin muutos osana yhteiskunnallista kehitystä". *Moniuskonteinen koulu oppimisympäristönä*. Helsinki: Lasten Keskus/LK-kirjat, 11–34.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran
2009 "Historiedidaktik: begrepp, teori och analys". *Historien är nu. En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*. Ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson & Ulf Zander. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB, 25–70.
- 2010 *Europeiska möten med historien: historiekulturella perspektiv på andra världskriget, förintelsen och den kommunistiska terrorn*. Stockholm: Atlantis Bokförlag.
- Kohn, Hans
1946 *Prophets and Peoples: Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Megill, Allan
1998 "History, memory, identity". *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol. 11, No. 3. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 37–62.
- Metz, Johann-Baptist
2007 *Faith in History and Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology*. New York: Herder & Herder.

- Mikkola, Kati
2009 *Tulevaisuutta vastaan. Uutuuksien vastustus, kansantiedon keruu ja kansankunnan rakentaminen*. Diss. Helsinki: Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Näsman, Nils
1962 *Baptismen i svenska Österbotten 1868–1905*. Helsingfors: Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar, 63.
- Nordgren, Kenneth
2006 *Vems är historien? Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige*. Diss. Umeå: Umeå Universitet.
- Öhman, Kristina
2014 “Vår bild av förrädaren: Om gestaltningen av Judas Iskariot i framställningar av Den sista måltiden”. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift*, 90, 10–23.
- Olick, Jeffrey K., et al.
2011 “Introduction”. *The Collective Memory Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 3–62.
- Pleijel, Hilding
1970 *Hustavlans värld. Kyrkligt folkliv i äldre tiders Sverige*. Stockholm: Verbum.
- Rüsen, Jörn
1987 “Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason”. *History and Theory*, Vol 26, No. 4, Beiheft 26: The Representation of Historical Events.
1988 “Functions of Historical Narration: Proposals for a Strategy of Legitimizing History in School”. *Historiedidaktik i Norden 3, Nordisk konferens om historiedidaktik*. Ed. Magne Angvik et al. Malmö: Lärarhögskolan i Malmö, 19–40.
- Sakaranaho, Tuula
2011 “Religion and the Study of Social Memory”. *Temenos: Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*, Vol. 47 No 2 (2011), 135–158. <<http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/temenos/article/view/5151>>. Available 4.2.2015.
- Smeds, Karl
1928 *Minnen från den pietistiska väckelsen i Munsala på 1800-talet och dess bärare*. Vasa.
- Smith, Rogers M.
2003 *Stories of Peoplehood: The Politics and Morals of Political Membership*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sødring Jensen, Sven
1978 *Historieundervisningsteori*. København: Christian Ejlers’ Forlag.

- Strömborg, Signe
1932 *Anders Swedberg. En folkets man*. Wasa: A.-B. Frams tryckeri och bokbinderi.
- Stugu, Ola Svein
2008 *Historie i bruk*. Norge: Det Norske Samlaget.
- Thorp, Robert
2014 *Historical Consciousness, Historical Identity, and History Education*. Licentiatavhandlingar från Forskarskolan Historiska medier nr 5. Umeå/Falun: Umeå Universitet, Högskolan i Dalarna.
- Tingsten, Herbert
1969 *Gud och fosterlandet. Studier i hundra års skolpropaganda*. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag.
- Trentner, Cecilia
2002 "I mötet med minnet. Historiekulturer i Skandinavien". *Historisk Tidsskrift* 2002:2, 289–307.
- Verovšek, Peter
The Politics of Memory: A Conceptual Approach to the Study of Memory in Politics. <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/ocvprogram/conf_papers/Verovsek.pdf>. Available 31.5.2015.
- Wiklund, Martin
2012 *Historia som domstol. Historisk värdering och retorisk argumentation kring "68"*. Nora: Nya Doxa.
- Zander, Ulf
1997 "Historia och identitetsbildning". *Historiedidaktik*. Ed. Christer Karlsgård and Klas-Göran Karlsson. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 82–114.
2001 *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider. Bruk av och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte*. Diss. Lund: Nordic Academy Press.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- Folkvännen*, 1863
Jakobstads Tidning, 1982
Österbottenska Posten, 1884, 1886, 1889

Kim Groop

Divine Law Enforcement and Mission Transculturality

The Finnish Missionary Society and the emergence
of the first Church Rules in the Ovambo mission field
in South West Africa

Introduction

This article scrutinises the work of the Finnish Missionary Society as regards the creating of a Church Law in the emerging Ovambo Lutheran Church, in what is today the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. The work resulted, in 1924, in the church's first Church Rules. In this endeavour, the Finnish missionaries took as a model the Finnish Church Law of 1869, but also utilised elements from the old Swedish Church Law from 1686. The aim of the missionaries was to create a law that could establish proper foundations for a Lutheran Church of their own preference. In the two last chapters of the article, the issue of transculturality is discussed. It is suggested that the Finnish mission's undertaking in Namibia was not simply characterised by the imposition of a new religion and new rules, but rather that this work was a fitting example of cultural exchange and transfusion. In this cultural exchange, various hybridised groups and individuals interacted in what would eventually result in a Lutheran church built on different cultural traditions, religious practices, and memories.

The Backdrop

The Finnish Missionary Society¹ was founded in 1859. As was the case with most Protestant mission societies, this society was founded in the wake of Pietism and evangelical revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It had among its founders and members numerous prominent Lutheran individuals – among them many Lutheran pastors and lay people with connections to various revival movements. The Finnish Missionary Society shared with revival Protestantism at large a Christocentric theology, but also other features characteristic of the revival movements, such as placing the bible above tradition and urging its followers to live a humble, sober lifestyle.²

The coming into existence of the Finnish Missionary Society was conflict-ridden. At the heart of the problem lay the question “what to do with Pietism?”. Pietistic Christianity, for much of the nineteenth century, had been at odds with the Lutheran Church, and the Pietists’ freedom of movement had been effectively restrained through the Conventicle Act prohibiting private meetings outside the services of the Lutheran Church. The church viewed any threat to its predominance with suspicion and, as it was often Pietists who propagated the mission, the mission movement also tended to be mistrusted. What is more, Finland was a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire from 1809 until 1917, when it gained independence, and the Russian Emperors viewed religious activity outside the church as potential seeds of separatism. As a consequence of all this, some of the early initiators of a mission society in Finland, in the early-mid nineteenth century, had

- 1 Since 1985, the Finnish Missionary Society has been known as the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM). The name in Finnish and Swedish, however, has remained unchanged: *Suomen Lähetysseura* and *Finska Missionssällskapet* respectively.
- 2 Paunu 1908, 84, 150, 218–221, 231–233; Paunu 1909, 1–4; “Stadgar för Finska missionssällskapet. Stadfästade den 6 Oktober 1863” in Paunu 1909; Groop 2013, 145–153; Groop 2013, 292–295.

either been sentenced for breaking the Conventicle Act or had been re-located (some of them appointed prison chaplains).³

Like many other Protestant missionary societies, the Finnish Missionary Society proclaimed the duty of every Christian to be a witness and to missionise non-Christians.⁴ At the same time as it emphasised humbleness, it was characterised by a certain degree of theological strictness. True Christians were supposed to believe and behave in a certain way. Similar to its peers in revivalist circles and other Protestant mission societies, the Finnish Missionary Society had little understanding of “name-Christians” or “culture-Christians” who, it saw, failed to take their faith seriously.⁵ Nonetheless, whereas many bible- and tract societies attempted to change the situation by engaging in mission work *in* Finland the Finnish Missionary Society did quite the opposite. It departed from this “deprived” Christianity at home in order to find greener pastures abroad. Thus, whereas the Finnish Missionary Society itself saw that it was called by God to carry the Christian gospel to the “pagans”, one could also argue that this society, by its own will, surrendered the fight in Finland. The Finnish Missionary Society was driven by a fascination with the possibilities of starting afresh in foreign parts of the world; establishing proper foundations and creating a Lutheran Church according to its own standards.⁶ It chose as its first mission field Ovamboland (or Amboland as it was referred to by the missionaries) in South West

3 Murtorinne 2000, 93–94, 108–110, 116; Groop 2013a, 138–139; Groop 2013b, 288–289, 293–294.

4 Hirn 1901, 1–6.

5 Groop 2013a, 145–147.

6 Groop 2013a, 156, 168. It could be noted that Emperor Alexander II, as written by Paunu, accepted the proposal of the Governing Senate regarding the foundation of the Finnish Missionary Society on one condition: that its operation “should not be extended to the area of the [Russian] Empire” (Paunu 1908, 221). It is unlikely, however, that this condition was intended to forbid operations inside Finland.

Africa. The first missionaries and mission carpenters were dispatched to this new mission field in 1868/1869.⁷

At the same time as the Finnish Missionary Society was founded, another set of events took place which was of importance to the Lutheran Church in Finland. In 1854, Archbishop Edvard Bergenheim entrusted Professor Frans Ludvig Schauman with the task of writing a proposal for a new Church Law for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. This new law would replace the old Swedish Church Law from 1686.⁸ When the law proposal was published it was met with considerable criticism, especially with regard to the first paragraph, which presented the church's confession. This was because Schauman had attempted to "soften" the statement regarding the church's Lutheran confession. Those criticising this paragraph saw that it was too liberal and undermined the church's confessional position. Among the critics were several pastors with connections to various revival movements (such as the Evangelicals and the Pietists) who felt that the confession of the Lutheran Church in Finland would be diluted should the proposed Church Law be ratified.⁹ Due to the critique, the text in the first paragraph was amended and given a more confessional Lutheran character. Apart from the confession paragraph, questions regarding some other issues were raised. One such issue was the section on church discipline which had undergone considerable changes, and to which we will return later in this article. On the whole, however, Schauman's Church Law was ratified with relatively few changes considering how different it was to its predecessor, and, after amendments in the confession paragraph even the

7 Paunu 1909, 84, 97, 119.

8 Murtorinne 2000, 158. Schauman was also one of the forces behind the founding of the Finnish Missionary Society and its first chairman. He would in 1865 be elected Bishop of Porvoo, one of the three dioceses in Finland (Hirn 1901, 2-4, 9).

9 Murtorinne 2000, 160-161; Suokunnas 2011, 112; Leino 2012, 67-69.

previously critical Evangelical and Pietistic pastors were prepared to stand behind the Church Law.¹⁰

Pietism, Paganism, and the Church Law

What then characterised the Lutheran Christianity which the Finns brought to Africa? Though there were probably at least as many examples as there were missionaries, I believe that three characteristics stand out and should be mentioned. Firstly, most missionaries shared – naturally in varying degrees – the Pietistic or revivalist theology, which we have mentioned above. Secondly, the Finnish missionaries adhered to and leaned on the traditions and laws of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. Thirdly, many missionaries, at least before WWI, were inspired by German missiological thinking and more directly by its neighbouring ally, the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, which had longer experience in work in South West Africa than the Finns.¹¹

For almost four decades, the Finnish missionaries ran their work at the mission stations without any corporate rules or instructions. This was a state that the missionaries grew accustomed to, and probably did not view as too problematical. Rather it gave them freedom and flexibility in their work. When problems arose, these could be discussed with fellow missionaries or be brought to the local missionary conferences. Moreover, as Matti Peltola stresses, the advice of the board of the Finnish Missionary Society, and in particular cases the mission director himself, was of importance to the missionaries in charge of the stations.¹²

10 Schmidt 1948, 241; Suokunnas 2011, 114.

11 Peltola notes that the Finnish missionaries were strongly influenced by Gustav Warneck's *Evangelische Missionslehre*, which was a true and unchallenged authority among the missionaries in Amboland (Peltola 1958, 303, endnote 272).

12 Peltola 1958, 213. This was the case for instance in the tobacco struggle where Missionary Liljeblad decided not to allow tobacco or trading in

The first printed missionary instructions only emerged in 1906. These *Guidelines for Missionaries of the Finnish Missionary Society* were to serve as a set of rules and regulations for the Finnish missionaries and missionary workers in their work in German West Africa.¹³ Parts of the text in this 32 page manual resembled the text in the Finnish Church Law of 1869. Most striking, and of particular interest here, is the section on church discipline. As in the 1869 Finnish Church Law, the 1906 missionary guidelines dealt with the issue of church discipline quite briefly. Church discipline for a Christian who had been found guilty of wrongdoing followed a line of action starting with a warning by the head of the parish (the missionary), followed by a warning in the company of two or three witnesses, then a warning in front of the congregation. Finally, in intransigent cases, it led to the exclusion of the person from Holy Communion and some other church rights. As in the Finnish Church Law, it was emphasised that that the individual excluded from Holy Communion was to be prayed for. He or she was furthermore to be allowed to attend ordinary church services to listen to God's word and he or she was to be forgiven and returned full church rights, seemingly without further due, after repenting his or her sins.¹⁴ The missionary guidelines describe church discipline as follows:

tobacco on his station, whereas most missionaries saw that it was unwise to take a strong position on an issue which could endanger the relationship with the kings and chiefs who wanted tobacco (Peltola 1996, 220–225).

- 13 Ohjeita Suomen Lähetyssseuran lähettejä varten 1906, 26–27. I have had the opportunity of studying a few different copies of these instructions in Namibia and in Finland. Based on the many notes and comments in the margins it can be assumed that the missionaries did not approve of all parts of the instruction manual, but that the instructions were rather seen as something dictated "from above" from the leadership in Helsinki without full knowledge of the situation and needs in Africa.
- 14 Ohjeita Suomen Lähetyssseuran lähettejä varten 1906, XVI, 26–27; Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870, 25–26.

If someone is caught fallen into public sin and evil, like drunkenness, theft, adultery, fornication, paganism, contempt of God's word and godly exercises, dissension in marriage and so on or otherwise commits public offence, he or she shall be subject to Church Discipline.¹⁵

Though the paragraphs on church discipline followed the Finnish Church Law of 1869, it is apparent that in part it was more congruent with pre-1869 praxis in Finland and Sweden as regulated by the 1686 Church Law and subsequent regulations. Both the 1686 and 1869 laws singled out certain offences, which were to be forbidden but, out of the two, the latter was less detailed and rigid. The offences singled out in the 1869 Church Law were: §102: refusal to have one's child baptised or to provide Christian instruction to one's children or other dependants; §103: showing contempt for God's word and godly exercise; disunity in marriage, or harshness against children, domestic servants or other dependants; disobedience towards parents or irreconcilability; §104: practicing heresy; §105: failure to attend catechetical meetings or hindering dependants from attending the same, as well as bringing about disorder during a church service.¹⁶ Whereas the Lutheran Church under the Church Law of 1686 had lived in symbiosis with the state – with the legal systems of the church and state intermingling and supporting each other – the 1869 Church Law brought considerable change in the sense that it concerned only the Lutheran Church and not all citizens. Although the church and the state continued to exist with some measure of interdependence, the 1869 Church Law was, at least in theory, to be concerned only with crimes pertaining

15 Ohjeita Suomen Lähetysseuran lähettejä varten 1906, XVI, 26. My translation.

16 Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870, 26. See also § 30 on page 9. In §33 the arranging of conventicles during the Sunday service and without the consent of the vicar [kyrkoherde] was also declined.

to Christian life within the Lutheran Church.¹⁷ Drunkenness, for instance, was not forbidden (and in fact it had not been forbidden as such even in the 1686 Church Law). Rather it was causing disorder in a church during Sunday Service (and in the case of the 1686 Church Law: “being drunk in church during a Sunday Service”) which was prohibited and subject to penalty.¹⁸ Theft, adultery, and fornication were not mentioned at all in the 1869 Church Law. Yet, heresy was listed as prohibited and subject to church discipline.¹⁹

Instead of directly applying the Finnish Church Law to the Ovambo mission work, the paragraphs on church discipline in the 1906 missionary guidelines were tailored to meet the needs and demands of the Finnish Missionary Society. On the one hand, the guidelines went beyond what would, at that time in Finland, be considered churchly domains as they touched upon what could be regarded as secular laws. However, when the guidelines were printed in 1906, Ovamboland was an isolated part of a German colony which knew very little of European secular laws. This explains why the guidelines also dealt with ways of being and behaving outside of the church’s domain. On the other hand, the missionary guidelines also touched upon issues pertaining to culture, as they took as a point of departure that *paganism* and *pagan practices* were in essence sinful.²⁰ The guidelines demonstrate the encounter between different cultures: put simply between the Pietistic Finnish Missionary Society on the one hand and the Ovambo ethnic groups on the other. The guidelines can be viewed as an early and sketchy display of an encounter between a Pietistic mission with different cultures; cultures which had little

17 Murtorinne 2000, 158–162.

18 Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870, 26; Sveriges kyrkolag af år 1686, 106–107, 735–736.

19 Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870, 26.

20 Ohjeita Suomen Lähetyssseuran lähettejä varten 1906, XVI, 11, 22.

exposure to Christianity prior to the arrival of the Finns in South West Africa, and where no western legal system had yet been implemented. It would soon become evident that the missionaries found the paragraphs on church discipline insufficient.

The issue of church discipline was discussed at the missionary annual conference in Ovamboland in 1918. Missionary Heikki Saari had prepared a briefing which provided a basis for discussion at the meeting. This briefing dealt with theological issues of church discipline. Saari highlighted the need for a humble stance, warning that the “white teachers” should not consider themselves any better than the “black parishioners”. Church discipline was for all Christians and the purpose was “only and exclusively ... salvation of the human soul from the fire of hell and for him/her to remain in Christ”.²¹ Saari’s briefing also dealt with the sensitive issue of excommunication, which had been practiced as a last resort from the early years of Finnish work in Ovamboland, but which was not mentioned in the missionary instructions from 1906.²² Towards the end of the document, Saari made three remarks that are of particular interest for this article. *Firstly*, he pointed out that in cases where a transgressor was to be excluded from the parish through excommunication or re-admitted into the parish this decision should be made by the missionaries jointly at a missionary conference. *Secondly*, all parishes were to be informed about cases of excommunication and the Christians were to be “instructed not to treat those under discipline as Christian brothers or sisters, but to hold them as worse than a pagan”.²³ *Thirdly*, according to Saari those already confirmed who were subject to church discipline

21 Saari 1917, 1–3. My translation.

22 Saari 1917, 3–6; Peltola 1958, 112; Ohjeita Suomen Lähetyseuran lähetejä varten 1906. Varis believes that church discipline, including excommunication, was introduced into the Finnish work in Ovamboland in the mid-1880s (Varis 1988, 173).

23 Saari 1917, 6. Saari made references to 1 Cor. 5:11 and 2 John 1:10.

were to re-attend confirmation education before being admitted back into the parish.²⁴

Based on the minutes, it is difficult to discern how divided or united the missionaries were over these or other issues, because one missionary, Emil Liljeblad, seems to have aired his opinions more than all the other missionaries together. What Liljeblad appears to have opposed was above all two things: strict rules guiding how the missionaries were to make their judgements and Saari's suggestion that all issues concerning excommunication were to be dealt with *jointly* at the missionary conferences.²⁵ It is probable that Liljeblad resisted the suggested policy not because he wanted to protect the members of his congregation, but because he wanted freedom and flexibility to decide on a course-of-action in his own parish.²⁶ According to Peltola, Liljeblad had a stricter approach in various matters, such as drinking *omagongo* (the local brew) and smoking and chewing tobacco, than the other missionaries.²⁷ Though various opinions were aired it seems

24 Saari 1917, 6.

25 Pöytäkirja 1918, §5.

26 One of Liljeblad's arguments against the suggestion for a joint decision in all cases touching upon excommunication was that he feared that if such a centralisation materialised "neighbouring parishes through their teachers would come interfering in another parish's business" (Pöytäkirja 1918, §5).

27 Peltola 1996, 220–225, 308–309. In 1902 and 1903 Emil Liljeblad had already refused to give tobacco to Ondonga's King Nehale and to the king of the Ongandjera, Tshaanika Tsha Natshilongo, and he had also made one of the teachers believe that smokers were wrong doers and did not go to heaven. When confronted by Rautanen, who was a smoker, Liljeblad refused to give in, despite instructions from the leadership in Helsinki that payment with or the donating of tobacco was not forbidden as such. Payment with tobacco to people suffering from malnutrition or poverty was, however, to end (Peltola 1996, 221–223). Liljeblad also had a more strict attitude towards the custom of the wedding ox, i.e. giving an ox to the parents of the bride, than Rautanen. According to Tuula Varis, Liljeblad criticised it harshly as pagan and immoral because it was a "payment for whoring and removal of virginity". Rautanen, for his part, considered the

that – with the exception of Liljeblad – the missionaries were united behind the idea of creating common and fairly detailed rules where the missionaries would jointly make decisions on excommunication.

The missionary annual meeting in 1918 would eventually lead to a Church Law, or church rules as they would be called by the Finnish Missionary Society. A committee was given the task of preparing these church rules (or the draft which would eventually be approved by the Governing Board of the Finnish Missionary Society), and in 1920 the *Directives for the Amboland Evangelical-Lutheran Church*²⁸ emerged. These directives were introduced for temporary use with immediate effect in the Finnish Ovamboland field, and after nearly four years, the Board of the Finnish Missionary Society in 1924 released the revised instructions under the title *Regulations of the Amboland Evangelical-Lutheran Church*.²⁹ These regulations would provide the next step towards a Church Law for a future Lutheran Church in northern Namibia.

As had been the case with the missionary instructions emerging in 1906, it is obvious that the Finnish Church Law of 1869 provided a basis, or framework, when the committee drafted the directives, which would then be approved in 1924 and printed as the Regulations of the Amboland Evangelical-Lutheran Church. The first 11 (out of 13) sections in the Regulations correspond to sections 1 to 9, 11 and 13 in the Finnish Church Law of 1869, whereas the second to last section constitutes a combination of several sections in the Church Law. The last section lacks a direct correspondence in the Church Law.³⁰

wedding ox to be a folk custom, which involved pagan elements (Varis 1988, 135).

28 Toimintaohjeita Ambomaan Evankelis-Luterilaiselle kirkolle.

29 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt. Peltola 1958, 213.

30 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924; Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870.

This is, however, as far as the similarities go. Though the title headings are similar, the Ovambo Church Regulations are much simpler. For instance, in the first paragraph under the title “The Church’s Confession” the text, instead of defining the actual confession of the church, reads, “Amboland’s Evangelical Lutheran Church is the child of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and adopts its confession.”³¹ Further down in paragraph four under the section “Church Administration” the text reads:

[T]he topmost administration of the Ambo Church is managed by the Board of the Finnish Missionary Society as long as this [Ambo] church needs its support. The local executive government of the Ambo Church is the Church Council and the legislative body is the General Synod.³²

Whereas the Church Council in 1924 still consisted of the missionary in charge as well as four missionaries elected by the missionary conference, the intention was to gradually hand over more responsibility to the local church. Peltola notes that as soon as half of the parishes could provide salaries for their pastors, evangelists, and teachers (and it should be noticed that the first Ovambo pastors were ordained in 1925) two Ovambo members would be elected to the Church Council to replace two of the Finns.³³

31 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt, § 1.

32 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt. My translation.

33 See Peltola 1958, 214. It should also be noted that the major milestone in the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, the ordination in 1925, did not come easily. Missionary Perheentupa indicates that the Finnish missionaries had undergone a slow transformation process in their mind-set. Not long ago, Perheentupa notes, many missionaries would have shared the opinion of the Rheinisch missionaries in regarding ideas of the ordination of local pastors as “shocking gullibility” [*kauhistavaa hyväuskoisuutta*] (See Perheentupa 1923, 6–7).

The section on church discipline in the Ovambo Church Regulations introduced in 1924 follows the same pattern as its 1906 predecessor. Nevertheless, it had expanded considerably, from four paragraphs to 11.³⁴ Whereas wrongdoers had previously been warned by the parish leader (i.e. missionary) as a first measure, in 1924 it was made every Christian's duty to warn a brother or sister who did something which was viewed as inappropriate to a Christian. The paragraph consisted of a long list of examples on transgressions:

... enjoying omagongo [brew], pilferage, night running and sleeping with a woman (okuhagela), masturbation [*itsesaastutus*], bestiality, slandering, lying, fraud, pride, contentiousness, ruthlessness against animals, greed, usury, taking for oneself during payment assignments [*maksatusretkillä itselleen anastamisesta*], laziness, disobedience against parents [alternatively older], intentional participation in ohula etc. eating of sacrificial meat, all kinds of other minor magic practices and participating in the same, utilising local quacksalvers, neglecting church service, devotions, [neglecting] keeping the rest day holy, child-raising, helping brothers or sisters etc. spreading a different teaching than God's word and our church's confession, taking God's name and word in vain.³⁵

34 The two sections in the Finnish Church Law of 1869 which were left out of the Ovambo Church Regulations altogether were § 10: "On Churching of Women" [*Om barnaföderskors kyrkogång*] and, perhaps more importantly in this context, § 12: "On Individual Soul Care" [*Om enskild självård*]. The latter was probably found too conciliatory in its tone to fit in a young African church setting and the Finnish Missionary Society instead put emphasis on the church discipline aspects of pastoral care. The text in the Church Regulations was a modification and expansion of § 13: "On Church Discipline" [*Om kyrkotukt*] in the Finnish Church Law.

35 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 47. My translation.

Christians who wronged and failed to mend their ways, despite being warned by fellow Christians, should be reported to the parish leader who would issue a warning to the individual in question. This second step in church discipline in the 1924 Church Regulations would also apply to those who were committing public sins³⁶ such as:

... practicing magic, visiting a seer, assisting in or attending pagan weddings, allowing unchristian behaviour in the household, assaulting ones spouse or other fellowmen and allowing or encouraging fornication [*haureus*].³⁷

Should the transgressor fail to repent he or she was to be warned publicly in front of the parish and he or she should until further notice be withheld from confirmation instruction or from participation in Holy Communion. This third step also applied to those who had committed particular crimes and offenses such as:

... aggravated theft and robbery, demanding a wedding ox, seizing of [another individual's] field, fornication [*salavuoteus*], adultery and sleeping with a man.³⁸

If the transgressor repented and mended his or her ways, and compensated any potential material damage, he or she would be given a chance to confess publicly in front of the whole congregation, after which he or she would be re-awarded full member rights.³⁹ Should the transgressor fail to repent, however, he or she would be

36 In Finnish: *julkista pahennusta*.

37 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 48. My translation.

38 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 49. My translation.

39 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 50.

excommunicated, i.e. excluded from the parish and church. With regard to the discussion above, as to who should make the decision on excommunication, it can be noted (without much knowledge about the work of the committee making preparations for the Law) that the version approved by the Board of the Finnish Missionary Society declared that excommunication would *not* be an issue dealt with by individual missionaries, but by the church council.

This fourth step and last resort was reserved for those who had earlier been withheld from Holy Communion but who had still not repented. However, it also applied to those “who had fallen into paganism” and to those who had committed serious crimes such as

... murder, arson, removing a fetus [i.e. abortion], lending [ones] wife to another [man], acquiring right to marry through [participation in pagan wedding] and conducting pagan weddings, leaving [ones] spouse [i.e. divorce] without legal reason, polygamy and becoming a concubine.⁴⁰

Let us for a while look at what was characteristic of these 1924 Church Regulations in comparison with earlier praxis in Finland as well as on the Finnish missionary field. Quite obviously, one of the characteristics was in itself the introducing of excommunication in the law text. Whereas the 1906 missionary instructions (like the Finnish Church Law of 1869) spoke of exclusion from *Holy Communion* but not from *church membership*, the Ovambo Church Regulations of 1924 introduced excommunication. This does not mean that excommunication had not existed in the Finnish Missionary Society field in Ovamboland prior to 1924, which it had, but rather that it was brought to the fore in the new church document.

40 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 51. My translation.

Excommunication, in the sense of exclusion from the rights of church membership, was no novelty in Finnish church history. The Swedish Church Law of 1686, which was the prevailing law before 1869, dealt with excommunication both as the *smaller* and *larger ban*. A church member subject to the smaller ban was withheld from Holy Communion and possibly also from other churchly rights. Should an individual, however, fail to attend Holy Communion for one year or more he or she “was to be considered and prosecuted as a non-Christian”.⁴¹ The larger ban, on the other hand, implied that an individual was excluded from the church for a certain time. Should the wrongdoer not repent within the first year of excommunication he or she would be exiled from Sweden (and Finland).⁴² The 1869 Church Law had a much more conciliatory tone than its predecessor, and the only instance where the issue of parting with the church was mentioned was when individuals voluntarily left the church as dissenters.⁴³ In fact, Frans Ludvig Schauman who was leading the Church Law committee had also wanted to abolish the smaller ban, but due to resistance in the committee this mode of punishment was retained. What was abolished though, was the public confession which had in certain cases been a prerequisite for absolution.⁴⁴ The Ovambo Church Regulations of 1924 were inspired by the Finnish Church Rules of 1869, but they were also – and perhaps even more – inspired by the previous Swedish Church Rules of 1686. What I am considering here is the introducing of the larger ban, but also the relative humiliation of the “sinner”. Through the introduction of the 1924 Church Regulations on the Finnish mission field, transgressors would be readmitted *only after* a public confession in front of the congregation, and, in the case

41 Halmesmaa 1976, 22.

42 Sveriges kyrkolag af år 1686, 115–119.

43 Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland 1870, 3.

44 Pirinen 1985, 166–169.

of individuals readmitted after excommunication, these individuals had to sit in a particular location during the Sunday service.⁴⁵

Another characteristic of the 1924 Church Regulations as compared to the 1906 instructions and the 1869 Church Law in Finland was that it was very specific as to how certain sins should be treated in the parishes and by the church leadership. These transgressions can be grouped into four categories; a) transgressions connected to local customs, b) transgressions related to sexuality and married life, c) immorality in general, and, d) transgressions which were considered as crimes by secular law in Finland. In the application of this division, we can note that most transgressions highlighted in the 1924 Church Regulations related directly to category a) local customs, and category b) sexuality, procreation, and married life. Also the cases brought to the attention of the parish leadership appear to have concerned predominantly sexuality, procreation and family life, but also immorality in general. Referring to information provided by Missionary Nestori Väänänen, Maija Tuupainen writes that that some 90 per cent of all disciplinary cases treated by the administrative boards before 1939 concerned adultery, divorce, and immorality.⁴⁶ Local practice is not mentioned specifically here. This may suggest some measure of missionary tolerance for local customs, or at least enhanced differentiation between local culture and morals (with or without direct connections to local culture). The overwhelming focus on morality, and in particular on sexual morality in the disciplinary cases, however, can be interpreted as a sign of persistent cultural differences between the Ovambo and the Finns. It can also be interpreted as a demonstration of the Finnish missionaries' bias with regard to morals and sexuality. Chastity, marital fidelity, and morals in general were viewed as particularly important in Christian life, and living a sexually immoral life was feared as a serious threat against salvation.

45 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt, § 50 and § 53.

46 Tuupainen 1970, 118.

Even if it has been argued, as for instance by Missionary Walde Kivinen in the late 1930s, that the Finnish Missionary Society did not oppose culture, but only fought those cultural habits which were based on “savagery, ignorance and heathen superstition” or on “surviving superstitious customs”⁴⁷, it cannot be denied that the Finnish missionaries had a great struggle with Ovambo culture. With hindsight, it can be argued that what the Finnish Missionary Society tried to achieve in Ovamboland through the 1924 Church Regulations appears to be a situation a little short of utopia. This was, as I have discussed in my earlier research, a result of the Finnish missionaries’ aspiration to found a church in Africa according to their preferences.⁴⁸ Yet the rigidity of the rules seems to have been met with resistance. As Tuupainen, who conducted her research in the 1960s, says “most Lutheran Ovambo ministers working in the Ondonga and Uukwanyama tribes” considered that the church discipline had “lost its meaning.” Disciplinary cases became too numerous to handle and, as a result of this, only a fraction of the “guilty” ones were disciplined. Consequently, according to Tuupainen, justice was not served. As a consequence of the missionaries’ strict implementation of the church rules many people grew indifferent to church discipline.⁴⁹

The Transculturality of the Christian Mission

In discussing the preparation of the 1924 Church Regulations and their implementation in northern Namibia, the Finnish Missionary Society easily appears as a rather intolerant, or black and white, Pietistic movement. While this impression may be true, I do not wish to linger on the shortcomings of the Finns – or the Ovambo people – as I would rather reach behind or beyond this perception. One way of

47 Quoted in Miettinen 2005, 120–121.

48 Groop 2014, 85–89.

49 Tuupainen 1970, 118.

doing this is to scrutinise the cultural hybridity and hybridisation of the mission endeavour. What is striking about the encounter between Finns and Ovambo around the turn into the 20th century is its multifacetedness. As I will suggest in the following two chapters, there was much more to this encounter than is obvious in the early documentation and literature about the enterprise. The Finns as well as the Ovambo consisted of a motley crew representing surprisingly different and diverse cultures and traditions.

In an article published in 1999, the German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch discusses the concept of transculturality.⁵⁰ Welsch aims critique at the way culture has traditionally been viewed; as a single entity giving meaning to the whole of life for a limited population – a culture of one people. According to Welsch, this “classical model of culture is not only descriptively unserviceable, but also normatively dangerous and untenable.”⁵¹ However, Welsch also criticises the concepts of interculturality – which refers to interaction between diverse cultures – and multiculturalism – which refers to the culturally diverse nature of human society. Both are, in Welsch’s opinion, “almost as inappropriate as the traditional concept [of single cultures] itself, because they still conceptually presuppose it.”⁵² The concept of multiculturalism, according to Welsch, is surprisingly similar to the concept of interculturality as it takes up the problems “which different cultures have living together *within one society*”, and it “proceeds from the existence of clearly distinguished, in themselves homogeneous cultures”.⁵³ Sigurd Bergmann elaborates on Welsch’s criticism of the traditional single entity culture discourse. Bergmann, therefore, disqualifies Samuel Huntington’s acclaimed theory of a “clash of

50 Welsch 1999. The concept transculturality was already used in the 1940s by the Cuban Fernando Ortiz Fernández who coined the word *transculturación* to describe converging cultures (see for instance Jaidka 2010, 2–3).

51 Welsch 1999, 195.

52 Welsch 1999, 196. See also UNESCO 2006, 17.

53 Welsch 1999, 196 (emphasis in original).

civilisations” as “controversial and untrue” as it is “founded on the idea of clearly identifiable civilisations.”⁵⁴

Welsch’s idea of transculturality challenges this notion of culture as a single entity. Culture today, he argues, (and, as I will argue later, also in the Finnish missionary past) is characterised by pluralism, inter-change, and hybridisation instead of by social homogenisation, ethnic consolidation, and delimitation. In Welsch’s words it “*passes through* classical cultural boundaries.”⁵⁵ According to Bergmann:

Cultures today are much more externally connected than the single culture concept shows. The modern society is complex and highly differentiated, also in the economic silent zones of the world. Migration processes do not any longer make you belonging to a single territory. Mobility makes people more or less global or regional. Cultures are in late modernity characterized by hybridization. ... Also individuals construe their cultural identity in processes of selective mixtures. More and more of us are becoming cultural hybrids. This dimension of hybridization makes it extremely difficult to define national identity today.⁵⁶

Astrid Erll discusses Welsch’s notion of transculturality from a memory studies perspective. She goes as far as suggesting that the transcultural dimension can be viewed as a *third phase* of memory studies. Erll views Maurice Halbwachs’s *mémoire collective* from the 1920s as the *first phase* and Pierre Nora’s as well as Jan and Aleida Assmann’s studies on “large mnemonic formations, such as nations and religious groups” as representing a *second phase*.⁵⁷ According to Erll’s understanding, the third phase is a phase in which scholars, “increasingly

54 Bergmann 2010, 142.

55 Welsch 1999, 197 (emphasis in original).

56 Bergmann 2010, 143–144.

57 Erll 2010, 306–309.

substitute notions of national culture and national remembrance with more complex models of transcultural memory”.⁵⁸ She understands transcultural memory as a:

... certain *research perspective*, a focus of attention, which is directed towards mnemonic processes unfolding *across* and *beyond* cultures. It means transcending the borders of traditional ‘cultural memory studies’ by looking beyond established research assumptions, objects and methodologies.⁵⁹

This view is also shared and further elaborated on by Lucy Bond and Jessica Rapson who in their introduction to *The Transcultural Turn* write about transcultural memory as follows:

Building upon Welsch’s definition of transculturality, we suggest that *transcultural memory* might best be regarded as describing two separate dynamics in contemporary commemorative practice: firstly, the travelling of memory *within* and *between* national, ethnic and religious collectives; secondly, forums of remembrance that aim to move *beyond* the idea of political, ethnic, linguistic, or religious borders as containers for our understanding of the past.⁶⁰

Though the discussion on transculturality often takes as the example the globalising world of today, I would claim that the missionary movement – all the way from 17th century German Pietism and the Danish-Halle Tranquebar Mission in the 18th century until today – can and should be viewed through the lens of transculturality.⁶¹

58 Erl 2010, 306.

59 Erl 2011, 9 (emphasis in original).

60 Bond and Rapson 2014, 19.

61 I thus share Antje Flüchter’s and Jivanta Schöttli’s analysis as regards Welsch’s focus on today in his discussion on transculturality, that whilst they “... do not deny that there was a profound shift in the nineteenth

Very little attention has so far been paid to studying the history of the Christian missionary movement from a transcultural perspective.⁶² An increased emphasis on the hybridity of the missionary movement as well as on the memories surrounding this hybridised and hybridising movement could open new theoretical perspectives beyond the focus on globalisation in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and thus be of benefit to the scholarly debate on transculturality and transcultural memory. In addition, such a shift of research perspective would enable historians and other scholars dealing with the (legacy of) the Christian mission to reach beyond enduring and simplified conceptions – or misconceptions – one of which being that the Christian mission destroyed local culture. This misapprehension, I would claim, departs from an obsolete notion that once upon a time (before the arrival of the missionaries) there were authentic but vulnerable cultures that the forceful but intolerant missionaries were in a position to, wanted to, and managed to destroy. Much of the scholarly debate has tended to be tied to two slightly simplified perceptions of the Christian mission in action. One side has emphasised processes of including, where the mission endeavour has been understood through the concept of *missio Dei* – as God’s mission – where the missionaries

century towards a more tightly connected world, we [they] also understand this to have been a shift in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Transculturality in our [their] understanding, occurs not only everywhere but also at all times and in all human cultures and societies. It is not bound to a certain time, but represents a timeless, structural element in all human societies, practices, and institutions.” (Flüchter & Schöttli 2015, 3) For a recent study on German Pietism from a transcultural perspective, see Groop 2015.

- 62 Two quite recent studies could here be mentioned; *Remembering Africa: The Rediscovering of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature* by Dirk Göttsche and Judith Becker’s edited volume *Missionaries in Contact Zones: Transformation through Interaction in a (post-)Colonial World*. These are, from different perspectives, dealing with cultural encounters and transformation in foreign mission and colonialism.

have been seen as being within a divine effort aiming at embracing all mankind with God's salvific grace.⁶³ The other side has focused on processes of excluding, portraying the agents of the mission as predominantly intolerant, disdainful, and destructive for the local cultures it served.⁶⁴ Whereas the former may struggle to make itself heard in secular academia if taken too far in a church theological direction, the latter, in my opinion, runs the risk of making itself irrelevant if it fails to go beyond a mere state of disappointment and disapproval.

I am aware of the often unequal and sometimes stormy relationship between the mission and the receivers of the mission, and I have myself touched upon some of this relationship in the previous chapter. Yet, and this is my point, in the numerous encounters between missionaries and missionised we find individuals and communities who came from or identified with various constantly changing traditions and cultures. However, these cultures, have so often failed to be recognised as the transcultural individuals and groups *they in fact were*, and have so often instead been grouped, in sources as well as in studies, according to various comprehensions of who they *were or were supposed to be*.

In 1917, Elin Silén wrote very vividly about the Christian mission as standing between different worlds and being a blessing to them all. "The mission stands on the border between the world of the pagans and [the world] of the Christians – it stands there mild and warm and gives with full hands in each direction."⁶⁵ Though Silén, with her words, describes a Pietistic rather dualistic missionary standpoint she also points to the very characteristic of at least the Protestant mission: namely to cross borders and enter the "world of the pagans". In my understanding, there can hardly be any movement which fits better as an example of transculturality than the Christian mission. The very

63 See for instance Imberg 2008.

64 See for instance Miettinen 2005.

65 Silén 1917, 5.

essence of the Christian mission was (and still is) to belong to, move between, and reach beyond different worlds and cultures. Scrutinising the mission and missionary movement through the lens of transculturality, in my opinion, makes sense. Let me give three examples from the Finnish Missionary Society.

Firstly, *the Finnish Missionary Society and its missionaries were cultural hybrids*. What was most characteristic of this society around the turn of the 20th century was *not* that it was a Finnish or a Lutheran society; rather, as much as it was a Finnish mission society it was a *European* one and as much as it was a Lutheran society it was a revivalist movement. Like the missionary movement at large, it was established in the wake of German Pietism and the evangelical revival and it drew the bulk of its support and supporters from various revivalist movements within, or bordering, the Lutheran Church. Theologically, the Finnish Missionary Society adhered to the Lutheran confession, but with an inclination towards Pietism and revivalist thinking, which is noticeable in the articles published in the society's two journals: the Finnish-language *Suomen Lähetys-Sanomia* and the Swedish-language *Missions-Tidning för Finland*.⁶⁶ However, the Finnish Missionary Society also related to other Lutheran and non-Lutheran Protestant mission societies – not least in Sweden, Germany, and Great Britain – and frequently reported about their work in the society's two journals. Furthermore, the German evangelical theologian Gustav Warneck was considered as both an authority and an inspiration to the Finnish Missionary Society and the Pietist minded Warneck did not view Western culture as a crucial part of Christianity.⁶⁷ He saw it as far more important that the missionaries “[fulfil] their ‘holy duty’ of proclaiming the gospel” than that they aligned with nationality and national interests.⁶⁸ In line with this, the Finnish Missionary Society

66 For this, see Groop 2013b, 287–296.

67 See for instance Bridges 2008, 58.

68 Ballard 2008, 179.

in Ovamboland at times went beyond, and sometimes against, what could have been expected of them from a national or European colonial perspective. The missionaries chose to distance themselves from the colonial authorities, whom they considered dangerous to their work, both from a political and a religious perspective. This was one of the key reasons why the field leader Martti Rautanen was so keen on keeping the German, and later the British/South African authorities, out of Ovamboland. He feared that the influx of European “decadent Christianity” would destroy the church he and his colleagues were trying to build.⁶⁹ As for the missionaries, the Finns travelling to what is today northern Namibia came from quite different cultural and religious contexts. Just looking at the first seven Finnish missionaries demonstrates this.⁷⁰ Only two of the seven missionaries were what one could today call “ordinary Finnish men”. One – Martti Rautanen – was born near St Petersburg in Russia and came with time to consider himself more African than Finnish.⁷¹ Four⁷² of the missionaries were either Swedish-speaking or came from Swedish families. To add to this, two⁷³ of the first seven missionaries had not received their missionary training at the Finnish missionary school but in Germany, at the Hermannsburg mission seminar, which had a quite different curriculum to the school in Helsinki.⁷⁴ I have no knowledge as to where these seven missionaries stood with regard

69 For this, see Peltola 1996, 164–169, 253–259.

70 Apart from these seven missionaries four carpenters Juho Nissinen, Juho Heinonen, Antti Piirainen and Erkki Juntunen were sent to South West Africa. The two latter had started training to become missionaries but had been unable to fulfil the training (Peltola 1958, 32).

71 Peltola (1996, 5) quotes Rautanen who in 1903 told friends in Tampere in Finland: “I have two home countries, like others. You have heaven and Finland, I have heaven and Amboland.” My translation.

72 Karl Emmanuel Jurvelin, Botolf Bernhard Björklund, Karl August Weikkolin and Alexander Malmström.

73 Jurvelin and Malmström.

74 Peltola 1958, 32; Paunu 1909, 50–51, 57, 59, 68.

to theological tradition, but they were described by Uuno Paunu as either serious and devout Christians or as having been influenced by the “awakening”⁷⁵ or by pious religiosity in general, and they had been recommended to the Finnish Missionary Society by influential Lutherans with connections to the society.⁷⁶ This cultural diversity was typical not only for the first group of missionaries, but the small society continued to draw missionary candidates and supporters from various cultural traditions. This diversity in terms of personalities, age, language, background, theological tradition and so on would naturally enrich the mission enterprise, but would at times also lead to conflicts on issues such as how the work should be developed and how to relate to Ovambo cultural traditions.⁷⁷

Secondly, *the Ovambo were cultural hybrids* and therefore the cultural setting providing the context for the Finnish mission endeavour was in itself highly pluralistic. The Ovambo among whom the Finns tried to establish mission stations in 1870/1871 consisted of nine different tribes or sub tribes with different dialects and a multitude of different customs. These Ovambo groups did not live in isolation from each other but rather in constant interaction, interdependence, and friction. They shared and communicated essentially a mutual belief system and many traditions; they depended on each other’s loyalty and support against outside threats such as the slave trade and colonisation; and sometimes they raided each other. Added to this it should also be mentioned that many Ovambo customs were constantly changing or transforming. One example worth mentioning is the fact that male circumcision, which was widely practiced elsewhere in Africa, had already almost disappeared from the Ndonga kingdom before the missionaries arrived in 1871.⁷⁸ The kings and

75 In Finnish: Herännäisyys.

76 Paunu 1909, 27–28, 95–97.

77 Groop 2014, 97; Peltola 1996, 220–225, 252, 309–310.

78 Tuupainen 1970, 42–45.

chiefs of the various Ovambo ethnic groups reacted rather differently to the arrival of the Finnish messengers. After initial failures in bringing Christianity to the other Ovambo tribes, the Finnish missionaries for many years concentrated their work with the Ndonga. When the work also eventually spread to other kingdoms and chieftains, the missionaries received exposure to new sets of constantly transforming cultures. Nonetheless, those Ovambo men and women who chose to welcome the Finnish missionaries, who went to Finnish mission schools and became Christians and/or who adopted European trends and fashions only *continued* on a path that Ovambo men and women had walked over the past decades, namely that of change and adaptation to new circumstances.

Thirdly, *the encounter between Finns and Ovambo implied hybridisation*. Despite a turbulent start and seemingly unbridgeable cultural differences, the relationship between the Finnish missionaries and Ovambo hosts would lead to an unstoppable transculturation process. In fact, this process started on an individual level at the very instance the first contacts were made after the Finnish arrival in Ovamboland. This is seen in the documentation on how the missionaries acquired local knowledge in order to survive, in order to pursue their work, and out of personal interest. They energetically tried to learn the local languages, dialects, and folklore. In addition, they also acquired local knowledge in the many practical areas that they were in dire need of, such as how to farm, what to eat and what not to, where to find water, building material and so on. This cultural fusion is also seen in missionary reports on pupils, workers, and converts struggling to learn how to live and behave in order to win the approval of the missionaries; or as put by Missionary Frans Hannula, to “understand what *true Christianity* is and what it isn’t.”⁷⁹ Though

79 Hannula 1888, 13 in Kirkollisia Sanomia (my emphasis). Many young men and women were willing to cross the cultural boundaries; sometimes even too willing, for, as Olli Löytty notes, converted “pagans experienced

the missionaries had their own quite specific understanding of what it implied to be a “true Christian” they also – reluctantly or voluntarily – came to accept Ovambo customs which did not fit into their own understanding of this “true” Christianity. In due time, as I have discussed in my earlier research, many customs would be assimilated into local Lutheran Christianity. This was also true vice versa: Finnish missionary Lutheranism would be incorporated into local Ovambo culture. This was the case for instance with regard to Christian weddings. The 1924 Church Rules forbade ceremonies “deriving from paganism” including the demanding of a wedding ox, night time singing, drinking sprees, and extensive celebrations with relatives.⁸⁰ Needless to say these customs would not disappear. With time the church ceremony itself would come to be only a small part of a wedding tradition involving a wide array of old Ovambo customs most of which the missionaries would eventually accept.⁸¹ However, this transculturation process went even further. Some of the Finnish missionaries married local women. This was the case for Rautanen and Björklund. Their wives’ (the sisters Frieda and Katharina) grandmother belonged to the Nama ethnic group.⁸² There are numerous other examples of how Finnish missionary- and Ovambo cultures grew together. There were extraordinary relationships between some missionaries and kings or chiefs. Many missionaries and their wives and children died and were buried on African soil, and many Ovambo Christians took Finnish names to honour these or other missionaries, teachers, or midwives. This is a vivid example of how the memories of the Finnish missionary and Ovambo connection have been cherished in Namibia. It touches

... Christianity differently than people who had lived in western cultural circles” and this would consequently trigger a fear among missionaries that the converts joined the Christian church with the wrong motives (Löytty 2006, 192–193).

80 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt, § 31.

81 Groop 2014, 108–109.

82 Peltola 1958, 47, 66.

upon what Astrid Erll calls *travelling memory*, which points at the mobility of mnemonic practices such as shared images and practices.⁸³ Rather than being something local and isolated memory travels with individuals and collectives across national and cultural boundaries. The Finnish missionaries carried memories – individual as well as collective – which were kept alive and maintained by particular literature, hymns, sacral images, bible quotations and so on. This shows how memory also travels between individuals or collectives on the one hand and written, painted, or crafted mnemonic interpretations on the other, or to use Erll’s words, “between media and minds”.⁸⁴ However, in line with Erll’s notion that cultural memory needs to “travel’, be kept in motion, in order to ‘stay alive’, to have an impact both on individual minds and social formations”⁸⁵, the memories attached to the Finnish Mission Church could not end with the Finnish memories. Old missionary sentiments would soon give way to new local memories and commemorations celebrating the history of an African church, albeit with Finnish missionary connections. Some of these “new memories” would be Ovambo memories of the very beginnings of the Lutheran Church in Ovamboland. These memories would be visible at, and honoured through, national monuments such as the old church, mission houses and missionary graves at Olukonda or the site of the first mission station in Omandongo – or through media such as books, magazines and photographs.⁸⁶ Other “new memories” would celebrate African participation, such as the early encounters

83 Erll 2011, 18.

84 Erll 2011, 18–19.

85 Erll 2011, 17. Erll gives credit to Ann Rigney who uses the metaphor of a swimmer to show how collective memory is constantly “in the works” and like a swimmer keeps moving to stay afloat. See Rigney 2008, 345.

86 One influential book in Namibia is the *History of the Church in Namibia* which was written by Gerhard L. Buys and Shekutaamba Vaino Vaino Nambala. Nambala has since 2012 been the presiding bishop in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia.

with Finnish missionary Christianity, the first baptism in 1883, and of the ordination of the first seven Ovambo pastors in 1925.⁸⁷

Cultural Hybridity and the 1924 Church Rules

The transcultural character of the Finnish Missionary Society endeavour in Ovamboland is also visible in the Church Rules. Finnish missionary theology was a hybridisation of various theological perspectives. It was thoroughly Lutheran in dogma, but in line with what Douglas H. Shantz writes about as the early Pietists reading of Luther “through the lenses of ... radical Spiritualists”⁸⁸; the Finnish missionaries tended to read Luther through the lenses of Pietism. This is seen for instance in the 1924 Church Rules’ section dealing with baptism. No less than four times the need to renounce paganism is stressed as a prerequisite for baptism. This demonstrates the contrast between paganism and sin on the one hand and baptism and grace on the other. This thought structure can be seen as an example of reading Luther through Pietistic glasses; the Pietistic conception of sin versus penance and rebirth is applied to paganism and baptism.⁸⁹ Finnish Lutheran pastors had little experience in baptising adults and therefore the Lutheran missionaries had, in this respect, more in common with other “heirs of Pietism” such as Baptists and Methodists. However, it is not only in the section on baptism where the transfusion of ideas is seen, as there are a number of other examples of hybridisation in the Church Rules.

First, the Ovambo Church Rules were an *amalgamation between the Swedish Church Law of 1686 and the Finnish Church Law of 1869*. It is not within the scope of this research to assess the reception of the Finnish Church Law of 1869 in revivalist circles in Finland. Yet a

87 Buys and Nambala 2003, 162–163.

88 Shantz 2013, 279.

89 For the Pietist’s conception of sin, see for instance Nordbäck 2004, 345.

small notion may be of relevance. When Schauman's law proposal was discussed in the senate, it was not only handled within, by, and from the point of view of the four estates (nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, and peasantry); as the liberal and conservative considerations and critique was also visible in the discussion.⁹⁰ This was the case regarding the confession paragraph and the issue of church discipline both of which produced lively discussion in the law committee. A section of the delegates, as reported by Kauko Pirinen, resisted Schauman's suggestion to abolish not only the larger, but also the smaller ban, and the abolishment of the public confession.⁹¹ After this arm wrestling a compromise was reached. The confession paragraph was amended and the smaller ban was retained, but the larger ban as well as the public confession was abolished. Consequently, the revivalist movements were probably relieved, but not thrilled, and it is reasonable to assume that they still considered the 1869 Law a little too liberal. Regarding the applicability of this Church Law on the mission field it seems obvious that the Finnish Missionary Society did not deem this law strict enough in the Ovambo context. In its attempt to found a church of its liking in Ovamboland, the Finnish Missionary Society took "the best" of the two Church Laws it had experience of; simplified it and adapted it to fit both the sending and the hosting context.

Second, the Church Rules were a *result of hybridisation between Lutheranism and revivalist thinking*; or between those expressions found within the Finnish Lutheran Church, on the one hand, and the expressions found within Lutheran revival movements and free churches, on the other. A look at four different paragraphs in the Church Rules supports this thought. In the first paragraph – The Confession of the Church – the text reads "The Amboland Evangelical Lutheran Church is the child of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and adopts

90 Pirinen 1985, 217–220.

91 Pirinen 1985, 166–169.

its confession.”⁹² Given the controversy that the confession paragraph had created in revivalist circles in Finland when the proposal for the 1869 Church Law was made public, it is remarkable that the Finnish Missionary Society, embracing all Lutheran revivalist movements, opted for this quite simple statement. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the society tied the work in South West Africa to the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and not only to the Finnish Missionary Society. In the section on Sunday Service, paragraph 13 emphasises the role of lay people in the Church service stating that “As preacher may be employed also lay people who are known as sincere Christians”.⁹³ This is also emphasised in the section on the spiritual and financial management of the parish where it is stressed that “mature and pious” laymen should be encouraged to serve as evangelists after they “take a degree and perform a preaching demonstration” before the Church Board.⁹⁴ Finally, in the last section and paragraph – Free Christian Activity – the Finnish Missionary Society emphasises the importance of a “diverse free Christian activity” such as “Sunday School, youth-, temperance-, diakonia-, and pagan mission work as well as activity in favour of residing Ambo workers”.⁹⁵ These paragraphs show how the Finnish Missionary Society stood between theological traditions, i.e. adhering to Lutheran theology, but at the same time expressing and

92 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 1.

93 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 13.

94 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 62. This custom had probably been inspired by the Lutheran Churches in Finland and Sweden. The *venia concionandi* was a written permission introduced in the late 19th century by which a lay person could be granted by the chapter or bishop the right to lead a Sunday Service or to preach in a Lutheran church context. The *venia concionandi* can be viewed as having a dual function: that of acknowledging lay preachers derived from the many revivalist movements, whilst also controlling them.

95 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt 1924, § 69.

encouraging some of the characteristics of the revivalist movements, where the Finnish Missionary Society had its roots.

Third, the Church Rules are a *demonstration of an encounter between African and European cultures*. This is maybe most clearly seen in light of the contemporary dualism between paganism and salvation, which in Finnish missionary thinking were considered as opposites. The Church Rules were written as they were with the end result – the complete transformation of humans – in mind. The long list of undesirable habits and customs in the section on Church Discipline is a dramatically visible display of a remarkable and at times rather painful cultural encounter. While many of the paragraphs can be seen as a mixture between the two Church Laws in Finland, some paragraphs can also be viewed as attempts at an adaptation to Ovambo customs. This is the case for instance with the public confession. On the one hand, the public confession had been brought from the 1686 Church Law, while it had disappeared from the succeeding 1869 Church Law. Keeping or introducing this means of church discipline in the Finnish Mission Church could therefore be viewed as an expression of missionary conservatism. On the other hand, this mode of confession can also be viewed as an attempt at preserving, and tying in with, Ovambo customs of settling conflicts.⁹⁶

Fourth, and finally, the Church Rules *make visible the transculturality of the Christian message itself*. What I am considering here is the extraordinary two millennium long journey of the gospel from Jerusalem to Ovamboland. While Christianity has travelled countless routes, what was “remembered” from this journey and brought to Africa by the Finnish Missionary Society could naturally only be a highly limited selection. Naturally also the “memory” or “memories” brought from Finland to Africa from this journey were deeply coloured by some of the routes Christianity had taken. We can take

96 Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestysäännöt 1924, § 26.

as an example the concept of paganism⁹⁷ and the stance on Christian morals. While the notion of the pagans goes back to biblical times, the way it was embraced and understood in the 1924 Church Rules resembled the 18th century German Pietistic understanding of the concept more than anything else. The same applies to morals and Finnish missionary opinions as to what characterised a “true” Christian, which had been highly influenced by Lutheran thinking and even more by Pietistic thinking. This demonstrates both how cultural memory in the history of the Church travels and transforms and how it is connected with theological tradition and domicile. It also demonstrates the limitations of cultural memory. What is “remembered” is just a tiny selection of history. If viewed as an almost two thousand-year journey, the Christian tradition travelled many routes and paths before it came to what is today northern Namibia. Yet, when looking at the written mission sources, such as the 1924 Church Rules it is obvious that the Finnish missionaries working in and for the emerging Ovambo Lutheran Church cherished and remembered certain traditions, historical stages, and events more than others. Clearly or vaguely visible in this document are certain historical chapters such as the early Church, Luther’s reformation, German Pietism, and the Swedish and Finnish Church Laws of 1686 and 1869, whereas countless other stages in the history of the Christian Church have tended to be forgotten.

97 For the transformation of the concept, see for instance Forward 2005, 8.

References

ARCHIVES

National Archives (NAF), Helsinki, Finland

Archives of the Finnish Missionary Society, box 796

Ambomaan evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon järjestyssäännöt,
approved by the board of the Finnish Missionary Society 5
March 1924

Archives of the Finnish Missionary Society, Hha:7 Afrikan lähettien
kokousten pöytäkirjat 1914-1919

*Pöytäkirja tehty lähettien vuosikokouksen toisena päivänä 16 pñä
tammik. 1918 Oniipassa.*

Sielunhoidosta eli kirkkokurista, 22.12.1917

PERIODICALS

Kirkollisia Sanomia. Todistuksia ja kertomuksia Jumalan waltakunnan alalta 1888

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ballard, Martin

2008 *White Men's God: The Extraordinary Story of Missionaries in Africa*.
Oxford: Greenwood World Publishing.

Becker, Judith

2015 *European Missions in Contact Zones. Transformation Through Interaction
in a (Post-)Colonial World*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Bergmann, Sigurd

2004 "Transculturality and Tradition: Renewing the Continuous in Late
Modernity". *Studia Theologica – Nordic Journal of Theology* 58:2. London:
Routledge.

Bond, Lucy and Rapson, Jessica

2014 *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory Between and Beyond
Borders*. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Bridges, Roy

2008 "The Christian Vision and Secular Imperialism: Missionaries, Geog-
raphy and the Approach to East Africa, c. 1844-1890". *Converting
Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*. Ed.
Dana L. Robert. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans
Publishing, 43-59.

- Buys, Gerhard L. and Nambala, Shekutaamba V. V.
 2003 *History of the Church in Namibia 1805-1990. An Introduction*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.
- Erll, Astrid
 2009 "Remembering across Time, Space and Cultures. Premediation, Remediation and the 'Indian Mutiny'". *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*. Ed. Astrid Erll & Ann Rigney. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 109-138.
- 2010 "Regional integration and (trans)cultural memory". *Asia EVurope Journal* (2010) Volume 8, Issue 3. Heidelberg: Springer, 305-315.
- 2011 "Travelling Memory". *Parallax*, vol. 17, no. 4. London: Routledge, 4-18.
- Flüchter, Antje and Schöttli, Jivanta
 2015 *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*. Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht and London: Springer.
- Forward, Martin
 2005 "Paganism". *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*. Vol 4. Ed. Erwin Fahlbusch, Jan Milič Lochman, John Mbiti, Jaroslav Pelikan and Lukas Vischer. Leiden: Brill, 7-10.
- Göttsche, Dirk
 2013 *Remembering Africa: The Rediscovery of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature*. Rochester and New York: Camden House.
- Groop, Kim
 2013a "Tolerance Boundaries in Nineteenth Century Swedish and Finnish Mission: An Internal and External Dimension". *Swedish Missiological Themes*, 101, 2 (2013). Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 137-172.
- 2013b "Något om de svenska och de finländska missionstidningarnas särdrag och betydelse". *Historiska perspektiv på kyrka och väckelse. Festskrift till Ingvar Dahlbacka på 60-årsdagen*. Ed. Kim Groop & Birgitta Sarelin. Helsingfors: Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia - Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar 224, 287-299.
- 2014 "Between Pietistic Heritage and Olufuko Revival: Female Initiation and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia". *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No. 150, November 2014. Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwazulu-Natal, 85-111.
- 2015 "August Hermann Francke och det pietistiska minnets transkulturalitet". *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja - Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets årsskrift 2015* (105). Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 41-61.

- Halmesmaa, Pekka
 1976 *Kirkkokuri murroksen kynnyksellä: Kirkkokuria koskevan säännösten kehityminen Suomessa vuosina 1818–1847 sekä sen soveltaminen Turun tuomiiovastikunnassa*. Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia – Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar 97.
- Imberg, Rune
 2008 *A Door Opened by the Lord: The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya*. Göteborg: Församlingsförlaget.
- Jaidka, Manju
 2010 *India is my Country but the World is my Home: Transculturality through Literature*. Proceedings of cAIR, the first Conference on Applied Interculturality Research (Graz, Austria, 7–10 April 2010).
- Leino, Pekka
 2012 *“Endast kyrkans egna angelägenheter”. En kyrkorättslig undersökning av kyrkans egna angelägenheter i kyrkolagstiftningen om Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.
- Miettinen, Kari
 2005 *On the Way to Whiteness: Christianization, Conflict and Change in Colonial Ovamboland, 1910–1965*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Murtorinne, Eino
 2000 *Finlands kyrkohistoria 3. Autonomins tidevarv 1809–1899*. Skellefteå: Artos.
- Nordbäck, Carola
 2004 *Samvetets röst. Om mötet mellan luthersk ortodoxi och konservativ pietism i 1720-talets Sverige*. Umeå: Institutionen för historiska studier, Umeå universitet.
- Paunu, Uuno
 1908 *Suomen Pakanalähetystöimi I. Lähetysbarrastuksen berääminen ja Suomen Lähetysseuran synty*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
 1909 *Suomen Pakanalähetystöimi II. Suomen Lähetysseura vuosina 1859–1876*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
- Peltola, Matti
 1958 *Sata vuotta suomalaista lähetystyötä 1859–1959. Suomen Lähetysseuran Afrikan työn historia*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
 1996 *Martti Rautanen. Mies ja kaksi isänmaata*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
- Perheentupa, Antti
 1923 *Uusiajanjakso Ambolähetystyössä*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

- Pirinen, Kauko
1985 *Schaumannin kirkkolain synty*. Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura.
- Rigney, Ann
2008 "The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing". *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Ed. A. Erll & A. Nünning. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 345–353.
- Rydé, A. J.
1846 *Sveriges kyrkolag af år 1686 jemte ännu gällande stadganden genom hvilka den blifvit ändrad eller tillökt*. Jönköping: J. Sandwall.
- Schmidt, W. A.
1948 *Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg. Den evangeliska rörelsens i Finland grundare*. Helsingfors: Förbundet för svenskt församlingsarbete i Finland.
- Shantz, Douglas H.
2013 *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Silén, Elin
1917 *Mission och Missionsstudium*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag.
- Suokunnas, Seppo
2011 *Evangelisen liikkeen isä F.G. Hedberg 1811–1893*. Vaasa: Arkmedia. Suomen Lähetysseura
1906 *Ohjeita Suomen Lähetysseuran lähettejä varten*.
- Tuupainen, Maija
1970 *Marriage in a Matrilineal African Tribe. A Social Anthropological Study of Marriage in the Ondonga Tribe in Ovamboland*. Helsinki: Academic Bookstore.
- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
2006 *UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Väänänen, Nestori
1934 *Mustat lampaat*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
1935 *Kuinka mustasta tulee kristitty?* Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.
- Waenerberg, G. M.
1870 *Kyrkolag för den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland, af Finlands Ständer vid landtdagen år 1867 antagen och af Hans Kejsrerliga Majestäten den 9 December (27 Nowember) 1868 i nåder stadfästad*. Helsingfors: G. W. Edlunds förlag.

Welsch, Wolfgang

1999 "Transculturality. The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today". *Spaces of Culture. City – Nation – World*. Ed. Mike Featherstone & Scott Lash. London: SAGE Publications, 194–213.

Nicholas I and the Jewish Cantonist Soldiers in Finland

A chapter in the psychohistory of intolerance

During the reign of Alexander I encounters between Jews and Christians in Finland were rare and sporadic. Jews were prohibited from settling permanently in Finland, and the few Jews who came to Finland quickly converted to Christianity and assimilated into the surrounding society. The enlightened Finnish establishment generally displayed a benevolent attitude towards the Jews, but there seemed to be no way of circumventing the anti-Jewish legislation. The cultural and intellectual milieu in Åbo and a few other important towns helped the converted Jews to integrate. The situation changed, however, when a new monarch ascended the throne in Russia. Finnish autonomy within the Russian empire was an ambiguous concept, and the policies of the ruler naturally had an enormous impact on the Grand Duchy of Finland. Nicholas I ascended to the throne in 1825 and his reign had serious consequences for the Jews in Finland and elsewhere in his vast empire. Czar Nicholas I did not share the enlightened opinions and values of his predecessor and the spirit of the Enlightenment was swept aside. In Finnish-Jewish collective memory, as well as in the collective memory of Eastern European Jewry in general, Nicholas I is remembered for his ruthless conscription of Jewish men into military service in cantonist units. For an individual cantonist¹, the period

1 The term is derived from the German word *Kanton*, an enlistment district. See Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 90. Originally the cantonist units had

of military service was as long as 25 years, a period of time which in many cases was long enough to uproot the poor youngster from his family, his community and his religion. In traditional Jewish history Nicholas I is portrayed as an evil emperor and a persecutor of the Jews, but the deeper psychological reasons behind his cruelty have not been the object of serious study. I will study the psychological causes of Nicholas' policies with regard to the Jews in order to grasp the psychohistorical ramifications of his troubled mind for the Jews in Finland.

The dilemma of the Finnish Jews was just a microscopic component of the czar's general policy in respect of the Jews in his empire. The reign of Nicholas I had tumultuous consequences for the traditional Jewish communities in the Russian empire. The Czar wanted to reform and modernize the lives of his Jewish subjects through education and military training. All these initiatives came through imperial decrees and legislation dictated from above. The thinking of Nicholas I was characterized by autocratic faith in military solutions for any conceivable problem in society. He wanted to standardize his entire empire according to military concepts, and thus foreign observers found that the usual urban order had been transformed into camp discipline and everyday life in Russian society started to resemble a state of siege.² For the Jews of Russia this process of standardization meant that they were no longer exempted from military service. Jews had traditionally not served in the Russian army. During the reign of Alexander I the

been established as military orphans' detachments. Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, the foremost expert on the Jews in the Russian army, writes that "once they arrived, the ... children acquired new 'parents': the army was their mother and the emperor their father". Cantonist units were found all over the Russian empire from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg. In the drafts of 1827, 1828 and 1829, some 1862 Jewish cantonists joined the ranks. Of these young boys, 125, or almost 7 percent, converted to Christianity. See Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 90-93.

2 Stanislawski 1983, 14-15.

czar and the military establishment had made it clear that the Jews were still exempted. This judgment was not based on benevolent or humanitarian considerations but rather on prejudice. The Jews were seen as physically inferior cowards or religious fanatics, whose loyalty was questionable.³ Even though Nicholas I shared these prejudices he nevertheless chose a different approach. He wanted to reform the Jews through military training, stern discipline, and standardization. The decree calling for the conscription of Jews was published on August 26 1827. Each local Jewish community was supposed to deliver a certain number of recruits. This was the responsibility of the *kahal*, the executive organ of the community. It was up to the kahal to choose who was to be drafted. When the number of recruits transpired to be smaller than expected Nicholas I ordered that the local Jewish recruiting officials should be sent to disciplinary battalions if they failed to fill their quota. When this measure proved to be ineffective the czar stipulated that the local communities should be given the right to arrest any Jew who was caught without a passport. These unfortunate Jews were then sent to the army instead of those the community protected and wanted to shelter from conscription.⁴

In other European countries the inclusion of the Jews in the draft was an emancipatory concern. In France, Prussia and Austria Jews were no longer excluded from society. They had the opportunity of becoming equal citizens by completing their military service. In Russia, the situation was totally different as Nicholas I was not concerned with the rights of his subjects. Instead, he stressed their duties towards the state. The Jews did not obtain any rights as a reward for serving 25 years in the czar's army. The duration of military service was the same for all ethnic groups within the Russian empire. A majority of the czar's subjects were apathetic and did not protest, but for the Jews the introduction of the draft was a part of a larger drama. In the collective

3 Stanislawski 1983, 14.

4 Stanislawski 1983, 184.

memory of Eastern European Jewry, calamity upon calamity haunted the Jewish people. Among these calamities, the cantonist draft is prominent as one of the most terrible, rivaled only by the pogroms. Historical accounts in Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish, portray the cantonists as counterparts of the biblical Joseph, who was sold into slavery in Egypt by his brothers. The traditional Jewish communities were portrayed as the cruel brothers of Joseph and the parents of the cantonists represented Jacob and Rachel mourning their son, who had been lost forever. This narrative tradition nurtured also stories about so-called *khappers*, people who earned their living by kidnapping and delivering young Jewish recruits to the Russian army. These recruits came from the lowest strata of the Jewish communities and they had minimal chances to defend their rights. This tradition was gradually complemented by another type of narrative where the Jewish soldiers were able to defend their identity and maintain their Jewish culture and religion. This was also in line with the biblical story of Joseph, who was able not only to survive but also to achieve success through his extraordinary talents while in exile. In the case of the cantonists, the Egyptian desert was replaced by the Siberian snow.⁵ These narrative traditions were also integrated in the academic study of Jewish history. Exile (*galut* in Hebrew and *golus* in Yiddish) became the major theme in the history of Jews in Russia. According to Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, the Jewish collective memory has displayed a tendency to see current experiences as manifestations of biblical narratives. The actors change but the scenarios remain fundamentally the same.⁶

With regard to Finnish Jewish identity, the cantonists have played a central role. The cantonist system was abolished in 1856, and two years later, in 1858, the discharged former soldiers were given the right to settle down permanently in Finland together with their families, and these former cantonists established the core of the nascent Jewish

5 Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 2–3.

6 Yerushalmi 1982, 37; Erl 2011, 54.

community in Finland. During the following century, the vast majority of Jews in Finland traced their ancestry to these former cantonists, and the story of the cantonists was a part of the community's identity.⁷ The cantonists had maintained their faith in exile, and their descendants could take pride in the achievement of their forefathers. The poor young Jewish boys, forcefully conscripted and torn away from their families, had finally overcome the system and found a safe haven in Finland. Hard work and perseverance had earned them a secure position, both spiritually and economically. Community life was characterized by relative wealth and stability. In the final decade of the twentieth century, groups of newly arrived Jewish immigrants started to challenge the hegemony of the cantonists' descendants. Newly arrived Russian and Israeli Jews had no personal connection to the cantonists and their story and therefore did not feel included in the narrative of the community. Initially, there were few attempts at bridging the gap between the core population (i.e. the cantonists' descendants) and the newly arrived immigrants. One significant step in this direction is represented by Rony Smolar's article in the community magazine *Hakehila* (3/2012). Smolar writes about the history of the cantonists in Hebrew under the heading *The Cantonists – Our Picture*.⁸ Thus the Israeli members of the community were able to obtain glimpses of a narrative, which they did not share, but which was important for the community. Addressing the Israelis in Hebrew was an inclusive gesture, but did it make them feel like being part of "*Our Picture*"? In order to penetrate behind "*Our Picture*" of the cantonist soldiers, we have to study the man and the mind, which produced the system.

7 See, e.g., Jacobsson 1951; Seela 2005; Smolar 2012.

8 Smolar 2012.

Nicholas I – a psychological portrait

The cantonist system was the product of an autocratic czar's will. The system reflected the militaristic outlook of Nicholas I, and it was deeply connected with his personality. In order to understand the rise of the cantonist system, we have therefore to probe the factors that shaped the personality of the czar. In this task, I rely mainly on the biographies written by Bruce Lincoln (1989) and Nicholas Riasanovsky (1969). These two biographies are the standard works on Nicholas I. The most recent research by e.g. Richard S. Wortman (1995) follows in their path, even though it does not deal exhaustively with Nicholas' personality and biographical details.

Nicholas was born on June 25 1796. As an infant Nicholas was removed from the care of his mother and he was brought up by nannies. He was allowed to see his mother only for a few minutes each day.⁹ On these occasions his mother insisted that he should behave according to court etiquette. She was a strict and demanding mother and Nicholas did not receive any tender care from her. According to the psychological research of Margaret Mahler, a sound relationship between mother and child is beneficial for the development of the child's personality. Mahler's findings indicate that there should be a symbiotic phase from which the child would gradually evolve towards separation-individuation. Disturbances in the relationship between mother and child might leave the child unable to leave the symbiotic phase. Such disturbances include a "hard mother" who does not accept the child or pushes the child away, as well as the "soft mother" who keeps the child in her grip and does not allow the child to leave her stifling embrace.¹⁰ Nicholas' mother was one of the hard kind. Strict discipline was also exercised by the nannies. Besides the demanding Miss Jane de Lyon there were also two noblewomen of Baltic

9 Lincoln 1989, 50.

10 Theweleit 1993, 207.

German military stock. Bruce Lincoln emphasizes the military background of these women. In his biography, Lincoln underscores the importance of these women for the atmosphere in which Nicholas was raised. Later the importance of raw military discipline was accentuated, when Count General M. I. Lamsdorf became Nicholas' teacher.¹¹ His pedagogical qualifications were dubious but he succeeded in instilling a sense of discipline in the obstinate young Nicholas. Lamsdorf was a rigid and cruel person whose aim was to break the will of his pupil, thus his methods of instruction included corporal punishment.¹² The childhood of Nicholas was full of phobias. He was afraid of officers, fireworks, thunder, and cannons. Later this list was augmented by phobias connected with the fire in the Winter Palace in 1837. After the fire Nicholas was terrified by flames and smoke. In addition, he suffered from a fear of great heights. In his biography Nicholas Riasanovsky also mentions the fear of blood.¹³ How did Nicholas manage to live with all these phobias that haunted him? On the surface, he maintained a majestic and perfect calm exterior, but this was only a façade behind which he could hide feelings of rage, depression, sorrow, and anxiety. He managed to curtail the feelings of anxiety and depression by maintaining punctuality, order, and perfect regularity in his routines. Under the supervision of Lamsdorf, he grew up with the mentality of a drill instructor with military exercise as his foremost interest.¹⁴ Under these circumstances Nicholas embarked on a psychological voyage where external rigor, first initiated by teachers and later internalized and self-imposed, started to give his personality its physical contour in the form of a mental armor.¹⁵

11 Lincoln 1989, 52–54.

12 Riasanovsky 1969, 24.

13 Riasanovsky 1969, 6.

14 Riasanovsky 1969, 6–8.

15 Cf. Theweleit 1993, 412, 418.

As a child Nicholas preferred his toy soldiers to all his other toys. As soon as he woke he started to play with his lead and porcelain soldiers and organized battles and maneuvers with them. He loved uniforms; at the age of five he owned sixteen uniforms of the Izmailov cavalier-guard regiment as well as several St. Andrew Silver stars. As a young boy Nicholas drew every day and he was quite skilled at drawing soldiers, uniforms, military maps, and fortresses. The empress tried to curtail Nicholas' military mania, but she did not succeed. When Nicholas was given the assignment of writing an essay arguing "the military is not the only service justifying the nobleman; there are other no less useful and honorable occupations", he sat and pondered the heading for one and a half hours and finally decided to write nothing.¹⁶ Lamsdorf's way of educating Nicholas led to an external emphasis on military attribute such as uniforms, detailed maps, and plans of fortresses etc. whereas real combat skills and strategic thought were neglected. In the realm of Nicholas' professionally shallow but deeply internalized militarism there was one thing, namely uniforms, which rose above everything else. According to Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, Nicholas' love of uniforms knew no bounds. In his twenties, he portrayed his wife clumsily dressed in a cavalier-guard's uniform.¹⁷ The uniform also had implications on a personal level. The main issue being about keeping one's personality together. The function of the uniform was apparently the same for Nicholas as it was for the German Freikorps soldiers and early fascists described by Klaus Theweleit.¹⁸ According to Theweleit, the soldier carries with himself a boundary in the shape of the uniform, and the belt and cross belt in particular. They give the soldier a feeling of something holding him together. Discipline, pain, and the uniform

16 Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 30.

17 Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 30. On Nicholas I and military parades, see Wortman 1995, 308–321.

18 Theweleit 1989, 223.

bind him together and repel the threat of fragmentation. According to the Marquis de Custine, Nicholas I girded himself so tightly that his stomach was pushed up into his chest and his ribs were thrust forward. His entire person was thus set in suspense. After undressing the emperor's bowels were relieved and he was cast in a state of fatigue.¹⁹ If we compare Klaus Theweleit's analysis of the German Freikorps' soldiers with the personality of Nicholas I, we can discern a common variable: Prussian militarism. Nicholas' adoration of Prussian militarism was rewarded when he married Charlotte, a Prussian princess. The marriage took place in 1817 and the bride changed her name to Alexandra. According to Bruce Lincoln, she found consolation for her homesickness when she spent a few summer weeks together with Nicholas in Krasnoye Selo watching military exercises. The military environment, which was permeated by Prussian discipline, made the princess feel at home.²⁰ Military surroundings enabled Nicholas himself to experience rare moments of happiness. Parades could make him feel ecstatic, and inspections of enormous parades lead sometimes to religious and even close to orgasmic moods.²¹

The original function of discipline and militarism for Nicholas was to keep together his fragile and undeveloped personality, but this was later extended to keeping together the entire Russian empire. Empire and personality were integrated in the mental picture of a besieged fortress (it is to be kept in mind that Nicholas had a special passion for the engineer troops). Duty, severe discipline, and military virtues became ends in themselves.

19 De Custine 2002, 142.

20 Lincoln 1989, 66–67. Lincoln quotes Alexandra's own words: "I could not restrain a small cry of pleasure because they [the Semenovskii, Izmailovskii and Preobrazhenskii Regiments] reminded me of my beloved Guards of the Berlin Regiment." Alexandra stated further that "these three weeks passed far too quickly for me, so pleasing did I find this military life".

21 Riasanovsky 1969, 9.

The cantonists and Finland

Finland was a peripheral and autonomous part of the Russian empire. Gradually Jewish cantonist soldiers arrived in the Russian garrisons in Finland. They were stationed mainly in Sveaborg, Tavastehus, and Åbo. After the decree on Jewish military service was promulgated at the end of August 1827, it took very little before the czar told the provincial governors in Finland that they should be careful when granting passports to Jews who wanted to travel from Finland to Russia. In principle, Jews did not have the right to reside in Finland, and consequently the czar's order pertained mainly to Jews who were travelling through Finland to other destinations. In the background, there might have been an assumption of a minuscule permanent Jewish settlement in Finland. The legislation of the Russian empire was a conglomerate of complicated and sometimes conflicting paragraphs, and legal theory could often be replaced by daily circumventing of laws and decrees in a country where Gogol's *Dead Souls* had their real-life counterparts in a thoroughly corrupted reality.²² The czar was afraid that Jews might use Finland as a gateway to the capital cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, and consequently he reminded the governors that Jews only had the right to reside in a limited part of the empire.²³ The Jewish Pale of Settlement comprised the western governments of the empire, but Finland was not part of the Pale.

The Pale of Settlement had already been defined before Nicholas I ascended the throne in 1825. However, the czar's fear of Jews trying to violate the boundaries of the Pale seemed to conceal other fears and psychological agendas. Nicholas was adamant about defending a conservative order, but the question arises as to whether there was anything rational about forcing the Jews to live within a limited territory, not to mention the almost paranoid attitude of the czar when

22 See e.g. Stanislawski 1983, 160–161.

23 Samling af Kejsleriga Bref 1836, 221–222.

he thought of all possible ways in which the Jews might try to circumvent his orders. The psychohistorian Avner Falk has written about borders and the crossing of borders. According to Falk, there is an enormous psychological significance attached to a border. Falk writes that strictly drawn and guarded national borders are connected to obsessive and compulsive behavior and a fear of loss of self and ones own boundaries.²⁴ Those who dream of living on the other side of a border in a foreign country might actually be harboring an oedipal longing for union and symbiosis with an accepting mother in a state of incestuous and overflowing bliss.²⁵ I would argue that in the case

- 24 Falk 1989b, 157. "From a psychohistorical viewpoint, the diffuse borders of ancient empires compare strikingly with the generally well-defined and strictly defined borders of present-day nation states. It is possible that, with the advance of civilizations, human beings have on the whole become more obsessive and compulsive, so that a rigid system of compartmentalization (drawing precise maps with national borders) has been imposed on geography, politics, diplomacy, travel, and any other field of human behavior which has to do with borders. Behind such rigidity lies the fear of loss of boundaries, that is the fear of loss of the self and non-being. Disputes over borders arise in different parts of the world and lead to armed conflicts or even war. It is clear that the emotional meaning of one's country's borders, unconsciously, is fused with that of one's own boundaries. To give up territory, however occupied by military force, is to some a great narcissistic loss and injury ... Borders are not only needed for military security: they are unconsciously needed for the feeling of being there, to overcome the panic of the symbiotic loss of ego boundaries."
- 25 Falk 1989a, 144-145. Falk connects his reasoning to the research of William G. Niederland and Paul Friedman: "They suggest that the two countries on the two sides of a border unconsciously symbolize early parental figures. Thus, crossing an international border for a man may mean crossing the incest barrier into the mother. It may also mean a search for a bounteous early mother who will unconditionally accept and embrace the child. Migrants in search of a new place and a new job, immigrants in search of a new country, sky-jackers heading for the hospitable land which will grant them asylum have fantasies which are very similar to the early infantile wishes concerning the mother."

of Nicholas I the maintaining of strictly guarded borders was probably connected with psychological problems resulting from the early childhood experiences of the emperor. His fear of the Jews crossing the border of the Pale was apparently connected to his fear of the loss of the boundaries of his own weak self, which would lead to the dissolution of the self. Empire and ego were intertwined in the absolutist outlook of Nicholas. He seems to have been especially afraid of Jews appearing in the capital cities St. Petersburg and Moscow. These cities were symbols of the czar himself. As the emperor and empire were symbolically equated, the thought of a Jewish presence in the capitals was probably unbearable for the ruler, and the borders of the Pale of Settlement were thus as much a psychological concept as they were a geographical one. The emperor guarded both psychological and geographical borders with an iron fist. Majestic and dressed in uniform, but nevertheless panicking at the same time, the czar ordered that the borders should be guarded against Jewish intrusion. The fear of ego dissolution seems to have loomed ominously in the background.

It is hard to determine the volume of Jewish transit traffic via Finland to the Russian heartland. However, there is information about a gradually established Jewish presence in Vyborg, where many of the Jews eventually converted to Christianity. Even in the Vyborg case, the conclusion of the Russian authorities seemed to have been that the final goal of these Jews was to gain right of residence in St. Petersburg. A new era of Jewish-Christian relations was inaugurated in the Grand Duchy of Finland when the conversions were brought to the attention of the authorities. During these years, the German Lutheran parish of Vyborg had welcomed a so far unsurpassed number of Jewish converts to Christianity who had been baptized as Lutherans.²⁶ The converts

26 The converts were Marcus Salomo, baptized on November 11th 1827, renamed Johann Carl Reneau; Mayer Wulff, baptized on January 22nd 1828 and renamed Alexander Martin Wulff; Marcus David Arnhold, baptized on August 15th 1828 while retaining his name; Hermann Salomon

were baptized by parish rector August Gottfried Wahl (1746–1830). Wahl was born in Germany and he had received his doctorate in Theology from Åbo. Why was Wahl ready to baptize the Jews even though he probably suspected that they might have other than purely spiritual reasons to convert? He might have been influenced by similar enlightened ideas to the clergy in Åbo, where pastors around the turn of the century welcomed Jews in bourgeois society after having baptized them. The consequences of Wahl's willingness to baptize the Jews soon materialized. The diocesan chapters of Finland were notified in November 1830 that they should be aware of the fact that Jews were converting to Christianity in order to gain economical and social advantages.²⁷ Previous research has accused Nicholas I of trying to forcibly convert Jews to Christianity. The warning issued to the diocesan chapters portrays the czar in a totally different light. Jews were supposed to remain Jews, and they were not supposed to be included in the Christian community. Instead, they should remain a distinct ethnic and religious group. On the other hand, the czar wanted to modernize the Jews through education and military service, but the Jews should nevertheless retain their separate status. As a separate group, they should be standardized as much as possible and be integrated among the various ethnic groups within the empire, but this form of inclusion entailed merely an increase in the duties imposed on the Jews and not any corresponding increase in their rights. There

Fürst, baptized on November 4th 1828 and renamed Hermann Simon Fürst; Dawid Samuel Kohn, baptized in December 1828 and renamed David Gottlieb Kohn; Mur Garfunkel, baptized on December 10th 1829 and renamed Moritz; Ezechiel Nathan Luric, baptized on March 11th 1830 and renamed Eduard; Slegon Löwenstimm, baptized on July 18th 1830 and renamed Wilhelm Johann Slegon; Schai Markuk and Julius Kuic, both baptized on August 13th 1830 and renamed Andreas Johann and Julius Andreas, respectively. See church archives of Vyborg German parish.

27 Samling af Kejslerliga Bref 1837, 300.

were possibilities to convert to Christianity, but the czar was afraid that the Jews were trying to exploit these possibilities in order to gain social and economical advantages.

Even though Finland had an autonomous position in the Russian empire, the Finnish authorities were reminded that they should follow Russian legislation. The Finnish provincial governors were informed about a ukase of the Governing Senate²⁸ regarding the admission of Jews into certain guilds. Jews should not be admitted to guilds, which were open for non-Jews only.²⁹ The ukase is an expression of the sovereign's will and shows clearly that Nicholas I had an extremely suspicious attitude towards the Jews: he assumed that they were constantly trying to gain their way into domains that were inaccessible for them, and an increase in restrictions imposed on the Jews meant an increase in the potential points, where the law could be breached.

The czar as "Little Father"

In Russia, people commonly referred to the czar as "little father" (czar batiushka).³⁰ Autocratic Russian rulers from Peter the Great to Joseph Stalin enjoyed and exploited this paternalistic expression.³¹ Nicholas I was no exception on this point, and people spoke of him as "little father". Who were the children of this "little father"? Naturally

28 The Governing Senate was the executive body of the czar founded by Peter the great, and it should not be confused with the Finnish Senate.

29 Samling af Kejserliga Bref 1837, 400–401.

30 Rancour-Laferriere 1995, 152.

31 According to Daniel Rancour-Laferriere, "the Russian czars, for example, had since the seventeenth century been affectionately referred to by the naively monarchistic peasantry as "little father" ("Batiushka"). Peter the Great was "Father of the Fatherland" ("Otets Otechestva"). Iosif Stalin, who far outstripped the tsars in the degree to which he enslaved Russia (and the rest of the Soviet Union), was called "Father", "Father of the Peoples", "Wise Father", "Beloved Father", and so forth". Rancour-Laferriere 1995, 153.

all the ethnic Russians, but did the same apply to Nicholas' subjects from other ethnic backgrounds such as Poles, Finns or Jews? "Little father" was a father who ruled his empire with an iron fist, and some of his subjects were certainly in the position of stepchildren. They were forced to live in insecurity – did "little father" regard them as his real children, could they gain some favor from him or even obtain love and acceptance from him, or were they left at the mercies of his whims and subjected to cruel legislation and draconian ukases? For Nicholas I and his Russian subjects there was a clear model of a strict father and his beloved children, but with regard to the czar's subjects of other nationality the situation was more ambiguous. Many Finns regarded Nicholas as a fatherly figure whom they feared, but at the same time they wanted to please him and appease him without questioning his authority.³² In Finland people often repeated an apocryphal quotation, according to which Nicholas was supposed to have said that Finland was the only province in his empire that had not caused him any worries. This quotation mainly reflects the Finns' aspiration to remain good and loyal subjects and their wish that "little father" would regard them as his real children. How was it then with the Jews? Was Nicholas their "little father" as well? In a psychohistorical interpretation of "little father" and his children the Russian and Finnish Jews can definitely be seen as stepchildren in comparison with the czar's "real" Russian children.³³ The laws and ukases, which limited

32 Siltala 1999, 154.

33 Among his "real children" Nicholas favored the young officers in the Cadet Corps. When the director of the Novgorod Corps fell ill, he gave the following speech to the cadets: "My beloved children! My feelings for you and my love make it hard to part from you ... Forgive me children that I am in no condition to come to you, to thank you, to talk with you ... I will pray for you, my friends, my darlings ... always be as good, as honorable, as dedicated as you were to me ... always be useful to yourselves and the fatherland ... and both with truth and dignity." Friedman 2012, 220. This

the rights of the Jews, restricted them to the Pale of Settlement and constrained their possibilities of converting to Christianity, can clearly be seen as “little father’s” intention of keeping his stepchildren at a distance. Finns could advance to prominent positions in the empire and they were offered opportunities to prove their qualifications and deserve their status as “little father’s” real children, but this was not the case for the Jews. On a psychological level the czar was their stepfather, but he wanted the Jews to be constantly be aware of their subordinate position in the family. They had a given place in the house of the czar, being mentally banished somewhere close to the outer door in a cold draft, far from the warmth of the inner chambers. They were supposed to respect their father and obey him, but he did not want to have them too close to himself. Of course “little father” did not treat his “real” children (i.e. the ethnic Russians) very well, either. They were also supposed to obey his stern will and they were at the mercies of his capricious ukases, but this did not affect the experience of the stepchildren (i.e. the Jews). Daniel Rancour-Laferriere writes about the identity of the Russians as a suffering people. The Russians submitted to the will of their “little father”, and suffering became something ennobling in their mind, a masochistic form of pleasure.³⁴ For the Jews, however, suffering was something different. In the face of various oppressors – for example the Romans, the Spanish Inquisition, or the Russian czar – the Jews did not remain passive and they did not try to find ennoblement or pleasure in their suffering. Yohanan

was a display of the benevolent and loving side of the czar’s paternalistic jargon.

- 34 Rancour-Laferriere quotes the Russian philosopher Petr Iakovlevich Chaadaev. According to Chaadaev, “Russians come to expect, even welcome punishment from the paternal figure of the tsar, traditionally referred to as “little father tsar” (“tsar’ batiushka”) by Russians. The rule of law is utterly alien to Russians: “For us it is not the law which punishes a citizen who has done wrong, but a father who punishes a disobedient child.” Rancour-Laferriere 1995, 47.

Petrovsky-Shtern writes that even though suffering was seen by many Jews as a divine punishment for disobedience and the great sins of the Jewish people, there was always a ray of hope – maybe God would annul his severe decrees through the repentance of the people and the intercession and prayers of righteous men, and finally alleviate the sufferings of his people.³⁵ In addition to this, there was always a way for ordinary Jews to actively improve their own situation through ingenuity and hard work.

The expulsion of Jews from Sveaborg

One example of Jews actively trying to improve their conditions was the struggle of Finnish Jews for the right to live on the fortress island of Sveaborg. In the 1830's, at least 42 Jewish soldiers were undergoing their military service in Sveaborg. This figure can be compared to the total strength of the garrison, which was 4000-5000 soldiers during that period.³⁶ The Jewish soldiers in Sveaborg were all adults (in contrast to Jewish minors in the cantonist battalions), and they were in a better situation than the younger Jewish recruits. It is not known for certain what kind of sufferings the Jewish soldiers of Sveaborg had gone through before arriving on the island. Apparently they were satisfied with living on the island. The garrison was for a long period a more important population center than the actual capital, Helsinki, which is situated on the mainland. The Jewish soldiers and craftsmen, who were attached to the military units, had their families living together with them on the island, and they did not want to move away, despite Nicholas I's personal order that they should move away from Sveaborg and find accommodation on the mainland, from where they should daily commute by rowing boat to the island.³⁷

35 Petrovsky-Shtern 2009, 43-44.

36 Halén 2000, 29-31.

37 National Archives of Finland, Venäläiset sotilasasiakirjat, Sotilasinsinööri-

The forced moving of Jewish families from Sveaborg to Sandhamn in 1848 can be seen against the background of the anxiety displayed by Nicholas I in the face of the revolutions of 1848 in Western Europe. The original order, which forbade Jewish families from living within the walls of various fortresses in the Russian empire, was issued in 1845, but the disturbances in Europe in 1848 apparently gave added urgency to the implementation of the order. Finland was a peripheral part of the empire, but the chain of command reached even this remote location. On 2 July 1848, the commandant of Sveaborg, Artillery General Altfater, wrote to the commander of the Sveaborg Engineering company, Lieutenant Colonel Engel, and reminded him that His Majesty the Emperor had on 3 January 1845 “kindly expressed his highest will: in no case to allow Jewish families to stay inside fortresses”. General Altfater had been informed that “in this fortress lives the wife of the private of the 3rd military working squadron Meyer Blah, Belka Hatskaleva”. Altfater wanted to know on what grounds “the Jewess Hatskaleva has been allowed to live in the fortress and has not been moved”.³⁸ A few days later, on 5 July, Lieutenant Colonel Engel wrote to the commander of the 3rd squadron, Captain Isaev, and demanded an explanation. Isaev’s predecessor had been told that two Jewish families had been sent to Sandhamn in order to be employed at the brick factory and that they had been placed under “strict surveillance so that they should not engage in illegal trading activity typical for Jews, especially keeping a tavern”. Apparently the families had after a while moved back to Sveaborg. The correspondence between Altfater and Engel went on, and Altfater expressed in highly courteous words his astonishment over the fact that the czar’s

hallinnon arkisto, 14647 Santahaminan siirrettävät juutalaiset perheet 1848.

38 National Archives of Finland, Venäläiset sotilasasiakirjat, Sotilasinsinöörihallinnon arkisto, 14647 Santahaminan siirrettävät juutalaiset perheet 1848.

orders had been disobeyed. Engel replied that he had made a list of the Jews who lived in the fortress and that four out of five people on the list were craftsmen who were necessary and that the fifth man was a fortification worker but also a shoemaker at the same time, therefore, the squadron needed him, too. All the Jews were under strict surveillance and Engel promised to punish them severely if they engaged in any prohibited activities. The list was compiled by Isaev and dated July 16 1848. The Jews on the list were private 1st class Meier Blah (bricklayer), private 1st class Leiba Pribshstein (bricklayer and squadron tailor), private 2nd class Girsh Meerovich (carpenter and glass cutter), private 2nd class Benjamin Baranovich (blacksmith apprentice) and private 2nd class Leiba Zuperman (fortification worker and shoemaker).³⁹

On 16 July 1848, the matter was forwarded to the regional commander of the engineer troops, Major General Brandt, who ordered the Jewish families to be removed from Sveaborg. Letters were exchanged between lower ranking military bureaucrats, who investigated the possibility of finding accommodation for the families on Sandhamn. The result was that there was room for seven Jewish families and that they could be allowed a rowing boat with six oars for their daily transport to Sveaborg. Despite a frenetic correspondence it was still unclear in August 1848 why the Jewish families still were allowed to stay on Sveaborg. Captain Isaev reported finally on 20 August 1848, that the last Jewish family had been transferred from Sveaborg to Sandhamn. The four other Jewish families who had initially moved to the mainland in Helsinki had not been able to afford the rent in Helsinki, so they too had been transferred to Sandhamn.⁴⁰

39 National Archives of Finland, Venäläiset sotilasasiakirjat, Sotilasinsinöörihallinnon arkisto, 14647 Santahaminan siirrettävät juutalaiset perheet 1848.

40 National Archives of Finland, Venäläiset sotilasasiakirjat, Sotilasinsinöörihallinnon arkisto, 14647 Santahaminan siirrettävät juutalaiset perheet 1848.

The Jewish presence in Sveaborg was nevertheless a story with many twists. The commandant of Sveaborg returned to the matter fifteen years later. He wanted to remove the families of all non-commissioned officers and private soldiers from the fortress. This massive operation affected roughly 400 families (both Jews and non-Jews). Commandant Alexeyev gave the order on 1 June 1863 and the list of the families moved included some Jews: Schlem Fajelovich's daughter Hajka, Iohit Kolomatskiy's 17-year-old wife Schifra and Lejzer Knak's wife Hova (Haja). Three years later the new commandant Lieutenant General Alopaeus deported all Jews from Sveaborg. Harry Halén writes about Jews in nineteenth century Finnish garrisons but he mentions only the orders of 1863 and 1866. The process of removing the Jews from Sveaborg was rather lengthy, according to Halén.⁴¹ If we take into account the order of 1848, which has not received scholarly attention before, we have to conclude that the process was much longer than Halén assumes. It seems that the Jews were able to maintain a presence in Sveaborg despite the various commandants' strenuous efforts. Many Jewish soldiers managed to have their families with them on the fortress island. Deportations were implemented from time to time, but the Jewish families returned as soon as they could.

The fortress as a symbol

Why was Nicholas so deeply concerned with the Jewish presence within the walls of his fortresses? In the case of Sveaborg, the matter was about a few private soldiers with families, people who could hardly pose any great threat as spies, conspirators, or revolutionaries. The Czar's fear of Jewish subversive activity was basically irrational and lacked any real foundation. A potential explanation of this fear could be offered from a psychoanalytical perspective. According

41 Halén 2000, 31.

to Freud, the fortress is a powerful and loaded psychological symbol. Freud sees castles and fortresses as symbols for woman.⁴² My choice of using Freudian symbolism as a tool of interpretation is supported by similar modes of analysis, which are used in the field of psychohistory. One prominent example is offered by Klaus Theweleit, who discusses the castle as a symbol for woman. Theweleit writes that “in dreams, thoughts or perceived images of “castles” often refer to or are associated with the womb. “Castle” carries the connotations “mother”, “noble woman”, “pure, high-born woman”.⁴³ Critics might want to dismiss Freud as outdated and discard his theories as unscientific, but in the field of psychohistory, Freud’s theories cannot be ignored. Even as his theories have been challenged, developed, and modified, they still constitute a point of departure with a high degree of relevance. As Klaus Theweleit puts it: “As a rule, the mode of conceptualization here must be critical of Freud, while still remaining Freudian.”⁴⁴ The entire psychological study of the causes of Anti-Semitism relies heavily on a foundation built by Freud.⁴⁵ Thus the use of Freud’s theories in the context of Nicholas I and the Jews in Sveaborg can be regarded as justified. A Freudian interpretation is naturally subject to serious scholarly challenge, and the interpretation I offer is just one possibility of explaining Nicholas’ special relationship with fortresses. Nevertheless, I would argue that the psychoanalytical approach offers a plausible explanation of Nicholas’ seemingly irrational behavior.

A fortress is something to be conquered and owned. From another point of view, the fortress (i.e. the woman) is a symbol of safety and

42 Freud 1964, 140. Freud adds that these symbols are not limited to the realm of dreams. They are also found in various other contexts, such as myths, popular legends, everyday speech, and poems. See Freud 1964, 142.

43 Theweleit 1993, 86. For Theweleit, the use of psychoanalytic symbols grounded in the writings of Freud is a methodologically solid way of writing psychohistory. See Theweleit 1993, 192–194.

44 Theweleit 1993, 56–57.

45 Falk 2008, 67–79.

one can find shelter behind its walls. The importance of womanly or maternal care and safety is a starting point for an examination of Nicholas I's special attitude as regards fortresses. Nicholas had been separated from the care of his mother at a tender age. The separation-individuation phase in the development of Nicholas' personality had been disrupted in such a way that he seems to have been left with a deep craving for symbiosis with his mother. This craving manifested itself in an accentuated need for safety and security. As an emperor Nicholas was able to cultivate his unusually high enthusiasm for fortresses and the engineer corps in a highly concrete manner. Regarding military administration he would devote close attention to fortresses and the engineer corps, although his interest in fortresses had deeper roots. As a child Nicholas built small playhouses for himself and his nannies. He used chairs, earth, and toys as building materials, and he never failed to fortify his buildings. The fortifications included cannons, which would offer protection for the inhabitants.⁴⁶ The need to build fortresses was deeply seated in the personality of Nicholas I, and I would argue that this need was not about rational military or political calculations, but apparently had to do with a deeper psychological need for safety, a need which was nearly impossible to satisfy.

Nicholas' relationship with fortresses could manifest itself in absurd ways, expelling the Jews from Sveaborg being just one example. Other examples are offered by the Marquis de Custine, who visited Russia in 1839. The Marquis de Custine had been given permission by the Minister of War (i.e. ultimately the Czar himself) to visit Shlisselburg, the old Swedish fortress at the head of the Neva River on Lake Ladoga. According to de Custine, visiting a Russian fortress was a highly complicated matter. Despite all permits and recommendations de Custine was met with suspicion, pretexts, and strange glances when he was received by local dignitaries. Finally, de Custine was allowed to visit the fortress, which gave him an uneasy and prisonlike

46 Riasanovsky 1969, 10.

feeling. De Custine's experiences from other European fortresses were markedly different. In other countries, he had been received in a courteous and pleasant manner despite all imaginable strategic and political consideration. In Shlisselburg, however, de Custine's visit became a bizarre spectacle in which he felt he could at any time have become a prisoner in the fortress, which he had entered as a noble and privileged tourist with the express permission of the Emperor.⁴⁷ The entire host of local dignitaries had been affected by the paranoid spirit that permeated the bureaucratic apparatus of Nicholas I. The restrictions and secrets surrounding the fortresses were manifestations of this paranoid spirit, but at the same time I would argue that the paranoia and the fortresses themselves were manifestations of the Czar's psychological needs rooted in his unhappy early childhood years, the unanswered cry of the baby and the absence of motherly love and care.

The ordeals of Itshok and Schleimo

The history of the Jews in Sveaborg is particularly interesting. The story of the cantonists is absolutely essential for Finnish Jewish identity. Discharged former cantonist soldier were the people who founded the Jewish community in Finland. The cantonists displayed determination and courage clinging to the religion of their fathers and they have received due admiration for this. The picture is slightly altered, however, if we take into account the fact that many of the Jewish soldiers had wives and children with them. All Jewish soldiers in Finland were not lost young boys isolated from their Jewish family and community life. The accommodation of Jewish families close to the barracks was a factor that was certainly helpful for the foundation of Jewish community life in Finland. I have previously mentioned the narrative traditions that dealt with the experience of the cantonists. Stories about the ordeals of the cantonists were passed on orally. One

47 De Custine 2002, 351–368.

such story was written down by Santeri Jacobsson, author of the first major account of Finnish Jewish history. In Jacobsson's book we find the story of two individual cantonists. According to Jacobsson the story dates back to the 1870s but it was written down in the early 1950s when Jacobsson published his work about the Finnish Jews' struggle for rights. Jacobsson had heard the story from his father, who had personally met the two cantonists. The story is thus part of an oral tradition, and it is hard to determine the relationship between legend and actual facts. The important thing is what the story tells us about the nature of the Finnish Jewish identity. The protagonists had been drafted as young children and they had been forcibly baptized. Despite this the two men had secretly kept Jewish religious customs, which they had learnt at home and in the *cheder* (i.e. Jewish elementary school). When they grew up they told their commanding officers that they did not accept the Christian creed and that they wanted to be Jews. They were incarcerated because of this, and an Orthodox priest came to their cell in order to persuade them to return to Christianity. The zeal of the priest just made them furious, and they threw him out of the cell. After this, the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg was told about the situation, and the men were transferred to Sveaborg. There they were locked in a casemate, a bombproof dungeon. They were forced to wait four years before they got any decision about their fate. Jewish women from Helsinki, especially Mrs Chava Knopp, brought them food regularly and candles for Shabbat. She also mended their clothes and alleviated their hardships in other ways, too. Even the heart of the commandant was moved, when he saw the two Jewish soldiers' spiritual perseverance. Finally, metropolitan Antonius came from St. Petersburg to see the prisoners. Shabbat was about to begin, and the prisoners were allowed to wear new and clean clothes so that they could be presentable before the metropolitan. They set the table with Shabbat courses, lit candles, and put on their talitot (prayer shawls) and started to read the evening prayers. Then the door was opened and the mighty Russian patriarch entered the room accompanied by

guards. The prisoners did not react. They just continued to pray. The metropolitan ordered the guards to leave the room, and he closed the door. Then he sat down on a chair in a corner of the room and waited for the prisoners to finish their prayers. When the prisoners were ready, he addressed them in a meek tone, telling them that the Holy Synod had authorized him to pay them a visit. He wanted them to answer a simple question: Were they prepared to repent and to return to the pure doctrine? The prisoners replied: "Why do you ask, do you not see the burning Shabbat candles on the table? Have we not been tormented enough? Are our sufferings not enough for you? We were forcibly baptized as children. We do not accept your creed, we stick to the doctrine of our forefathers. Our faith will not be shaken by torture. God is our witness and our protection. Leave us alone!" The Shabbat candles flickered gently on the table and spread their faint light in the cell. Shadows flickered on the stone walls, and there was a moment of silence. Finally, the metropolitan rose and tried to hold back his tears. Then he spoke with a trembling voice: "I shall leave now and I will not disturb your Sabbath evening anymore. I will recommend that the Holy Synod shall release you immediately. I pray to the Almighty that He shall give me the same kind of place in the kingdom of heaven as you have earned yourselves through your unwavering faith. God bless you!"

Soon after this the prisoners were released. They were called Itshok and Schleimo among their fellow Jews. When they had been baptized they received new Christian names, but they did not want to use those names anymore. After their release they went to Vyborg, where they met Santeri Jacobsson's father. One of them did not travel further since he was fatally injured in an accident. He fell under the train at the Sorvali stop in Vyborg. The other moved to America, where he had relatives.⁴⁸

48 Jacobsson 1951, 97–99.

Conclusions

The story told by Santeri Jacobsson conveys a clear message: the early years of Jewish settlement in Finland were characterized by intolerance and insecurity. This impression, which has put an indelible mark on Finnish Jewish identity, can naturally be nuanced by, for example, the scholarly work of Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern. He emphasizes the fact that Nicholas I was an intolerant ruler on all levels and that the Jews were not the only victims of the Czar's intolerance. I have demonstrated the ways in which Nicholas I's psychological background affected his personal intolerance, which in turn marked the early developments of Jewish history in Finland. Alexander II, the successor of Nicholas I on the Russian throne, finally gave the order, which enabled discharged Jewish soldiers to legally settle in Finland, thus establishing a permanent Jewish population in the country. Nicholas I had, however, already contributed to the legislation regarding the status of Jews in Finland, and his personality and attitudes had affected the bureaucracy in Russia and Finland in such a way that deeply rooted suspicion and discrimination were part of the bureaucratic mindset.

With regard to the psychohistory of tolerance in the Grand Duchy of Finland, I have presented the following new findings with a connection to the personality of Nicholas I: geographical borders and their relationship with Nicholas' fear of the dissolution of the boundaries of his self; the uniform as Nicholas' mental boundary, the fortress as a symbol for woman/mother and Nicholas' longing for an unattainable mother; the Czar as "little father" with a complicated relationship with his stepchildren, that is to say the Jews. A person with a hard and austere childhood like Nicholas would most probably not have evolved into a great champion of tolerance. The reign of Nicholas I was a reign of almost constant intolerance, which was synonymous with his absolutism and paranoia. Jews and their position in the remote Grand Duchy of Finland were not the primary concerns of Nicholas, but

they received their share of ukases and imperial orders, which laid the foundation for the coming decades of discrimination and intolerance as well as a lasting impression of the cantonists' ordeals in the narrative tradition of Finnish Jews.

References

ARCHIVE SOURCES

- National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
 Venäläiset sotilasasiakirjat
 Sotilasinsinöörihallinnon arkisto
 14647 Santahaminan siirrettävät juutalaiset perheet 1848
 Church Archives: Vyborg German Parish

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- De Custine, Astolphe
 2002 *Letters From Russia*. New York: New York Review Books.
- Erll, Astrid
 2011 *Memory in Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Falk, Avner
 2008 *Anti-Semitism: A History and Psychoanalysis of Contemporary Hatred*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Falk, Avner
 1989a "Border Symbolism". *Maps from the Mind: Readings in Psychogeography*. Eds. H. F. Stein and W. G. Niederland. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Falk, Avner
 1989b "Border Symbolism Revisited". *Maps from the Mind: Readings in Psychogeography*. Eds. H. F. Stein and W. G. Niederland. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Freud, Sigmund
 1964 *Johdatus psykoanalyysiin*. Jyväskylä: K.J. Gummerus.
- Friedmann, Rebecca
 2012 "Masculinity, the Body, and Coming of Age in the Nineteenth-Century Russian Cadet Corps". *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, Volume 5, Number 2, Spring 2012.

- Halén, Harry
2000 *Viaporin sekä Hämeenlinnan–Turun–Ahvenanmaan varuskuntien muslimit ja juutalaiset n. 1812–1840*. Helsinki: Unholan aitta.
- Jacobsson, Santeri
1951 *Taistelu ihmisoikeuksista. Yhteiskunnallis–historiallinen tutkimus Ruotsin ja Suomen juutalaiskysymyksen vaiheista*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.
- Lincoln, W. Bruce
1989 *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russians*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan
2009 *Jews in the Russian Army, 1827–1917. Drafted into Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rancour-Laferrriere, Daniel
1995 *The Slave Soul of Russia: Moral Masochism and the Cult of Suffering*. New York & London: New York University Press.
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V.
1969 *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Samling af Kejslerliga Bref
1836 *Samling af de till efterlefnad gällande Bref, Förklaringar och Föreskrifter, hvilka af Hans Kejslerliga Majestät, äfvensom ifrån Expeditionerne i Dess Senat för Stor–Furstendömet Finland blifvit utfärdade uti Justitiae–, Oeconomiae– och Politiae–ärender. Andra delen. Från och med år 1821 till och med år 1828*. Helsingfors: Pehr Törnqvist.
- Samling af Kejslerliga Bref
1837 *Samling af de till efterlefnad gällande Bref, Förklaringar och Föreskrifter, hvilka af Hans Kejslerliga Majestät, äfvensom ifrån Expeditionerne i Dess Senat för Stor–Furstendömet Finland blifvit utfärdade uti Justitiae–, Oeconomiae– och Politiae–ärender. Tredje delen. Från och med år 1829 till och med år 1834. Utgifven af Pehr Törnqvist*. Helsingfors: Pehr Törnqvist.
- Seela, Jacob
2005 “Juutalaisia kaupustelijoita ja kauppiaita 1800-luvun Turussa”. *Hakehila* 5/2005. Helsingfors: Judiska församlingen i Helsingfors.
- Siltala, Juha
1999 *Valkoisen äidin pojat. Siveellisyys ja sen varjot kansallisessa projektissa*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Smolar, Rony
2012 “Kantonistien tarina hepreaksi”. *Hakehila* 3/2012. Helsingfors: Judiska församlingen i Helsingfors.

- Stanislawski, Michael
 1983 *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia 1825–1855*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Theweleit, Klaus
 1993 *Male Fantasies. Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Theweleit, Klaus
 1989 *Male Fantasies. Volume 2: Male Bodies. Psychoanalysing the White Terror*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wortman, Richard S.
 1995 *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy. Volume one. From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Haim
 1982 *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lived Forgiveness in a Finland-Swedish Laestadian Community

Introduction

“Not seven times, but seventy-seven times”, Jesus answered (Matt. 18: 21–22, according to the New International Version of the Bible) when Peter asked him how many times a person should forgive the one who offended him. Forgiveness is also a central issue in the Christian prayer *Our Father* “forgiveness” (Matt. 6: 9–13). In many of the world’s religions forgiveness is important and, today, public and individual forgiveness is a means of reconciliation after war¹ or other kinds of abuse (for example Bishop Desmond Tutu after *apartheid* or the Pope for paedophilia). The concept of forgiveness is closely connected to other central religious ideas, such as purity, sacrifice, confession, salvation, and, consequently also mercy and wellbeing.² Christianity is founded on the idea of redemption, which is the result of a belief in the divine forgiveness of human sins. Forgiveness was also an object for research with psychologists of religion who maintain that forgiveness is vital to keep up a good and functioning life with other humans, with nature and with the spiritual world.³ Here I want to investigate how forgiveness functions in praxis, or, in a more modern setting, what does lived

1 Basic 2013.

2 See, for instance, Heiler 1961, 501–514; McCullough, Bono & Root 2005, 397.

3 McCullough, Bono & Root 2005, 397.

forgiveness look like? The aim of this article is to investigate how a member of a Laestadian community related his experience of guilt, shame, and forgiveness in his interview with me. Was it possible for a believer within an authoritarian revivalist movement to take a subjective viewpoint? Did he find a way out of a situation where forgiveness was very hard to produce and how did he do it?

In 2012, I conducted interviews, the target of which was to see how some members of a Laestadian group in Finland expressed their thoughts about paedophilia. They were not victims themselves, but they had known the paedophile and/or his family. In the conversations, we touched on issues connected with committing sins such as paedophilia, and sinning in general.

Shame, guilt, forgiveness, salvation are perhaps the most central concepts in Christianity in general and, particularly, in many revivalist movements. Misheva⁴ gives a thorough overview of the extremely complicated relationship between guilt and shame from a multidisciplinary perspective. It fascinated philosophers from Antiquity to contemporary sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists. Today, in pastoral counselling for the cure of souls⁵ guilt is regarded as being connected with acts and deeds. A person feels guilty for what he or she has done or not done. Shame is a composite feeling and can be seen as the central problem of modern being. Shame concerns a person's complete self for a shameful person feels worthless, incompetent, and unable and cannot accept him- or herself. He or she is ashamed of existing. Certainly, in practice, the emotions of guilt and shame are felt as a mixture. However, a sound feeling of guilt can raise responsibility, whereas shame can paralyse a person. The feelings of shame and guilt help humans to identify with evil and make them aware of the fact that they are capable of doing evil deeds.

4 Misheva 2000.

5 Kettunen 2006; Kettunen 2014, 13–26.

I base my folkloristic investigation on a close reading of the empiric material⁶, an interview that lasted for more than an hour. I concentrate on the passages in which I can interpret the text in terms of guilt, shame, and/or forgiveness in only one interview in order to see a single individual's perspective on life, which is a typically folkloristic viewpoint.⁷ My perspective is from the study of vernacular religion. This concept was created by Leonard Primiano. It covers subjective belief that contains ingredients from different religious systems mixed together into a whole. Personal and private dimensions of faith are regarded central. Primiano underlines how important it is to see "religion as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it".⁸ Marion Bowman and Ülo Valk state that "the stress ... is on what people ... do, think and say in relation to what they believe about the way the world is constituted" and that these expressions are casually formulated.⁹ The relevant methods shed light upon a person or persons interpreting or giving meaning to his or their religious experience in expressive forms.¹⁰ In addition to the religious affiliation, a person's cultural context and life orientation¹¹ deliver ingredients for a personal belief.

In a scholarly context, such as here, to deal with vernacular religion means to interpret what people say and how they act when they narrate. However, their narrations are already interpretations of what they have experienced. Their interpretations are influenced by their presuppositions (*Vorverständnis*) just in the same way as, according to hermeneutic theory, the scholar's interpretation would be influenced by his or her cultural context and life orientation, or presuppositions.

6 Cf. Lentricchia & DuBois 2003.

7 Lennartsson 2010.

8 Primiano 1995, 44, here [Bowman & Valk] 2012, 5. Ketola (2007, 30) speaks about the subjective turn in religion.

9 [Bowman & Valk] 2012, 5.

10 [Bowman & Valk] 2012, 6.

11 Cf. Pargament 1997, 99–100, 114.

Consequently, the scholarly interpretation of a text, or an interview, does not only show the writer's or interviewee's view on a topic, but it also demonstrates or unveils the analyst's perspective based on his or her subjective life orientation and experience.¹² I do not try to explain how theologians understand the Laestadius message, nor do I try to illustrate how believers should relate to it. I am interested in seeing how a believer in his message today formulates his thoughts about guilt, shame, and, at last, forgiveness in order to obtain an insight into additional/alternative ways as regards how the message of Laestadius can be understood.

Belief is a very intimate matter. In this kind of research, the interviewee's individual way of formulating his belief is central. Consequently, my principle when interviewing was to remain as silent as possible, and instead let the interviewee speak freely. In this way, I can also see how he or she associates from one issue, such as paedophilia, to others, such as guilt, shame and forgiveness.¹³ Certainly, I take the risk that my interpretation is too subjective.

The interviewee gave me his permission to quote passages from our conversation. I have tried, however, to hide his identity. For ethical reasons I will not present a detailed biography. I changed the spoken Swedish language into a reader-friendly text.

Laestadianism

The founder of Laestadianism was the Swedish clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) who worked in Lapland. Laestadianism is a Protestant revivalist movement influenced by Pietism and the Moravian Brethren and it spread throughout the Arctic area, and above

12 Inwood 2005, 367–368.

13 This seems to be a method of interviewing also used within forensic psychology, cf. Hägen 2014, 13.

all, to Finland. In Finland, it belongs to the Lutheran church and is divided into fractions, or meetings, called Associations of Peace (*fridsförening*). Laestadius worked against the drinking of alcohol, a general problem in the Nordic countries in the middle of the nineteenth century and the target for most of the revivalist movements. He accepted lay preachers, reading, and religious meetings in private homes and prayer houses as means to keep up faith. The rhetoric of his sermons should be read with the Sámi oral tradition in mind.¹⁴ He proclaimed two main principles, namely the doctrine about the word of God, and the doctrine about confession and absolution. Confession should be public in front of a meeting. Absolution was reached only through the meeting. The meeting could also refuse absolution. Laestadius underlined the importance of realizing one's sins, but the tradition of confession was not institutionalized until after his death. He saw emotional or even ecstatic experiences as a sign of repentance.¹⁵

There were three ways of repentance.¹⁶ A person could repent in front of a Christian, i.e. Laestadian believer, and receive ease of conscience. Every believer was allowed to forgive. Alternatively, the guilty person could publicly repent in front of other Laestadians and ask for forgiveness. Thirdly, it was the duty of the members of an Association of Peace to control their co-members' way of life, and to point out their shortcomings and demand public remorse. After repentance, a sinner might be publicly forgiven. The entire process was highly emotional and should consist of "regret, contrition, grief over one's sins,

14 Cf. Elgvin 2010.

15 B[ergqvist] 1911, 784–785. For an overview over nineteenth century Finnish Laestadianism, see Raittila 1976. Talonen, 1988 and 1993, handled the role of Laestadianism in the political life of Finland. For the early distribution of Laestadianism in North America until 1885, see Raittila 1982. For heterogeneous forms of Laestadianism in North America, see Palola 2014.

16 Brännström 1962, 107. Cf. Leivo 2001.

or remorse and heartfelt fear”¹⁷. In other words, not until guilt and shame had been raised to awareness in a socio-cultural context comprising one or more listeners, could forgiveness occur.¹⁸

Laestadius’ contemporary helper and lay preacher Johan Raattamaa (1811–1899) emphasized unconditional absolution and gave the movement a more evangelical tone.¹⁹ The concept of key power became central. Every clergyman and lay believer had the key power to forgive, or liberate, a repenting sinner, or not to forgive him if his body did not show the right gestures or other emotional or physical signs of true remorse.²⁰ This image was certainly taken from John 20: 23²¹ or Matt. 16: 19²². In Swedish, the verse is: “Jag skall ge dig nycklarna till himmelriket. Allt du binder på jorden skall vara bundet i himlen, och allt du löser på jorden skall vara löst i himlen.” In the English version *binda* and *lösa* are expressed by the help of “bind” and “loose”. This image of the keys of heaven was accepted at the Council of Trent in 1551 and concerned the *clavis ordinis*, which allowed the priest to give absolution, and the *clavis jurisdictionis* that allowed the priest, in front of a church body to exclude sinners or re-incorporate them. Martin Luther whose writings were important to Laestadius regarded the image of the keys of heaven as a kind of gospel.²³

Still today, repentance and absolution in the name of Jesus Christ are central characteristics in the movement. Forgiveness is crucial within the Laestadianism of today.²⁴

17 ”Ånger, ruelse, syndasorg, eller samvetskval och hjärteångest”, Brännström 1962, 110. See, also, Brännström 1962, 123.

18 Cf. Meier 2013, 63–71.

19 Boreman 1953, 130; B[ergqvist] 1911, 784.

20 Brännström 1962, 153–163.

21 According to Boreman 1953, 126–127.

22 According to Brännström 1962, 153, footnote 2.

23 A[ulén]n 1912, cols 292–293; Heiler 1961, 375.

24 Snellman 2011, 93–97, cf. Ventin 2013, 60–62. My interest in Laestadianism is professional. I do not belong to the movement.

The Cultural Context

In 2009, in Pietarsaari (Jakobstad), a town in western Finland it transpired that a highly respected lay preacher was a paedophile. Some forty years before he had had sexual relationships with his grandsons, at that time small boys. It was not until twenty years after the man's death that his secret was revealed. Certainly, it was impossible to handle such a topic carefully or discretely. In the newspapers, the event was firmly condemned because it had happened in a Christian group that should have higher morals than others. The fact that the man was a respected and beloved preacher and Sunday school teacher also contributed to the shock.

My interviewee, Bengt, a man in his fifties, remembered the day of revelation very well. His way of telling was filled with emotions. We met in the prayer house of his Association of Peace. It was closed and empty. He unlocked the door and we entered the hall. He wanted to meet me exactly there and he picked the bench next to the pulpit. I felt uneasy sitting there in a holy room and speaking about paedophilia. The contrast was enormous but still I could imagine that Bengt wanted to lessen the pain of the terrible memory.

Guilt

Bengt referred to guilt from three perspectives. He burdened himself with guilt, he burdened others with guilt, and he felt burdened with guilt by others.

He struggled with his experience of not being a faithful Laestadian. His first reaction when he heard the rumour about a paedophile in his Association of Peace was a wish to deny his personal membership in the Association. Negation was his first reaction in the same way as apostle Peter had denied Jesus:²⁵

25 Cf., for instance, Matt. 26.

U: So you didn't know anything, you didn't suspect anything?

B: No, nothing. It is such a, it is such a tremendously difficult matter hereafter, to, to, for, one doesn't really want, one should confess one's belief, and step up, but then, well, one doesn't want to step up to say: "I am a Laestadian, that I belong to that movement that has such a", one doesn't want, one doesn't want to do that, well, it goes against the grain for me, one is totally, well it, there are no more words after that. [Sighs deeply!] (IF mgt 2014: 002).²⁶

The quotation contains a subject called *man*, which is Swedish for a third undefined person, "somebody", "anyone". It is possible to interpret the text as a generalisation: when somebody feels threatened, he prefers not to stand up in person, but to blur his relationship to the event by using a more inexact subject. However, in this case *man* refers to Bengt himself. This becomes clear from *härefter* (hereafter) which points to Bengt's individual perception of time. To me he said that he still struggled with the problem that he had denied Laestadianism. In this quotation, the *jag* (generally meaning the first person, I) referred to a fictive person, as an example.²⁷ In this way, Bengt placed his experience of denial outside himself, although he still kept a relationship to it in his personal struggle for peace.

However, being a believing Laestadian, Bengt was also fully aware that every human being was filled with sin. He used words such as

26 U: Du visste ingenting, anade ingenting?

B: Nä, ingenting. Och det är ju en, det är ju en så jättesvår bit härefter, att, att, för inte, man vill ju inte egentligen, man skulle ju behöva bekänna sin tro, och stiga fram, men i det skedet, alltså, man vill ju inte stiga fram och säga: "Jag är laestadian, att jag hör till den rörelsen som har sån där", man vill inte, man vill inte det, alltså, det kommer nog emot, man är totalt, alltså det, det är nog slut med orden efter det där. [Suckar djupt!] (IF mgt 2014: 002.)

27 Throughout the interview Bengt switched between "one" and "I" and filled the concepts with different meanings. The situational context only made it possible for me to understand his choice of terminology.

dust, ashes, doubt, or rust when he tried to tell me what he meant. There was no human exception, he himself included. He clearly expressed his knowledge as a person for whom the recognition of sins and remorse was central. There were also cases when he singled out guilty individuals.

B: OK, they [some influential members of the association], or else they understood it in a completely wrong way, for Christianity itself and our belief, they have made it difficult, they have, they have made it so tremendously difficult to wander, to wander along such a way, it doesn't work, there is no human being that can walk so that he would be able on the Last Day to show that "I have been good". (IF mgt 2014: 002.)²⁸

De (they) refers to the powerful, dominating persons in the Association who decided what kind of life the members should lead. They also controlled the members' living. Again, Bengt used the first person *jag* in his generalising example, but his message was that the people who steered the Association had made demands on the members that were too great, so that nobody could fulfil them. A generalising interpretation of his statement might be that on doomsday there will be nobody anywhere good enough for the last judgement.

Bengt had also had the experience of being blamed by others. He had offered to take on a more responsible role in his Association of Peace, but he was seriously criticised for he owned a technical device that was not approved of by the dominating members. My interpretation is that his blamers thought the profane world would become a

28 B: OK, de [några dominerande föreningsmedlemmar], eller så har de uppfattat det fullständigt fel det är, för att kristendomen själv och vår tro, de har ju försvarat det, de har, de har lagat så fruktansvärt svårt att vandra, att vandra på en sån där väg, det går inte, det finns ingen människa som kan vandra så att han skulle kunna visa på sista dagen att "jag har varit bra" (IF mgt 2014: 002).

threat to the leaders of the Association. Too much of the secular life would influence him in wrong way. However, although he had done something that was forbidden for believers he did not admit to me that he had failed. By this means, he classified two grades of guilt: to deny his Laestadian identity had given him at least two years of remorse, but to own a forbidden apparatus was not serious enough for him to be accepted as a sinner although, on the other hand, he saw every human being as a constant sinner.

Bengt's cultural context, as a person very familiar with Biblical tradition, influenced his deep feelings of guilt,²⁹ but his life orientation, derived from the secular milieu in which he lived as a person, working among other people, also made him feel unjustly treated. He felt unjustly treated even though the persons accusing him of wrong behaviour belonged to his Association, the norms of which they should share as they are common to them all. In this way, he was partly within and partly outside the Association.

Shame

Shame was also part of Bengt's experience, and he still struggled with it when we met. He was ashamed of himself and of other people. He also felt that these other people should be ashamed. He even mentioned other people's shame. He repeatedly spoke about his denial of Laestadianism so that I could see that it was a serious matter for him. He said: "Well, it is like this, I was ashamed to be a Laestadian, it was, it was the worst thing, I thought, what an idiot I am who, who is part of such a crowd" (IF mgt 2014: 002).³⁰

29 Cf. Sundén 1959.

30 "Det är ju så alltså, man skämdes ju att vara laestadian, det var, det var det värsta, man tänkte, vilken idiot man är som, som är med i en sån där flock" (IF mgt 2014: 002).

Bengt did not only express his shame through the word *skämdes* (was ashamed) but he underlined his opinion about himself with *idiot* (idiot) and *flock* (crowd, pack). His choice of words indicates stupidity in the same way as sheep moving in a flock, or cruelty as wolves moving in a pack. Consequently we can see that he was really disappointed with himself. He felt cheated by his community members who probably knew something about the paedophile. His pride was wrecked: “It is tremendously difficult, indeed, to enter this prayer house and think that I was cheated so” (IF mgt 2014: 002).³¹ Bengt was a self critical and extremely reflective person. He constantly compared himself with the wrongdoers, for instance in the following sentences:

B: I wouldn't come here even for one day if I'd be doing such things, why should I? But it is only in order to keep up appearances and show to others that I am good [that the sinners gather in the prayer house]. It is the worst thing man can do. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)³²

He also stated:

B: And I just stayed aside and thought, now I keep my mouth shut, for this is, in such a group one doesn't want to be a part, for I have regarded myself as a person who wants to behave and this [paedophilia] is indeed, they are indeed things that, that we totally, it is against the law, well, no matter what we say it is against the law. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)³³

31 ”Det är jättesvärt, nog, att komma in i det här bönehuset och tänka att, att man har blivit bedragen så där” (IF mgt 2014: 002).

32 B: Jag skulle inte komma hit en dag jag om jag skulle hålla på med sånt där, vad skulle det vara för vits? Men det är ju bara för att hålla uppe en fasad och visa för andra människor, att jag är bra [som syndarna kommer till bönehuset]. Det är det värsta man kan göra (IF mgt 2014: 002).

33 B: och man höll ju sig bara åt sidan och tänkte, nu håller man nog käften, för det här är, en sån där grupp vill man ju inte vara med i, för att man har

He could not see the point in concealing such a cruel action as paedophilia. The only explanation for hiding was, according to him, to demonstrate and underline one's own qualities as a perfect Christian. This was to him not only a violation of the secular law, it was even one of the worst sins. Boasting does not belong to good Lutheran Christianity.³⁴

Bengt's solidarity was challenged. Due to his cowardly reaction in denying Laestadianism we might regard him as a loser. However, the feeling of shame was difficult to live with. Consequently, he tried to unburden himself and find a way out. One way was to leave his religion, for instance. Therefore, he pondered over the concept of Laestadianism and compared his faith with Islam and Jehova's Witnesses:

B: and I don't think, for there are so many religions as ever in this world, but I don't want to start being a Moslem, for, for [laughs], indeed, there are some Moslems that are OK fine, but, but, but, no, it doesn't feel good, and Jehova's witnesses, they interpret the Bible completely in a way that I don't understand, the believe that this earth will continue at the same time as the Bible says that He shall create a new heaven and a new earth, so in that I don't believe for five pence. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)³⁵

ju själv uppfattat sig som att en mänska, som vill uppföra sig och det här [pedofilin] är ju, det är ju såna saker som, som vi helt totalt, det är ju det är ju lagbrott, alltså oberoende vad man säger så är det mot lag (IF mgt 2014: 002).

34 Wolf-Knuts 1991, 63.

35 B: Och jag tror inte, för det finns ju hur mycket religioner som helst i den här världen, men inte vill jag börja vara med muslimerna, för, för [skrattar] det finns ju vissa muslimer som är OK bra, men, men, men inte, det känns inte bra, och Jehovas vittnen, de tolkar ju Bibeln fullständigt som inte jag riktigt förstår mig på, de tror ju att den här jorden ska fortsätta samtidigt som det står i Bibeln att Han ska skapa en ny himmel och en ny jord, så jag tror inte fem penni på det (IF mgt 2014: 002).

Bengt did not explain to me why exactly he chose these two religions, but I imagine he knew them from his hometown as contrasts to the dominating Lutheran Christianity. Either he did not manage his pangs of conscience or he did not want to be ashamed and thus found the solution, as he says, in not wanting to call himself a Laestadian. To him the “title” Christian would do. Subsequently he drew a line of demarcation between himself and other Laestadians. He defined himself as being out of the group to which he had belonged for almost his entire life. Should we regard Bengt as a martyr? Perhaps not, for becoming a martyr demands oppression from outside. Bengt’s experience is of the kind that is not serious enough for such a categorisation, because he deliberately chose his way out of his dilemma.

Bengt’s shame as regards other people concerned those who act against the Finnish law, liars, hypocrites, and those who are sexually different, such as incestuous and homosexual people. However, Bengt also referred to man in general. His experience of paedophilia in his Association of Peace had made him disappointed in every human being. Only God was trustworthy to him. He reached this goal, an acceptable kind of faith, by a “process of grieving”³⁶, an expression that underlined how serious and difficult Bengt found the situation.

According to Bengt the victims of the paedophile were ashamed, too:

B: Sure, innocent small children, but they have grown, you know, many, many years ago, and carried, twenty, thirty years, but they did not manage, and then they start, then they start. So. When you have been abused, that a person doesn’t stand his whole life, he is damaged. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)³⁷

36 IF mgt 2014: 002.

37 B: Absolut, oskyldiga små barn, men de har växt upp, vet du, många, många år sedan, och hade med sig, tjugo, trettio år, men de har inte klarat av det, och så börjar de, och så börjar de. Så. När man har blivit utnyttjad, så det håller inte en mänska hela livet, du är skadad (IF mgt 2014: 002).

This kind of shame was different from the one he felt and the one he wanted the perpetrators to experience. In the interview, he had solved his problem by reflecting over his religious belonging, he had left those that had committed the crime by telling them of his contempt for them, but concerning the victims he was fully aware of the fact that their experiences would influence their entire lives. I interpreted his wording as sympathy and compassion. To him, shame did not only lead to negative consequences, such as pain or disdain, but also to pity and a perspective on the future.

Bengt's life orientation as a person who preferred a life according to the law and good morals helped him to place himself in relationship both to the wrongdoers and to the victims. His cultural context as a Christian helped him to find a solution to his emotion of shame at being a Laestadian when he changed his perspective and approved of a more generous form of belief. To him Laestadianism was the norm and a belief which he wanted to live, but he kept his right to define how he wanted to perceive it. With regard to shame, he expressed his own position as a person outside the Association rather than inside it, although he did not break the contact with the Association completely.

Forgiveness

Forgiveness starts with a feeling of remorse: "If I [somebody] sin and do something and it feels like, I get no peace" (IF mgt 2014: 002).³⁸ Remorse gave Bengt a feeling of uneasiness. In this case, he was very personal. He even used the first pronoun *jag* (I) referring to himself.

He also stated that not only would he have to regret his false steps but everybody would finally arrive in such a situation. He also mentioned a specific case of remorse:

38 "Om man syndar och gör nånting och det känns, jag får inte nån frid och ro" (IF mgt 2014: 002).

B: Well, but then there was, there emerged another [preacher] and had the same, the same, but in a smaller scale, but, but has abused a couple of children

U: and this is not the son [mentioned earlier in the interview]

B: no, no, and, and it came from the side which I trusted, which I really trusted

U: It was the second time [unclear] cheated

B: but he did get up in this prayer house and told, and, and, and he was forgiven for it. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)³⁹

I interpret this piece of the conversation as Bengt being especially disappointed as this case of paedophilia revealed that the problem of abuse was not limited to the most severe faction in the community, but also existed among the more liberal participants whom Bengt had respected. This member of the community, a preacher, officially formulated his remorse in front of his co-members. *Stiga upp* means stand up and avow something. Bengt's reaction to the event of this confession was disappointment and once again he stated that he could no longer trust in human beings. Remorse, then, is not necessarily a positive occasion, at least not to those who witness it. However, thanks to this preacher's public revelation of his failing he received forgiveness.

The above analysis of the interview demonstrates Bengt's emotions of guilt, shame, and remorse. Interestingly enough, he admitted

39 B: Så, men sen har det varit, det kom ju upp att en annan [predikant]... också haft samma, samma i mindre skala, men, men har utnyttjat några barn

U: och det är inte den här sonen [som nämnts tidigare i intervjun]

B: nej, nej, och, och det kom ju från den sidan då, som man hade förtroende för, som man hade riktigt förtroende för

U: Det var andra gången [oklart] sviken

B: Men han har nog stigit upp i det här bönehuset och berättat och, och, och han har fått förlåtelse för det (IF mgt 2014: 002).

his failings but, in the first place, he did not mention forgiveness as a logical or even a matter-of-faith consequence. Only much later did forgiveness become an issue. When speaking about forgiveness, certainly in concealed terms, he described how sinning felt as being in a situation without peace and rest. According to Bengt and also to Protestant theology, conscience is God's voice in man.⁴⁰ Accordingly, Bengt referred to conscience as an agent, and it made him feel uneasy. In other words, God was with him, or even *in* him, and used Bengt's body, his feelings, as a channel for communication. The way in which Bengt thought that somebody could divest themselves of a bad conscience was to verbalise the feelings: "If a person sins and does something and it feels like, I get no peace before one has told it for somebody else and one can put it aside." (IF mgt 2014: 002).⁴¹

He said to me that anyone in whom a person has confidence would do as a listener and a forgiving human. He exemplified this person with his wife, or his brother, or even his children – if he had been very angry with them. Children valued as targets for forgiveness is interesting because a characteristic trait within the Laestadian Associations of Peace is the supremacy of the father. God himself is the prototype and model for the father.⁴² Considering this opinion, it was a surprise to listen to Bengt saying that he, the father, could turn to his children and ask them for forgiveness. God never asked humans for forgiveness.

Bengt used the Swedish word *berätta* which means "to tell, to narrate". The quotation is not clear on this point. On the one hand, Bengt may have meant that it helped him to verbalise his feelings of

40 Cf., for instance, Lemberg 2005; <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/stensjon/4e-sondagen-efter-trefaldighet-andra-arg-2007>>; Kahl 1990, 598.

41 "Om man syndar och gör nånting och det känns, jag får inte nån frid och ro, förrän man har berättat om det för någon och man får lägga bort det där" (IF mgt 2014: 002).

42 Snellman 2011, 107.

uneasiness. On the other, he may have referred to his failings, i.e., he may have wanted to tell me that if he formulated his sin in front of some trustworthy person he would feel relief. However, Bengt did not clearly state that “telling” implied forgiveness.

According to Bengt, forgiveness becomes real after the relating or confessing of what has caused the person’s concern and it is a performative utterance by the trustworthy listener:

B: One tells that one did this and that, it went wrong, and according to the Bible it says that, that he who is a Christian and believes has the right to preach and then they preach that “you shall believe that all your sins are forgiven in the name and blood” of Jesus, and I, as far as I have experienced these fifty years, it is forgotten, it is forgotten, it doesn’t annoy you any longer. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)⁴³

Provided my interpretation is plausible *berätta* comes very near to “confess”, and I think we should understand his language in this way. In this situation of confessing, according to Bengt, the power lies with the person to whom he confesses his mistakes provided this person was a Christian, i.e., a believing Laestadian. The reason for this belief was a quotation from the Bible. Bengt remembered it as “you shall believe that all your sins are forgiven in the name and blood of Jesus”. Although this is not a biblical text, its content has a biblical background. The expression might refer to John 14: 13: “And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.” The message is that the name of Jesus is efficient. God’s name is powerful. The blood of Jesus mentioned in this connection has

43 B: Man berättar att man har gjort och så, det har gått snett, och enligt Bibeln så står det att, att en som är kristen och tror har rätt att förkunna och så förkunnar de att ”du ska tro alla dina synder blir förlättna i Jesu namn och blod” och jag, vad jag har erfart de här femtio åren, det är bortglömt, det är bortglömt, det irriterar inte en något mera (IF mgt 2014: 002).

connotations of the influence from the Bohemian Brethren⁴⁴ but it is also an important and powerful symbol in the Lutheran Protestantism, for instance, in connection with the Holy Communion. In a situation of forgiveness, when mentioning the name and blood of Jesus, a link was created between the world of the miserable sinner and the supernatural world, where Jesus was a helper.

The combination of the name and the blood of Jesus is a formula and functions, performatively, like a spell. On the one hand, we can interpret it so that what is said is supposed to come true and change the social status of the confessor from a sinner to a “clean” person. On the other hand, we know that to formulate and verbalise what is on a person’s mind helps to give the person the feeling of control. It is a therapeutic act.⁴⁵

Bengt’s words also have associations with the criminal on the cross (Luke 23: 32–43). In the same way as his belief and remorse helped him to enter heaven together with Jesus, implying that Jesus forgave him his sins because of his faith, Bengt believed in forgiveness as an effect of “telling”, of confessing. Moreover, forgiveness was given to the criminal not as a result of his deeds or his way of behaving, but out of God’s will. Again, we can see how without further ado Bengt has created a bridge between worlds. He connected his own personal experienced world with the supernatural world, the holy landscape. We might also say that he combined these two worlds with the historical Golgotha. To him the historical Calvary and the symbolical Calvary merged, due to his literal belief in the Bible.

A synonym to receiving forgiveness was “to put it [i.e., the sin] away”, as quoted above from Bengt’s conversation. Bengt said that if he committed a sin and he was distressed, he would not have peace until he had admitted it to someone and put it away. In this interpretation, he himself is the agent. It seems that he is the one to decide

44 Cf. Boreman 1953, 26–27.

45 Cf. Ingemark 2013, 7–17. Cf. Leivo 2001.

whether he will talk about his problem and, moreover, he is the one to discard it. However, there is also another interpretation. The quotation says namely: “before one has told it to somebody and one is allowed to put it away” (IF mgt 2014: 002).⁴⁶ Here I point at *får lägga bort*. Swedish *får* means “be allowed to” and now the prerequisites for forgiveness change. There must be somebody who allows Bengt divest himself of his bad feeling. This agent could be the one who received his confession, which means that this person made use of one of the celestial keys, i.e., the key of loosening, of forgiveness. The agent might also be God if the receiving person is regarded as his representative.

According to Bengt, the effect of forgiveness is security. Without doubt, the need for security is crucial for man.⁴⁷ Security comes from confidence and reliance, not to say love. Bengt referred to his family as partners with whom he could confess his failures. After having received forgiveness, Bengt said he felt peace and tranquillity, for he had “put it away”, i.e., his feeling of guilt was eradicated. Moreover, he underlined that the evil deed was forgotten: “It is forgotten, it is forgotten, it doesn’t annoy one any longer” (IF mgt 2014: 002).⁴⁸ An other interviewee said that forgiven lies in “the ocean of abysmal mercy”⁴⁹, which means that it is and should remain impalpable. Forgiveness was the beginning of something new, *man går vidare* (“one can continue”), Bengt said.

In a good family, the members trust one another and forgiveness can become an efficient factor to maintain good relationships. However, families or communities do not often function in a secure way. I asked Bengt if there might be someone who could obtain advantages, in a wrong way, by the help of what he knew through confession.

46 ‘Förrän man har berättat om det för någon och man får lägga bort det där’ (IF mgt 2014: 002).

47 Cf. Maslow 1970, 39.

48 ‘Det är bortglömt, det är bortglömt, det irriterar inte en något mera’ (IF mgt 2014: 002).

49 IF mgt 2014: 003.

In his answer he almost swore: “Det vete fåglarna” (which means Lord knows, but which also is a euphemism for The Devil knows, *fåglarna* (the birds) starting with an f like *Fan*, the Devil). However, he did not elaborate on such treachery, and his explanation for this was that he had lost confidence in man after the paedophile scandal occurred.

There is also another explanation for Bengt’s feeling of security after having received forgiveness. He is a profound believer. He believed that Jesus had taken his sins once and forever, and therefore he could not be completely reprobated. In a way he felt that he had received an overarching forgiveness that stemmed from mythical actions in a mythical world and a mythical time. In this way security was always there to have for Bengt, provided he followed God’s voice and asked for forgiveness in his earthly everyday life. The illogical fact of receiving eternal forgiveness as a believer and the feeling of insecurity in his daily life was not relevant in Bengt’s and my conversation.

Forgiveness was an issue that Bengt associated with death. He remembered his brother who died without anxiety as a relatively young man. To Bengt it was clear that everybody has to leave his or her earthly life, but since he witnessed his brother’s security in his belief Bengt did not feel any fear. To Bengt, forgiveness was there for man to be able to believe and to go on with life (*orka tro, orka leva vidare*) as a Christian. Forgiveness was not mainly a means to reach heaven. This was his strategy until we had our conversation and this strategy was to continue:

B: I have participated here for 48 years now and I will continue till I die, and then I have tried my best, and I believe that He has taken away our sins, I believe in Him and I cannot do anything more. (IF mgt 2014: 002.)⁵⁰

- 50 B: Det här har man varit med nu 48 år och jag kommer att fortsätta tills jag dör och då har man försökt och jag tror att Han har tagit bort våra synder, jag tror på Honom och något mera kan jag inte (IF mgt 2014: 002).

To Bengt tradition was important and he had the resourcefulness to live according to it.

Conclusion

What does lived forgiveness look like? In this article, I analysed one interview in depth to find out how a member of a Laestadian Association of Peace experienced forgiveness. Guilt and shame were important issues. Guilt and shame were also important ingredients in the cultural context that created the religious store from which he drew his knowledge in religious matters. Guilt and shame were related to his personal ability to recognise a sin, and his will to classify sins; even if this classification was according to a different scale than that applied by the dominant persons in the Association. It was clearly possible for a believer within an authoritarian revivalist movement to take a subjective viewpoint. My interviewee formulated his emotions and thoughts in an individual way after negotiations with himself about how to find a solution to the fact that he was critical towards Laestadianism. He did not mention the pair of celestial keys, but he believed in a performative formulation that referred to the sacred world. In this case, words were more important than behaviour. My interviewee created a personal variant of Christian religion that functioned for him.⁵¹ Certainly, he always stayed within the framework of Christianity, even when he widened his perspective, through both history i.e. from the crucifixion to his own situation, and when he scrutinized recent religious movements. His way of creating a suitable kind of Laestadianism was a highly individual action depending on his agency that was founded in his self-esteem and his ability to think critically. He crafted a personal worldview and, moreover, he crafted an identity that hindered anxiety from dominating and limiting his life – but instead made it meaningful. Postmodern ideas about

51 Cf. McKeough 2013, 104–105.

individualism as a norm and about man's opportunities to create and re-create what is important in life had influenced my interviewee.⁵²

However, interestingly enough, he limited himself in the issue of receiving forgiveness. He never mentioned the fact that he could reach a situation where he would be the trustworthy person the task of whom was to forgive. Perhaps it is more important to receive forgiveness than to forgive.

References

ARCHIVES

The Cultura Cultural Research Archive at the Åbo Akademi University. Åbo (Turku)
IF mgt 2014: 002, IF mgt 2014: 003.

PUBLISHED

A[ulén], G. E. H.

1912 "Löse- och bindnyckel." *Nordisk familjebok. Konversations- och realencyklopedi* [17]. Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlags AB, cols. 783–786.

Basic, Goran

2013 "Förlåtelse, försoning och oförsonlighet i överlevandes berättelser efter kriget i Bosnien." *Sociologisk forskning* 50, 51–68.

B[ergqvist], O[lof]

1911 "Læstadianismen". *Nordisk familjebok. Konversations- och realencyklopedi* [15]. Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlags AB, cols 783–786.

Boreman, Per

1953 *Læstadianismen. Fennoskandiens märkligaste väckelse och dess förhållande till kyrkan. Prästmötesavhandling*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag.

[Bowman, Marion & Valk, Ülo]

2012 "Introduction: Vernacular religion, generic expressions and the dynamics of belief." *Vernacular Religion in Everyday Life: Expressions and Belief*.

52 Kaufmann 2011.

- Ed. Marion Bowman & Ülo Valk. Sheffield & Bristol CT: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 1–19.
- Brännström, Olaus
1962 *Den laestadianska själavårdstraditionen i Sverige under 1800-talet. The tradition of pastoral care in Swedish Laestadianism during the nineteenth century.* Uppsala: C.W.K. Gleerups förlag. Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 13.
- Elgvin, Lilly-Anne Østtveit
2010 *Lars Levi Læstadius' spiritualitet.* Skellefteå: Artos & Norma. Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 88.
- Hägen, Nicklas
2014 "Ett smutsigt tvättande." *MFÅA. Vetenskapsmagasinet Meddelanden från Åbo Akademi* 2014 (2), 12–15.
- Heiler, Friedrich
1961 *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. Die Religionen der Menschheit 1.
- Ingemark, Camilla Asplund
2013 "Key themes in the study of therapeutic uses of storytelling." *Therapeutic Uses of Storytelling: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Narration as Therapy.* Ed. Camilla Asplund Ingemark. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 7–17.
- Inwood, Michael
2005 "Hermeneutics." *The Shorter Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Ed. Edward Craig. London & New York: Routledge, 367–368.
- Kahl, Joachim
1990 "Toleranz." *Europäische Enzyklopädie zu Philosophie und Wissenschaften* 4: R–Z. Hrsg. Hans Jörg Sandkühler & al. Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 597–599.
- Kaufmann, Jean-Claude
2011 "Identity and the new nationalist pronouncements." *International Review of Social Research* 1 (2), 1–13.
- Ketola, Kimmo
2007 "Spiritual revolution in Finland? Evidence from surveys and the rates of emergence of new religious and spiritual organisations." *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 20, 29–39.
- Kettunen, Paavo
2006 "Mitä on hengellinen häpeä?" <<http://www.teologia.fi/artikkelit/uskonto-ilmiona/95-mitn-hengellinen-h>> (Available 20.10.2015.)
2014 *Häpeästä hyväksyntään.* Helsinki: Kirjapaja.

- Leivo, Seppo
2001 "Jeesuksen nimessä ja veressä. Synninpäästön käyttöönotosta lestadiolaisuudessa." *Iustitia* 14, 103–122.
- Lemberg, Robert
2005 "För mig betydde samvetet ofta dåligt samvete." *Ad lucem* 2005 (1–2), 4–9.
- Lennartsson, Rebecka
2010 "Etnografiska utfärder i 1700-talets Stockholm. Etnologi, historia och metod." *Kulturella perspektiv* 19, 56–67.
- Lentricchia, Frank & DuBois, Andrew (eds.)
2003 *Close Reading: The Reader*. Durham: Duke University press.
- Maslow, Abraham H.
1970 *Motivation and Personality*. New York...; Harper and Row Publishers.
- McCullough, Michael E., Bono, Giacomo & Lindsey M. Root
2005 "Religion and forgiveness." *Handbook of the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*. Ed. Raymond F. Paloutzian & Crystal L. Park. New York & London: The Guilford press, 394–411.
- McKeough, Andreas
2013 "Constructing personal historical agency, making sense of the past?" *Therapeutic Uses of Storytelling: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Narration as Therapy*. Ed. Camilla Asplund Ingemark. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 101–114.
- Meier, Moon
2013 "You should say such things that mobile phones will fall. Storytelling as a personal contact between teller and listener." *Therapeutic Uses of Storytelling: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Narration as Therapy*. Ed. Camilla Asplund Ingemark. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 63–71.
- Misheva, Vessela Ivanova
2000 *Shame and Guilt: Sociology as a Poietic System*. Uppsala University: Department of Sociology.
- Palola, Tuomas
2014 *Amerikkalainen vai pohjoismainen? American or Scandinavian. Amerikan apostolic-luterilaisuus 1884–1929. American Apostolic Lutheranism 1884–1929*. Oulu: Suomen Rauhanyhdistysten Keskusyhistys ry.
- Pargament, Kenneth I.
1997 *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*. New York & London
- Primiano, Leonard
1995 "Vernacular religion and the search for method in religious folklife." *Western Folklore* 54, 37–56.

- Raittila, Pekka
 1976 *Lestadiolaisuus 1860-luvulla. Leviäminen ja yhteisönmuodostus*. Helsinki: Akateeminen kustannusliike.
- 1982 *Lestadiolaisuus Pohjois-Amerikassa vuoteen 1885*. Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia – Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar 121.
- Snellman, Gerd
 2011 *Sions döttrar. De laestadianska kvinnorna som traditionsförmedlare i norra svenska Österbotten åren 1927–2009*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag.
- Sundén, Hjalmar
 [1959] *Religionen och rollerna. Ett psykologiskt stadium av fromheten*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag.
- Talonen, Jouko
 1988 *Pohjois-Suomen lestadiolaisuuden poliittis-yhteiskunnallinen profiili 1905–1929*. Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia – Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar 144.
- 1993 *Esikoislestadiolaisuus ja suomalainen yhteiskunta 1900–1944*. Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia – Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar 163.
- Ventin, Lennart
 2013 “Gemenskap – på gott och ont.” *En liten skillnad. Elva texter om kristet liv*. Utg. Patrik Hagman & Liisa Mendelin. Helsingfors: Fontana Media, 56–66.
- Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika
 1991 *Människan och djävulen. En studie kring form, motiv och funktion i folklig tradition*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag.

INTERNET SOURCES

- Stensjöns församling, Svenska kyrkan
 2007 4:e söndagen efter Trefaldighet, andra årg 2007. Högmässa i Stensjökyrkan kl 10 Stefan Risenfors. <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/stensjon/4e-sondagen-efter-trefaldighet-andra-arg-2007>>. Available 20.10.2015.

Försoning, erkännande och inklusion

Perspektiv på försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna

Utgångspunkter

Som kyrka erkänner vi att vi har del i den skuld som ligger kvar från det förgångna. Vi ber om förlåtelse för det som vi tänkt och gjort fel och för det som vi försummat. Den försoning vi söker är att vi nu gemensamt kan bära dessa svåra erfarenheter och gå vidare i ömsesidig kärlek, respekt och tillit. Symboliskt får vi nu lägga våra stenar vid korset i koret och visar genom denna vår vandring att vi vill vara med och gemensamt utmärka en framtida gemensam vandringsled, en försoningens väg i Jesu namn.¹

Vid en försoningsgudstjänst i Undersåkers kyrka den 25 mars 2001 bad biskopen Karl-Johan Tyrberg den bön om förlåtelse som citeras ovan. Denna försoningsgudstjänst var den första i sitt slag och Tyrbergs offentliga ursäkt var ett viktigt och symboliskt moment i den försoningsprocess mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna som hade påbörjats kring 1990. Nu har tjugofem år gått sedan de första initiativen till ett försoningsarbete togs. Under denna tid har en rad åtgärder

1 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, i Kiruna den 11–13 oktober 2011* (2012), <www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=899745>, 5/9 2015, s. 50.

vidtagits från kyrkans sida för att åstadkomma en förändrad relation till den samiska befolkningen.²

Föreliggande artikel belyser försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna ur ett kyrkohistoriskt perspektiv. Syftet är att skapa en fördjupad förståelse av kyrkliga försoningsprocesser genom att undersöka deras historiska rottrådar och relatera den specifika försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna till teorier om historiebruk, kollektivt minne, religiös inklusion och erkännandeprocesser.³

- 2 Denna artikel är en reviderad version av Carola Nordbäck, ”En försoningens väg i Jesu namn: Perspektiv på Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete”, i Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (red.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi 1–2* (Skellefteå 2016). Försoningsprocessen beskrivs av Karl-Johan Tyrberg i ”Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser 1990–2012” i Lindmark & Sundström (2016) och i Karl-Johan Tyrberg, ”Försoning som en väg mot en gemensam framtid: Ett perspektiv på Svenska kyrkan”, i Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (red.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Inspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013). Se även Daniel Lindmark, ”Samiska röster ur kyrkohistorien – vad har de att säga i dag?” i Kim Groop & Birgitta Sarelin (red.), *Historiska perspektiv på kyrka och väckelse: Festskrift till Ingvar Dahlbacka på 60-årsdagen* (Helsingfors 2013); Daniel Lindmark, ”Sanningen ska göra er fria: Kyrkan, samerna och historien”, i Lars Söderholm (red.), *Religion: Konflikt och försoning* (Lund 2015); Daniel Lindmark, ”Historiebruk i retrospektiva praktiker: historikers bidrag till försoning”, i Daniel Lindmark (red.), *Gränsöverskridande kyrkohistoria: de språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten* (Umeå 2016); Bo Lundmark, ”O må vi vakna upp!: Samerna, Svenska kyrkan och frikyrkorna under 1900-talet”, *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* (2011) s. 66ff.
- 3 Angående inklusion och erkännande, se Axel Honneth, *Erkännande. Praktisk-filosofiska studier* (Göteborg 2003). Om teologi, Svenska kyrkan och erkännande, se Johanna Gustafsson Lundberg, *Medlem 2010: en teologisk kommentar* (Uppsala 2012); Ola Sigurdson, *Det postsekulära tillståndet: religion, modernitet, politik* (Göteborg 2009) s. 309–316.

Artikeln består av tre delar. I den första delen diskuteras försoningspraktiker som historiskt fenomen. I analyser av försoningsprocesser betonas ofta att de är en ny företeelse.⁴ Jag vill i denna artikel snarare peka på de kyrkliga försoningsprocessernas långa förhistoria. Detta sker genom nedslag i kyrkohistorisk och teologisk forskning. Hur har kyrkan iscensatt och praktiserat kollektiv försoning? Hur hänger försoning och inklusion samman?

Den andra delen av artikeln utgörs av en diskussion kring olika sätt att förstå försoning och försoningsprocesser. Den relaterar både till aktuella teologiska tolkningar och till forskning om historisk skuld och kollektivt minne. Här synliggörs en förändrad syn på försoningsbegreppet inom Svenska kyrkan och jag beskriver även de konsekvenser som en förändrad försoningsteologi inneburit för kyrkans självbild.

I artikelns tredje del genomför jag en analys av Svenska kyrkans sätt att beskriva och uppfatta sitt försoningsarbete genom att göra nedslag i sådana texter där företrädare för kyrkan uttalar sig om försoningsprocessen. Via dessa nedslag nås den aktuella diskursen samtidigt som förhållningssätt, tendenser och viktiga teman illustreras och problematiseras. Avslutningsvis diskuterar jag försoningsprocessens relation till olika former av historiebruk, tolkningen av skuld och offerskap samt försoningens, inklusionens och erkännandets teologiska dimensioner.

Det föreligger tyvärr få publicerade texter eller policydokument där Svenska kyrkan sammanfattar och beskriver sin syn på försoningsprocessen i relation till samerna, vad som är försoningsprocessens egentliga mål och konkreta innehåll. En central text är utredningen *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (SKU 2006:1). Den behandlar dock försoningsprocessen relativt översiktligt, men ger goda bakgrundsbeskrivningar. Det övriga material som jag har använt i min

4 Se t.ex. Pierre Hazan, *Judging war, judging history: Behind truth and reconciliation* (Stanford 2010). Det finns dock också exempel på forskning där man lagt ett historiskt perspektiv. Se exempelvis Jon Elster, *Closing the books. Transitional justice in historical perspective* (Cambridge 2004).

analys är tal, predikningar och artiklar samt sådant material som har framställts och offentliggjorts i samband med att försoningsprocessen pågått. Även kyrkomöteshandlingar har utgjort underlag för analysen. För att kunna jämföra den samiska försoningsprocessen med annat kyrkligt försoningsarbete har jag också studerat policydokument som rör fredsarbete och mission framställt av olika internationella organisationer såsom Kyrkornas världsråd, Lutherska världsförbundet och Europeiska kyrkokonferensen.

Svenska kyrkan och samerna

En viktig del av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna har handlat om att försöka förstå vad som egentligen har hänt i det förflutna. Processen har därmed inneburit att kyrkan tagit initiativ till historiska undersökningar och lyssnat till samers berättelser om sina erfarenheter. Därefter har kyrkan erkänt sin skuld i det förtryck som samer har utsatts för i Sverige. Dessa moment – en själv-rannsakande tillbakablick och en bön om förlåtelse – återfanns också i den försoningsgudstjänst som nämnts. Innan biskop Tyrberg formulerade sin bön gav han en översiktlig historisk beskrivning av Svenska kyrkans agerande mot den samiska befolkningen i Sverige. Han sade att Svenska kyrkans relationer till den samiska befolkningen ofta präglats av ”brist på tillit, öppenhet och respekt”. Svenska kyrkan har, menade Tyrberg, ”bidragit till att fördomar om samiskt liv bevarats och därmed förstärkt människors utsatthet”. Dessutom har Svenska kyrkan brustit i sitt ansvar att visa på det kristna budskapet om alla människors lika värde. Kyrkan har istället ofta blundat för att samer ringaktats och diskriminerats i samhället. Tyrberg betonade även att människor måste få uttrycka sin tro på sitt modersmål och med det egna kulturella symbolspråket. Inte heller detta behov har Svenska kyrkan respekterat. Istället har samiska symboler hindrats från att användas i kyrkans gudstjänster. Kyrkan har dessutom på olika sätt bidragit till att många samer förlorat kontakten med sitt eget språk.

Sammantaget kan sägas att kyrkan försummat sin uppgift i relation till den samiska befolkningen ”att visa på rätt, rättfärdighet, barmhärtighet och nästankärlighet i ett gemensamt ansvar för allas möjlighet att arbeta och leva”.⁵

De historiska villkor som Tyrberg beskrev är exempel på att Svenska kyrkan har bidragit till den samhälleliga exkludering som vidmakthållits genom att samernas språk och kultur har ringaktats och marginaliserats. Det har således också pågått en form av religiös exkludering. Tyrbergs beskrivning av de historiska förhållandena bekräftas av historieforskningen. Det senaste bidraget till vår kunskap om dessa förhållanden är den omfattande vitbok som utkom 2016 och ut som finansierats av Svenska kyrkan. Den bär titeln *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi*. Redaktörer är Daniel Lindmark och Olle Sundström. I ett stort antal vetenskapliga artiklar blir såväl försoningsprocessen som de historiska förhållandena mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna belysta. Där bekräftas och fördjupas den beskrivning av Svenska kyrkans delaktighet i förtryck och diskriminering som Tyrberg formulerade år 2001. Omfattningen av det kyrkliga deltagandet har snarast varit större än vad som tidigare framkommit.⁶ Detta framgår även i boken *”När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka”*: minnesbilder från samernas skoltid (2016). Redaktörer för denna bok är Kaisa Huuva och Ellacarin Blind. Den innehåller skildringar av hur samer upplevde nomadskolor och arbetsstugor – centrala delar av det utbildningssystem som skapades för samerna vid 1900-talets början. Utformningen av detta utbildningssystem var en del av statens förtryck av samer. Eftersom kyrkan hade stort inflytande över dessa

5 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012) s. 50.

6 Lindmark & Sundström (2016). Se även Kaisa Huuva & Ellacarin Blind (red.), *”När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka”*: minnesbilder från samernas skoltid (Stockholm 2016).

institutioner är insamlandet av samiska berättelser och dokumenteringen av de villkor som rådde en viktig del av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna.⁷

Sådan social och religiös exkludering som beskrivs av Tyrberg kan få djupgående följder för de grupper som utsätts för den exkluderande behandlingen. Jag vill särskilt peka på vad det kan innebära för människors självbild när en grupp i samhället ges lägre status och exkluderas på liknande sätt. Individens självaktning, självrespekt och självtillit är till stor del effekter av sociala processer. Människors identitet är avhängig av, som filosofen Axel Honneth uttrycker det, ”uppbyggandet av en praktisk självrelation, som från första stund är hänvisad till hjälp och bejakande från andra människor”.⁸ Intersubjektivitet är på så sätt en grundläggande aspekt av människans moraliska livsform. Det innebär att människor – såväl enskilda individer som grupper – utvecklar en positiv självuppfattning och en känsla av tillhörighet med hjälp av sin omgivning. Detta sker via erkännandeprocesser av olika slag. Grundläggande erkännande av en individs rättigheter och samhällelig inkludering går således hand i hand. Social och kulturell exkludering handlar däremot om att grupper eller enskilda individer inte erbjuds de former av grundläggande erkännande som krävs för att kunna utveckla tillhörighet, självrespekt och självtillit.

Den pågående försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna handlar därmed om att erkänna dessa historiska mönster, ta avstånd från dem och samtidigt utveckla nya och inkluderande praktiker. I denna process ingår olika aspekter av erkännande. Det handlar för Svenska kyrkans del om att erkänna sin delaktighet i det historiska – och delvis kvardröjande – förtrycket av samerna i Sverige. Det handlar också om att kyrkan, på basis av detta förtryck, erkänner sin

7 Huuva & Blind (2016).

8 Jfr Honneth (2003) s. 103f. För en kritik av Honneth och fördjupande perspektiv på erkännandebegreppet, se Rebekka A. Klein, *Sociality as the human condition: anthropology in economic, philosophical and theological perspective* (Leiden 2011) s. 206–226.

del i den moraliska kränkning som det inneburit för samerna att förvägras erkännande som fullvärdiga samhälls- och kyrkomedlemmar. Det handlar slutligen om att kyrkan, i ord och handling, erbjuder det grundläggande erkännande som tidigare uteblivit.⁹

De kyrkliga försöningspraktikernas historiska rottrådar

I biskop Tyrbergs bön formulerades en önskan att uppnå försöning. Där fanns en förhoppning om att tillit skulle växa på nytt och gemenskap återupprättas. Hur kan Tyrbergs offentliga bekännelse av skuld, hans bön om förlåtelse och hans önskan om försöning och gottgörelse tolkas ur ett historiskt perspektiv? Hur har kyrkan tidigare förhållit sig till mellanmänskliga försöningsprocesser? Trots den sistnämnda frågans stora relevans är den i det närmaste utforskad. Försöning har förvisso varit ett centralt begrepp inom dogmatiken och den teologihistoriska forskningen.¹⁰ Men försöning som mellanmänsklig praktik har sällan berörts inom kyrkohistoria och praktisk teologi. Däremot har sådan forskning som undersökt bikt, syndabekännelse, bannlysning, avlösning och skriftermål indirekt anknutit till frågan.¹¹

9 Jfr Honneth (2003) s. 97–103.

10 Hjalmar Lindroth, *Försöningen: En dogmhistorisk och systematisk undersökning* (Uppsala 1935); Gustaf Aulén, *Den kristna försöningstanken: Huvudtyper och brytningar: Olaus-Petri-föreläsningar hållna vid Uppsala universitet* (Stockholm 1930); Ernst Newman, *Den waldenströmska försöningsläran i historisk belysning* (Stockholm 1932); Lars Holmberg, *Den lidande guden: En studie om försöningsmysteriet* (Göteborg 1994); Sofia Camnerin, *Försöningsmysteriet: En analys av Daphne Hampsons och Rita Nakashima Brocks teologiska tolkningar* (Uppsala 2008).

11 Sven Hedenberg, *Bikt och avlösning* (Luleå 1941); Hans-Göran Karlsson, *Förlåtelse från Gud: Studier till förståelsen av syndabekännelse och avlösning* (Lund 1979); Bertil Werkström, *Bekännelse och avlösning: En typologisk undersökning av Luthers, Thurneysens och Buchmans biktuppfattningar* (Lund 1963); Bengt Hallgren, *Kyrkotuktsfrågan: En systematisk studie av kyrkotuket i svensk frikyrklighet och hos Martin Luther* (Lund 1963).

Genom att relatera till denna forskning ämnar jag följa de nutida försoningspraktikernas historiska rottrådar och därigenom skapa en fördjupad förståelse av vår tids sätt att iscensätta försoning i kyrkliga sammanhang.

Begreppet *försoning* är centralt inom kristendomen. Evangelierna har genom historien tolkats som en berättelse om försoning och nåd, återupprättelse och rättfärdiggörelse. De olika försoningsläror som formulerats har utgått från tolkningar av evangeliernas beskrivning av Jesus liv, död och uppståndelse. Berättelsen har relaterats till den hebreiska bibelns skapelse- och syndafallsberättelser och de har tillsammans tolkats som en allmängiltig skildring av människans ofullkomlighet, hennes förbrytelse mot Gud och den, genom Jesu död, uppkomna försoningen och förlåtelsen. Denna kristna metaberättelse om försoning utmynnar dessutom – genom tron på Jesu uppståndelse – i ett löfte om evigt liv.¹²

Det teologiska samtalet har således präglats av en diskussion om vad för slags försoning det handlat om, på vilka grunder den skett samt vem som egentligen försonats med vem. De olika tolkningarna av Jesu död och lidande har ofta stått mot varandra och varit föremål för teologiska strider och kyrklig splittring. De har också varit utgångspunkt för en ständigt pågående teologisk utveckling.¹³

För att kunna fördjupa förståelsen av försoning talar teologer ibland om två aspekter av denna process. Det är dels vertikal försoning (mellan Gud och människa), dels horisontell/social försoning (mellan

12 John W. De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring justice* (London 2002) s. 44–76; José Comblin, ”The theme of reconciliation and theology in Latin America”, i Iain S. MacLean (red.), *Reconciliation: Nations and churches in Latin America* (Aldershot 2006) s. 135–170.

13 Jfr Sofia Camnerin & Arne Fritzon, *Försoning behövs* (Stockholm 2012) s. 18. Ett viktigt bidrag i detta samtal utgörs av de olika bidragen i Carl-Reinhold Bräkenhielm & Göran Möller (red.), *Tala om försoning: Reflektioner över ett centralt tema i kristen teologi* (Stockholm 2015).

människor).¹⁴ Social försoning kan också indelas i försoning mellan enskilda individer, försoning mellan individ och en grupp, samt försoning mellan grupper.¹⁵ Denna indelning är relevant för artikelns perspektiv på försoning som praktik och process.

Med hjälp av begreppen horisontell och vertikal synliggörs att även om försoning varit en central del av den kristna kyrkans centrala budskap, har social försoning spelat en mer undanskymd roll genom kyrkohistorien. Det är den vertikala försoningen som stått i fokus, såväl dogmatiskt som liturgiskt. Den sociala/horisontella försoningen har inte artikulrats på samma sätt.

Teologer har således oavbrutet producerat tolkningar av den vertikala försoningens förutsättningar, betydelse och konsekvenser. Denna historia är en del av den kristna kyrkans centrala teman. Men jag är främst intresserad av de religiösa praktiker som varit avsedda att iscensätta försoning. Sådana kristna försoningspraktiker har existerat mycket länge. De kom bland annat till uttryck inom ramen för det som tidigare har kallats kyrkotukt.

Kyrkotukt och försoning

Under kristendomens första århundraden utvecklades en kyrkotukt som syftade till att bemöta syndare, de som avvek från den påbudna livsstilen och läran, och föra dem tillbaka till den kristna gemenskapen. Under tidig medeltid fortgick utvecklingen genom att syndare fick bekänna sina handlingar offentligt. Därefter skedde en

14 Robert Schreiter, *The distinctive characteristics of Christian reconciliation*, Catholic Peacebuilding Network, <<http://cpn.nd.edu/topics-in-catholic-peacebuilding/reconciliation/the-distinctive-characteristics-of-christian-reconciliation/>>, 28/8 2015.

15 Tore Johnsen, "Menneskers arbeid eller Guds gave? En teologisk drøfting av forsoning med henblikk på forsoningsprosesser i Sápmi", i Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (red.) *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) s. 13–32.

exkommunicering (uteslutning) av syndaren som i sin tur påbörjade en botgöring. Botgöringstiden avslutades med avlösning, återupptagande i församlingen och förnyad nattvardsgemenskap. Det sista momentet – återupptagandet i församlingen – kallades *reconciatio* (försoning).¹⁶

I den romersk-katolska kyrkan vidareutvecklades detta till en offentlig botpraktik som kom att bilda botens – eller försoningens – sakrament. Det bestod av fyra moment: *contritio* (ånger), *confessio* (bekännelse), *satisfactio* (gottgörelse) och *absolutio* (avlösning/tillgivande av syndernas förlåtelse). Slutpunkten för botpraktiken var således förlåtelse och försoning.¹⁷

Under 500-talet utvecklades dessutom bikten som en viktig del av botpraktiken. Det utgjorde en enskild syndabekännelse inför en präst som efterföljdes av en avlösning. Detta blev vanligare och under 900-talet blev det allt mer etablerat för kristna att bikta sig före varje kommunion. Det var dock först under 1200-talet som bikten kom att bli ett betydelsefullt sakrament. Den blev ett krav inför nattvardsgång och därmed en förutsättning för att kunna delta i det kristna livet. Bikten och avlösningen ansågs medföra en rening från synd.¹⁸

Dessa försoningspraktiker kom att få en central kyrkohistorisk betydelse. Botens sakrament utgjorde en av de främsta konfliktfrågorna i samband med reformationen. Martin Luther ifrågasatte exempelvis i sina 95 teser från 1517 hur botgöring, bikt och avlösning hanterades.¹⁹ Den efterföljande teologiska konflikten kring botsakramentet bidrog till splittringen av den romersk-katolska kyrkan.²⁰

16 Karlsson (1979) s. 113–117; Bertil Nilsson, ”Att tillhöra den kristna gemenskapen – eller inte: Aspekter på kyrkotukt och utanförskap i kyrkohistorien”, i Eva Reimers & Susanne Lindström (red.), *Blott i det öppna: Kyrkorna och kärlekens olika vägar* (Stockholm 2000) s. 24–47.

17 Karlsson (1979) s. 116f.

18 Karlsson (1979) s. 111–117; Hedenberg (1941) s. 24–27; Comblin (2006) s. 154ff.

19 Se vidare Ingemar Öberg, *Himmelrikets nycklar och kyrklig bot i Luthers teologi 1517–1537* (Uppsala 1970) s. 4f; Karlsson (1979) s. 118ff.

De framväxande protestantiska kyrkorna utvecklade följaktligen nya sätt att hantera försoning. Synen på exempelvis avlatens, biktens och botgöringens funktion för den vertikala försoningen förändrades radikalt. Betoningen av försoning och bot som sakrament försvann. Gudstjänsternas utformning och de religiösa försoningspraktikerna omvandlades. I Sverige försvann exempelvis det obligatoriska biktinstitutet och avlatshanteringen. Istället utvecklades under 1600-talet det allmänna skriftermålet såsom nattvardsförberedelse vilket innehöll de inslag av syndabekännelse, bot, avlösning och förlåtelse som den tidigare kyrkotukten inbegripit. Som ett uttryck för den lutherska kyrkans pedagogiska ambitioner fick också skriftermålet ett ökat inslag av kunskapskontroll. Katekesen kom därför att bli utgångspunkt för en del av skriftermålets syfte och innehåll. Dessutom utvecklades en form av uppenbart skriftermål som användes i samband med kyrkotukten. Syndare fick då bekänna sin synd offentligt för att i nästa skede kunna återupptas i församlingsgemenskapen. Den enskilda bikt som tidigare varit så betydelsefull kallades hemligt (ibland enskilt) skriftermål och försvann nästan helt.²¹

Den romersk-katolska kyrkans botsakrament hade alltså upplösts inom den lutherska kyrkan i Sverige men inslagen av ånger, bekännelse, gottgörelse och förlåtelse som präglat botsakramentet var fortfarande närvarande och centrala. Från att ha bildat ett eget sakrament blev inslagen i stället en del av förberedelsen inför nattvarden och fick därmed en starkare koppling till detta sakrament.

Det är det allmänna och det uppenbara skriftermålet som främst är intressant i samband med en analys av de nutida försoningsprocessernas

- 20 För en diskussion om den katolska kyrkans förändrade syn på försoning med fokus på Latinamerika, se Comblin (2006). Maclean (2006) s. 135–170.
- 21 Karlsson (1979) s. 133ff., 163–171; Edvard Rodhe, *Svenskt gudstjänstliv: Historisk belysning av den svenska kyrkohandboken* (Stockholm 1923) s. 312–326; Yngve Brilioth, *Nattvarden i evangeliskt gudstjänstliv* (Uppsala 1926) s. 213–216, 444ff, 459ff.

historiska rottrådar. Det framgår också att det uppenbara skriftermålet utgjorde en integrerad del av samhällets sociala konfliktbearbetning. Under tidigmodern tid hade de teologiska tolkningarna av försoningsläran stort inflytande över de förhärskande rättstraditionerna.²² Teologin erbjöd ett språk för försoning och kyrkan tillhandahöll praktiker för detta. Dessa praktiker har ofta föregåtts av rättslig prövning och utgjort en del av det samhälleliga rättssystemets hantering av brott.

Kyrkans straff- och rättstänkande utgjorde således ett viktigt incitament för den samhälleliga maktutövningen under tidigmodern tid. Men samtidigt kom också påverkan från motsatt håll genom att den teologiska diskursen delvis präglades av metaforer och begrepp hämtade från rättsskipningens arena. Det nära förhållandet mellan kyrka och statsmakt som präglade 1600-talet bidrog förmodligen även till att Gud ofta beskrevs som domare och kyrkan betonade begrepp som rättvisa, lag, skuld och straff. Den rättsliga och den teologiska diskursen var sammantvinnade.²³

Kyrkotuktens syfte var att bidra till återupprättade relationer – såväl vertikalt som horisontellt. Det var kyrkans sätt att bearbeta sociala konflikter och överträdelser mot de föreskrifter som återfanns i budorden. Dessa innehöll olika företeelser, exempelvis skriftermål, syndabekännelse och avlösning, vars avsikt var att främja såväl vertikal som horisontell försoning. När en församlingsmedlem hade begått ett brott och därigenom förverkat sin delaktighet i församlingen ålades denne att undergå så kallad *kyrkoplikt* för att på nytt inlemmas i församlingens gemenskap. Denna bestod i att brottslingen ”erkände sin skuld, betygade sin ånger deröfver, bad Gud och församlingen om tillgift samt utlofvade bot och bättring, hvarefter presten tillsade honom

22 Jan Sundin, *För Gud, staten och folket: Brott och rättsskipning i Sverige 1600–1840* (Stockholm 1992).

23 Jfr Brilioth (1926) s. 461ff.

förlåtelse”.²⁴ Detta kunde ske offentligt i samband med en gudstjänst eller enskilt i sakristian. Kyrkoplikten var således tänkt att fungera som en kollektiv försöningsakt.

Ett tydligt exempel på kyrkans ambition att bidra till horisontell försöning går att finna i 1686 års kyrkolag:

Predikanterne skola esomoftast lära och förmana sine åhörare, at fly allehanda twist och tråtor, och beflijta sig om wänligheet och och christelig kiärleek, samt försönligheet med theras nästa, under rättandes them, huru nödigt thet är, för den som will wijsa en sann boot och bättring, sedan han hafwer brutit sin nästa emot, och med ord eller giärning, tilfogat honom skada, til hans heder, hälsa, lijf och wälfärd, at han erkänner sin synd, afbeder then samma, hoos honom som skadan lijdit hafwer, och så mycket möjligest är, honom til fredz ställer och försönar.²⁵

Citatet är hämtat från kyrkolagens elfte kapitel som behandlar nattvarden och hur nattvardsgästerna ska förbereda sig inför sitt deltagande. Ett inslag i dessa förberedelser var att människor som hade pågående konflikter med varandra skulle försönas. De centrala delarna av kyrkotukten och kyrkoplikten handlade således om ånger, bekännelse, bot, bättring och förlåtelse. För den obotfärdige syndare som vägrade att ångra sitt brott utlystes bannet – avskiljandet i olika grader från församlingen – som ett synligt tecken på den brustna gemenskapen. Om en sådan person ändrade inställning och valde att med ånger bekänna sin synd, kunde denne förlätas och på nytt upptas i

24 *Nordisk familjebok: Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi innehållande upplysningar och förklaringar om märkliga namn, föremål och begrepp*, Nionde bandet (Stockholm 1885), <<http://runeberg.org/nfai/>>, 4/4 2015. Kyrkoplikten kom dock att fungera som ett skamstraff. Den världsliga rätten hade möjlighet att utdöma kyrkoplikt ända fram till 1855. Den försvann inte ur lagstiftningen förrän 1918. Se Nilsson (2000) s. 42ff.

25 *1686 års kyrkolag* (Stockholm 1936) s. 33.

församlingen. Gemenskapen med Gud och församlingen var därmed återupprättad.²⁶

Det bibelställe som låg till grund för detta sätt att utöva kyrkotukt och som har kommit att utgöra en form av allmänkyrklig modell för kristna kyrkotukten är Matt. 18:15–17:

Om din broder har gjort dig någon orätt, så gå och ställ honom till svars i enrum. Lyssnar han på dig har du vunnit tillbaka din broder. Men om han inte vill lyssna, ta då med dig en eller två till, för på två eller tre vittnesmål skall varje sak avgöras. Om han vägrar lyssna på dem, så tala om det för församlingen. Vill han inte lyssna på församlingen heller, betrakta honom då som en hedning eller en tullindrivare.

Denna kyrkotukt har i rättshistorisk och kyrkohistorisk forskning ofta tolkats som ett tvångsredskap och disciplineringsinstrument där kyrkan agerade som en del av statsmakten i syfte att skapa social kontroll. Jag ifrågasätter inte en sådan tolkning. Min ambition är endast att synliggöra att den process som fanns inkapslad i denna kyrkotukt hade inslag som påminner om dagens försoningsprocesser.²⁷

26 Om bannlysningen, se Nilsson (2000) s. 24–46.

27 Sundin (1992); Linda Oja har även pekat på att källäget styrtd tidigare forskning om kyrkodisciplin mot en betoning av den straffande sidan, dvs kyrkotuktens slutsteg. De tidigare stegen av ömsesidig förmaning för att upprätthålla gemenskapen har därför blivit underbetonad, se Linda Oja, ”God enighet, sämja och kärlek uti landet’: Den religiösa lagstiftningen och ambitionen att göra goda kristna av stormaktstidens svenskar”, i Torkel Jansson & Torbjörn Eng (red.), *Stat – kyrka – samhälle: Den stormaktstida samhällsordningen i Sverige och Östersjöprovinserna* (Stockholm 2000) s. 50f. Göran Malmstedt har även betonat vikten av endräkt i församlingen, och att många präster angav frånvaro från nattvardsbordet med skäl att någon förvägrats bli försonad, se Göran Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro: Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige* (Lund 2002). Om kyrkotukten som praktik under tidigmodern tid, se Urban Claesson, *Kris och kristnande:*

Under 1800-talet skedde en successiv sekularisering av rättsskipningen och straffrätten. Filosofen Joakim Molander har beskrivit hur denna sekularisering samtidigt innebar att försoningstanken successivt reducerades inom straffrätten. Det fängelsesystem som växte fram var enligt Molander inte avsett att hantera människors "existentiella behov av upprättelse, botgöring och försoning".²⁸ Det finns också sådant som tyder på att den teologiska diskursen, liksom de kyrkliga praktikerna, i större utsträckning kom att fokusera på den vertikala försoningen än den horisontella. Detta speglas även i att kyrkotuktens kollektiva och gemenskapsbyggande praktiker omvandlades under 1900-talet.

Kyrkotukten baserades således på föreställningar som har likheter med de centrala aspekterna av vår tids syn på social försoning. Det handlade om att reparera och läka brustna relationer. I kyrkotuktens fall rörde det i första hand relationen till Gud och i andra hand relationen till medmänniskorna. De försoningspraktiker som beskrivits ovan kan liknas vid ett rollspel eller en ritual där syndaren uttryckte ånger, avgav en bekännelse samt visade sig villig att göra bot och bättring. Den andra parten visade sig beredd att ta upp relationen på nytt. Detta var de omistliga delarna av försoningen – om någon föll bort blev försoningen omöjlig. Dessa försoningspraktiker innehöll en specifik kombination av förhållningssätt riktade mot både det förflutna, mot nuet och mot framtiden. Det handlade inledningsvis om att den som begått en handling som behövde sonas måste förhålla sig till det förflutna genom bekännelse och ånger. Den skyldige skulle formulera en acceptabel skildring av det som skett. För att försoningen skulle kunna ske måste förövarens ånger utgå från en bekännelse som korresponderade med församlingens förförståelse.

Olof Ekmans kamp för kristendomens återupprättande vid Stora Kopparberget 1689–1713: Pietism, program och praktik (Göteborg 2015).

28 Tage Kurtén & Joakim Molander (red.), *Homo moralis: Människan och rättssambället* (Lund 2005) s. 136.

Försoningsprocesser igår och idag

Det har framgått ovan att man kan skönja ett vertikalt och ett socialt försoningsmönster som både påminner om och avviker från de försoningspraktiker som idag växer fram i kyrkliga sammanhang. För att kunna vidareutveckla denna jämförelse övergår jag nu till att diskutera vår egen tids bekännelser, ånger och försoningsmönster.

Den bön om förlåtelse som biskop Tyrberg läste upp i samband med försoningsgudstjänsten den 25 mars 2001 kan relateras till ett fenomen som blivit vida spritt över världen. Vi lever just nu, menar forskare, i "the age of apology". Uttrycket syftar på att vår tid är fylld av offentliga ursäkter – exempelvis då representanter för statsmakter, institutioner och kyrkor ber om förlåtelse för sina övergrepp mot civilbefolkningen i det egna landet eller i andra länder som ett led i en kollektiv försoningsprocess.²⁹

Man kan följaktligen iakttä ett nyvaknat intresse för kollektiv försoning. I den teologiska diskursen har försoning dock aldrig förlorat sin aktualitet. Jag syftar i stället på den betydelse som försoningsbegreppet fått de senaste tjugofem åren inom politik och internationell rätt samt inom freds- och konfliktforskning. Inom dessa sekulära kontexter formuleras tolkningar av försoningsprocessernas innehåll, funktion och syfte.³⁰ Försoning är således ett begrepp som idag används i en rad olika kontexter – i såväl kyrkliga som sekulära

29 Mark Gibney (red.), *The age of apology: Facing up to the past* (Philadelphia 2008); Melissa Nobles, *The politics of official apologies* (Cambridge 2008); Janna Thompson, *Taking responsibility for the past: Reparation and historical justice* (Cambridge 2002); Elazar Barkan & Alexander Karn (red.), *Taking wrongs seriously: apologies and reconciliation* (Stanford 2006).

30 Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions* (London 2011); Kjell-Åke Nordquist, "Vems sanning? Vems försoning? Om försoning som politiskt begrepp", i Hanna Stenström (red.), *På spaning: Från Svenska kyrkans forskardagar 2009* (Stockholm 2010) s. 167–190. För en historisk analys av liknande processer, se Elster (2004).

sammanhang. Dessutom utvecklas hela tiden nya försoningspraktiker. Ett exempel på en relativt ny praktik är medling vid brott och olika former av sociala konflikter.³¹

Den förändring som skett handlar om att det har utvecklats såväl begrepp som metoder för att restaurera mellanmänskliga relationer.³² Föreställningar om försoning har migrerat från den teologiska kontexten och i samband med detta har de även sekulariserats. Men de uppfattningar om försoningsprocesser som återfinns inom exempelvis freds- och konfliktforskning har trots detta stora likheter med sådana tankar om försoning som återfinns i den teologiska diskussionen.³³

Det nära historiska sambandet mellan rättslig och teologisk diskurs som beskrivits i det historiska avsnittet ovan kan således också iakttas i de nutida försoningsprocesserna. Begreppet försoning har förflyttats från teologin till en sekulär politisk konfliktlösningarena och är i dag i fokus för en rad olika studier och praktiker som tar sin utgångspunkt i så kallad transitionell rättvisa och restorativ rättvisa (kallas även ibland reparativ rättvisa).³⁴

Begreppet transitionell rättvisa formulerades i början av 1990-talet och syftar på hur samhällen försöker skapa stabilitet och återuppbygga ömsesidigt förtroende mellan parter där relationer brustit och befolkningen tvingats uppleva olika typer av övergrepp.³⁵ Begreppet syftar

31 Heidi Jokinen, *Medling vid brott: En begreppslig analys av en konfliktlösningssmetod i en senmodern tid* (Åbo 2011); James Dignan, *Understanding victims and restorative justice* (Maidenhead 2005).

32 Elster (2004).

33 Jfr Maclean (2006) s. 26ff.

34 Paul Gready, *The era of transitional justice: The aftermath of the truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa and beyond* (New York 2011); Nordquist (2010) s. 167–190; Daniel Bar-Tal, "Nature of reconciliation", i *A conference on truth, justice and reconciliation, Stockholm, Sweden, 23–24 April 2002: Proceedings*, (Stockholm 2002) s. 18–23.

35 Hazan (2010) s. 8. Det var juridikprofessorn Ruti Teitel som formulerade uttrycket första gången och det skedde 1992.

på själva övergången från ett tillstånd av övergrepp, diktatur eller liknande till ett demokratiskt och stabilt samhälle präglad av ömsesidigt förtroende. Ett exempel på sådana åtgärder är de sanningskommissioner som har tillsatts efter att befolkningen i olika länder har genomlevt svåra trauman i form av folkmord, krigsförbrytelser etc. I en kartläggning av Priscilla B. Hayner från 2011 beskrivs över 40 sannings- och försoningskommissioner från olika delar av världen. Dessa kommissioner har utgjort inslag i olika försoningsprocesser som pågått mellan 1974 och 2009. Gemensamt för samtliga dessa kommissioner är att de varit temporära institutioner vid sidan av det övriga rättssystemet och har syftat till att klargöra vad som skett i det förflutna. Dessutom kan sådana kommissioner ge förslag på reformer, peka på olika typer av gottgörelse för offren och klargöra ansvarsfrågor för olika övergrepp. Däremot har kommissionerna endast ett begränsat rättsligt mandat – de kan exempelvis inte utdöma straff.³⁶ De fyller dock en viktig funktion vid sidan av det rättsliga systemets hantering genom att de fokuserar på offrens erfarenheter och söker efter förståelse av förtryckets karaktär främst genom att låta människor vittna och berätta om vad som skett med dem.³⁷

Sannings- och försoningskommissioner är ofta startpunkten för olika åtgärder som syftar till gottgörelse för offrens räkning. Sådana åtgärder som syftar till att upprätta och värna offren benämns *restorativ rättvisa*. Det handlar bland annat om åtgärder som fokuserar på offrens behov att få berätta sin historia samt att erhålla gottgörelse och erkännande. Sanningskommissionerna är därmed också ett uttryck för restorativ rättvisa där offrens behov av upprättelse står i fokus. Ett viktigt syfte är att bidra till läkning och helande för de drabbade. Detta sätt att fokusera på offren innebär också att förövaren dels måste ta på sig ansvaret för sin gärning, dels förväntas ändra attityd och förhållningssätt gentemot den drabbade. Denna rättvisefilosofi fokuserar

36 Hayner (2011) s. 19ff.

37 Hayner (2011) s. 13f.

på att byggandet av ny tillit genom bland annat erkännande, ansvarstagande och förändrade handlingsmönster. Försoning och upprättelse är målet för processen.³⁸ Restorativt tänkande skiljer sig därmed från det retributiva rättstänkande som vanligtvis är i fokus för den samhälleliga rättsskipningen. Det sistnämnda innebär i stället en fokusering på att ett straff utdöms för den som begått ett brott. Ju allvarligare brottet är, desto hårdare blir straffet. Det är den retributiva rättvisans logik.³⁹

En försoningsprocess innebär enligt det synsätt som vuxit fram att en part som förbrutit sig mot en annan part successivt återskapar den brutna tillit och det förtroende som förlorats bland de människor som blivit offer för kränkningarna genom att exempelvis lyssna på offren, erkänna sina förbrytelser, be om förlåtelse och försöka gottgöra de drabbade på olika sätt. Begreppet försoningsprocess syftar således både på ett mål och själva processen som leder fram mot detta mål. Målet är att återskapa stabila och förtroendefulla relationer. Försoningsprocessen är själva vägen dit.⁴⁰

Beskrivningen ovan ger en teoretisk bild av sannings- och försoningskommissioner. Men hur är det i praktiken – leder verkligen försoningskommissioner till försoning, gottgörelse, sanning och återupprättad gemenskap? Detta är en omfattande och komplex fråga. Priscilla B. Hayner skriver i sin rapport att det är omöjligt att ge ett entydigt svar på den. Det finns forskning som pekar på att försoningskommissioner i värsta fall både kan späda på konflikter och åstadkomma nya kränkningar. Men det finns också motsatta observationer

38 Dignan (2005).

39 Margaret Urban Walker, *What is reparative justice?* (Milwaukee 2010) s. 9ff; Elizabeth Kiss, "Moral ambition within and beyond political constraints: Reflections on restorative justice", i Robert I. Rotberg & Dennis Thompson (red.), *The morality of truth commissions* (Princeton 2000) s. 68–98.

40 David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes & Luc Huyse (red.), *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook* (Stockholm 2003) s. 12.

som visar att det är möjligt för kommissioner att åstadkomma mycket positiva resultat både vad gäller att återupprätta offren och att bidra till en försoning.⁴¹ Hayners slutsats blir att ”if done well, however, and if given the necessary resources and support, a truth commission can change how a country understands and accepts its past, and through that, if it’s lucky, help to fundamentally shape its future”.⁴²

Hayner pekar också på att försoning tar tid. Försoning är ingen enskild händelse utan en process som kan ta flera decennier. Det dröjer följaktligen länge innan det går att utvärdera en försoningsprocess. Dessutom bör man skilja mellan försoning på olika nivåer, exempelvis på individuell respektive nationell nivå. Det kan ske en nationell försoning samtidigt som många människor inte själva upplever att de försonas. Även på lokal nivå kan försoning ske utan att samtliga inblandade upplever en individuell försoning. Förlåtelse, läkning och försoning är djupt personliga processer vars hastighet och innehåll varierar mellan olika individer. Det innebär att deltagande i en försoningskommission kan vara en väg mot försoning för en individ, men inte fungera på samma sätt för andra. Men en generell iakttagelse är att många människor inte är beredda att börja tala om försoning förrän de har fått veta vad som egentligen har hänt i det förflutna.⁴³

Vilka kriterier krävs för att man ska kunna tala om att en försoning har skett? Hayner diskuterar denna fråga och betonar i samband med detta historieskrivningens betydelse. Om det offentliga samtalet präglas av olika existerande versioner av det förflutna, av anklagelser, förnekande och motanklagelser så finns fortfarande en lång väg att vandra mot försoning. En central del av försoningen handlar således om att kunna formulera en förståelse av det som skett och som båda parterna kan acceptera. Hayner skriver att ”there are some facts that are fundamental enough that broad acceptance of their truth is

41 Hayner (2011) s. 25f., 120–209.

42 Hayner (2011) s. 233.

43 Hayner (2011) s. 182f.

necessary before real reconciliation can take place”.⁴⁴ Men Hayner betonar samtidigt att det givetvis inte räcker att processa det förflutna. Det krävs också att förtrycket har upphört, att den nya gemenskapen får fastare form, exempelvis genom samverkans- och utvecklingsprojekt av olika slag, samt att den förtryckande parten konkret arbetar för att motverka orättvisor och diskriminering.⁴⁵

Svenska kyrkan – i försoningens tjänst

Försoningsprocesser har kommit att bli ett sätt för många länder – och kyrkor – som bär på en kolonial historisk skuld gentemot urfolk att försöka upprätta nya relationer till de folkgrupper som förtryckts.⁴⁶ I arbetet med att stärka urfolkens rättigheter har de nationella kyrkorna haft en viktig uppgift eftersom de dels har bidragit till det förtryck som urfolk har utsatts för i olika länder, dels har spelat en viktig roll i dekolonialiseringen i dessa länder när försoningsarbetet har påbörjats. Även Svenska kyrkan har tagit intryck av globala kyrkliga förändringsprocesser och politiska rörelser som dels verkat för att stärka urfolkens rättigheter, dels arbetat för att initiera försoningsprocesser mellan de institutioner som deltagit i den tidigare koloniala politiken och de urfolk som drabbats.⁴⁷ Exempelvis har det försoningsarbete som pågått i Norge utgjort en viktig inspirationskälla.⁴⁸

44 Hayner (2011) s. 189.

45 Hayner (2011) s. 189f.

46 Megan Shore, *Religion and conflict resolution: Christianity and South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission* (Farnham 2009); MacLean (2006).

47 Malgosia Fitzmaurice, "The new developments regarding the Saami peoples of the north", *International journal on minority and group rights* 16:1 (2009) s. 67–156.

48 Jfr Mattias Haglund, "Samisk kyrka? En studie av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna, med jämförande utblickar mot Norge", masteruppsats vid Centrum för teologi och religionsvetenskap, Lunds universitet (2003), <<http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOID=4250432&fileOID=4250433>>, 3/3 2014.

Arbetet med urfolksfrågor har således pågått parallellt i en rad kyrkor över världen de senaste 15–20 åren. Denna idéspidningsprocess mellan olika kyrkor är en viktig nyckel till förståelsen av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En annan viktig inspirationskälla för det växande kyrkliga intresset för horisontella försoningsprocesser var den sydafrikanska sanning- och försoningskommissionen som upprättades 1995. I denna kommission spelade landets protestantiska kyrkor en stor roll, både när det gällde initiativet till kommissionen och dess utförande. Ärkebiskop Desmond Tutu var ordförande och ett flertal av kommissionärerna var teologer.⁴⁹

De internationella kyrkliga organisationerna har, som nämnades ovan, samtidigt bidragit till framväxten av ett alltmer välutvecklat socialt försoningstänkande. Såväl Lutherska världsförbundet som Kyrkornas världsråd har tagit upp och drivit frågor kring försoning och försoningsprocesser. Redan vid 1990-talets början initierades sådant arbete inom dessa organisationer och medlemskyrkorna uppmanades att ta ansvar för sina relationer till urbefolkningar i de egna regionerna.⁵⁰

Den kyrkliga självförståelse som genomsyrar försoningsarbetet med urfolkens rättigheter var omöjlig för tre–fyra decennier sedan. Begreppet försoning ingick då som en naturlig del av den teologiska vokabulären – men med andra konnotationer än vad det nu har erhållit. Då fanns helt enkelt inte den försoningsdiskurs som man nu på ett naturligt sätt utgår från.⁵¹

Svenska kyrkans sätt att uppfatta försoning och bedriva försoningsprocesser har således, enligt min tolkning, påverkats av det

49 Maclean (2006) s. 20ff. Även kyrkornas världsråds dåvarande generalsekreterare E. Castro hade föreslagit en kommission.

50 Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan (SKU 2006:1), s. 105; Tyrberg (2013) s. 164f.

51 Herbert C. Kelman, "Reconciliation from a social-psychological perspective", i Arie Nadler, Thomas Malloy & Jeffrey D. Fisher (red.). *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation* (New York 2008) s. 15–32.

tänkande kring försoning som utvecklats inom den politiska sfären. Försoningsbegreppet har därigenom kommit i retur. I samband med detta har en förskjutning skett från vertikal till social försoning. Här åskådliggörs en process där begrepp och praktiker rör sig mellan teologiska och sekulära diskurser. I rörelsen mellan dessa diskurser följer ett betydelseinnehåll med begreppet som befruktar det mottagande sammanhanget. Hur ser då det försoningsbegrepp ut som ligger till grund för den aktuella försoningsprocessen med samerna? Vilken kyrkosyn leder detta försoningsbegrepp fram till?

För att kunna svara på denna fråga måste jag ta min utgångspunkt i de förändrade försoningspraktiker som under tidigmodern tid pågick inom ramen för det som kallats kyrkotukt. Som biblisk utgångspunkt för dessa praktiker användes som sades ovan Matt. 18:15–17. Detta bibelställe är dock inte lika aktuellt i diskussioner av nutida försoningspraktiker. Svenska kyrkan sammankopplar inte heller försoningsbegreppet eller försoningspraktikerna med begreppet kyrkotukt. När vertikal och social försoning diskuteras hänvisas istället ofta till 2 Kor. 5:18–20:⁵²

Allt detta har sitt upphov i Gud, som har försonat oss med sig genom Kristus och ställt mig i försoningens tjänst. Ty Gud försonade hela världen med sig genom Kristus: han ställde inte människorna till

52 Se exempelvis rapporten från Kyrkornas världsråd, *Overcoming violence: The ecumenical decade 2001–2010* (Genève 2011), Rapport från Kyrkornas världsråd, <<http://www.overcomingviolence.org/fileadmin/dov/files/OvercomingViolence.pdf>>, 29/8 2015; *I försoningens tjänst: Tankar om sanning, rättvisa, fred, barmhärtighet*, Svenska kyrkan (Uppsala 2007) s. 30, 46, 56; Robert Odén & Olle Kristenson (red.), *Tillsammans för livet: Mission och evangelisation i en värld i förändring* (Bromma 2013) s. 14; Robert Schreiter, *The distinctive characteristics of Christian reconciliation*, Catholic Peacebuilding Network, <<http://cpn.nd.edu/topics-in-catholic-peacebuilding/reconciliation/the-distinctive-characteristics-of-christian-reconciliation/>>, 28/8 2015.

svars för deras överträdelser, och han anförtrodde mig budskapet om denna försoning. Jag är alltså Kristi sändebud, och Gud manar er genom mig. Jag ber er på Kristi vägnar: låt försona er med Gud.

Ur detta bibelcitat hämtas inspiration till en försonings- och kyrkosyn som utgår från tanken att kyrkan utgör en såväl vertikal som social försoningsarena och de konflikter som ska försonas handlar om att olika former av samhälleligt förtryck, orättvisor, kränkningar och övergrepp. Försoning blir därmed själva utgångspunkten för kyrkans verksamhet.

Ett exempel på hur försoningsbegreppet förstås och förklaras idag återfinns i skriften *Iförsoningens tjänst: Tankar om sanning, rättvisa, fred och barmhärtighet* (2007). Denna skrift är ett fördjupningsmaterial om försoning som Svenska kyrkans nationella nivå har utvecklat och är ett exempel på den ovan beskrivna förändringen av försoningsbegreppet som skett de senaste decennierna. Mats Hermansson skriver där om hur Svenska kyrkans uppgift kan beskrivas i termer av försoning:

Kyrkan finns inte till för sin egen skull, utan som en gemenskap sänd av Gud i världen med uppdraget att i ord och handling visa på evangeliet om Guds befriande kärlek i Jesus Kristus. Kyrkan ska upprätta tecken på Guds rike genom att visa på vägar till försoning och upprättelse för människor i relation till Gud, till varandra och till hela skapelsen. Det har alltid varit uppgiften.⁵³

Den försoning som kyrkan ska verka för handlar om vertikal och social försoning men också försoning i relation till skapelsen. En annan av författarna i denna skrift, Roland Persson, ger följande beskrivning av vad det konkret innebär att stå i försoningens tjänst:

53 *Iförsoningens tjänst* ... (2007) s. 42.

Att stå i försoningens tjänst innebär alltid att proklamera och förverkliga försoningen mellan Gud och människor. Men när vi i dag beskriver kyrkans roll i Guds mission till världen finns försoningen med också på ett annat sätt. Vi finner det angeläget att bidra till försoning mellan olika folk och människor. Det kan gälla södra Afrika eller Israel-Palestina eller t o m fred och försoning mellan folk av olika religion. Det har blivit naturligt och nödvändigt att se också denna verksamhet som att stå i försoningens tjänst. Också där handlar det om att förverkliga Guds vilja. Försoningen mellan människor är en naturlig konsekvens av Kristi försoningsverk och av hans undervisning.⁵⁴

Ett av de fält där försoningsbegreppet fått särskilt stor betydelse är missionen. I en skrift från Svenska kyrkan med titeln *Mission. Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse* (2009) framgår detta med stor tydlighet. Försoning betraktas där som en av missionens tre dimensioner tillsammans med förvandling och upprättelse. Dokumentet är en förkortad version av Lutherska världsförbundets dokument *Mission in context: Transformation, reconciliation, empowerment* (2004). Skrifter med liknande innehåll har också producerats av Kyrkornas världsråd.⁵⁵

Dessa skrifter innehåller mycket starka skrivningar om försoning som ett centralt inslag i mission.⁵⁶ I *Mission: Förvandling, försoning,*

54 *I försoningens tjänst ...* (2007) s. 47.

55 Se exempelvis Odén & Kristenson (2013).

56 Se exempelvis följande reflektionsdokument kring mission från Kyrkornas världsråd inför världsmissionskonferensen i Aten 2005, *Mission as ministry of reconciliation: Preparatory paper No 10* (2005), Kyrkornas världsråd, <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/other-meetings/mission-and-evangelism/preparatory-paper-10-mission-as-ministry-of-reconciliation>>, 14/8 2015. Jfr Robert J. Schreiter, "Reconciliation and healing as a new paradigm for mission", *International review of mission* 94:372 (2005) s. 74–83 s. 74–83. <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/other-meetings/mission-and-evangelism/preparatory-paper-10-mission-as-ministry-of-reconciliation>>, 14/8 2015. Jfr

upprättelse (2009) kan man exempelvis läsa följande:

Den grundläggande sidan av försoningen är att upprätta förhållandet mellan Gud och människan. Men eftersom kyrkan är ett sändebud för försoning, en fredsstiftare, har den också fått till uppgift att upprätta fredlig samexistens i medmänskliga relationer. Den som får uppleva försoning i sitt liv har lättare att vidga denna försoning till andra mänskliga relationer; inom en familj, med andra grupper, i samhället eller mellan olika länder. Befrielse och försoning hör ihop. Kyrkans uppdrag är att befria både den förtryckta och förtryckaren. Befrielse utan tanke på försoning motverkar sitt eget syfte. Försoning utan befrielse är orealistisk och kan inte bli mer än en tanke.⁵⁷

I citatet ovan framgår hur försoningsbegreppet uttolkas av Lutherska världsförbundet. Här framgår hur den vertikala försoningen betraktas som utgångspunkt för den sociala. Den mellanmänskliga försoningen utgår från en återupprättad relation mellan Gud och människa. Detta innebär att kyrkans arbete i försoningens tjänst har en internationell räckvidd. I den missionsteologiska skriften *Mission i kontext* står följande:

Robert J. Schreiter & Knud Jørgensen (red.), *Mission as ministry of reconciliation* (Oxford 2013).

57 Pelle Söderbäck (red.), *Mission: Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse* (Uppsala 2009) s. 14, även tillgänglig på <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578654>>, 15/10 2014. Jfr *Mission in context: Transformation, reconciliation, empowerment: An LWF contribution to the understanding and practice of mission*, Lutheran World Federation (Genève 2004), <<https://www.lutheranworld.org/content/resource-mission-context-transformation-reconciliation-empowerment>>, 30/8 2015; *Mission i kontext: Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse: Ett bidrag från Lutherska världsförbundet till förståelsen och utövandet av missionsuppdraget* (Uppsala 2007), även tillgänglig på <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578644>>, 28/8 2015.

Kyrkans uppdrag för försöning sträcker sig även till det internationella området. Också i vår tid lever många länder fortfarande under tidigare århundradens nedärvda förtryck och orättvisor. Länder som kämpade under kolonialismen lider nu av fattigdom som orsakas av den nyliberala ekonomi som drivs fram av den ekonomiska globaliseringen. Sådana farliga strukturer och system borde inte få sista ordet i en värld där Gud har brutit dödens slutgiltiga makt. Kyrkans uppdrag på uppståndelsens väg är att göra befrielse och försöning möjlig både för de förtryckta och för förtryckarna.[...] För att nå försöning och befrielse fordras rättvisa och upprättelse både på nationell och internationell nivå för att offren för orättvisa och förtryck ska återfå sin mänskliga värdighet. Genom denna befriande försöning och försöande befrielse påbörjar kyrkan en förvandlingsprocess, som föregriper alltings slutliga försöning i Guds eskatologiska rike.⁵⁸

Detta fokus på social försöning visar på en internationell trend i form av ett ökat kyrkligt intresse för att bidra till att läka politiska, sociala, ekonomiska och även ekologiska konflikter. De internationella ekumeniska organisationerna som exempelvis Kyrkornas världsråd och det Lutherska världsförbundet har således sannolikt spelat en stor roll för de senaste decenniernas starka betoning av medlemsskyrkornas arbete för mellanmänsklig försöning. Ett avgörande steg var exempelvis att de tre stora internationella ekumeniska rörelserna, Kyrkornas världsråd, Lutherska världsförbundet och Reformerta kyrkornas världssallians, på olika sätt tog aktivt avstånd från apartheid och rasism under 1980-talet och på så sätt både bistod medlemskyrkorna och satte ökad press på de nationella makthavarna.⁵⁹

Ytterligare en ekumenisk aktör är Europeiska kyrkokonferensen. Det är en gemenskap bestående av såväl katolska som ortodoxa

58 *Mission i kontext ...* (2007) s. 19.

59 Maclean (2006) s. 32f.

och protestantiska medlemskyrkor. Även denna organisation har haft mellanmänsklig försoning som centralt tema vid sina möten.⁶⁰

De ekumeniska organisationerna har sålunda utgjort en arena för internationellt freds- och försoningsarbete på ett övergripande plan. Där har exempelvis kyrkorna kunnat lyfta upp frågor som härrör ur de nationella kontexterna till ytterligare en nivå.⁶¹ Ett exempel på detta arbete är att Kyrkornas världsråd utlyste 2000-talets första decennium som "The decade to overcome violence: Churches seeking reconciliation and peace 2001–2010". Utlysningen var ett resultat av att man vid Kyrkornas världsråds möte 1998 i Harare, Zimbabwe, beslutade att medlemskyrkorna skulle gå in i ett fördjupat arbete kring freds- och försoningsfrågor. Kyrkorna bjöds in att teologiskt reflektera över hur ett aktivt freds- och försoningsarbete kan förstås och motiveras teologiskt och kyrkohistoriskt.⁶² I den slutrapport som Kyrkornas världsråd presenterade 2011 står att decenniet utmynnat i en rad olika försoningsprojekt och åtgärder för fred. Man hade följt Paulus uppmaning i 2 Kor. 5 och blivit "ambassadors of reconciliation".⁶³

60 Det skedde 1997 i Graz och 2003 i Trondheim. Rüdiger Noll & Stefan Vesper (red.), *Reconciliation: Gift of God and source of new life: Documents from the second European assembly* (Graz 1998); Keith, Clements, "Ecumenism and the new paradigm of healing", *The ecumenical review* 55:3 (2003) s. 256–263.

61 Se även *Overcoming violence ...* (2011) s. 9.

62 Reflektionsdokument från Kyrkornas världsråd, *Nurturing peace, overcoming violence: In the way of Christ for the sake of the world: An invitation to a process of theological study and reflection on peace, justice and reconciliation during the decade to overcome violence: Churches seeking peace and reconciliation 2001–2010*, <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/commissions/faith-and-order/x-other-documents-from-conferences-and-meetings/theological-reflection-on-peace/nurturing-peace-overcoming-violence-in-the-way-of-christ-for-the-sake-of-the-world>>, 28/8 2015.

63 *Overcoming violence ...* (2011) s. 8.

Denna ökade betoning av försoning, fred, befrielse av förtryck och upprättelse av de förtryckta kan beskrivas som aspekter av en förändrad ecklesiologi (kyrkosyn). Detta sätt att uppfatta försoning har likheter med äldre synsätt men är samtidigt präglad av en genomgripande förändring. Både fredssträvandena och solidariteten med fattiga, förtryckta och utsatta människor samt kritiken mot den världsliga makten har förekommit tidigare. Men de har utgjort delar av en ideologi där lojalitet mot de samhällsliga ordningarna präglat kyrkans föreställningsvärld mycket starkt. En sådan lojalitet och identifikation med de statsbärande maktapparaterna kan inte skönjas i dessa dokument. Dessutom präglas skrifterna av en självkritisk hållning och en kritisk syn på rådande ekonomiska förhållanden. Detta illustrerar ett nytt sätt att uppfatta kyrkornas missionerande uppgift där försoning utgör en central aspekt av missionsuppdraget.⁶⁴

Försoning som kulturell minnesprocess

Försoningsprocesser handlar om att återställa mellanmännsliga relationer som har brutit. Det är ett försök att bygga förståelse och tillit. En central del av vår tids försoningsprocesser handlar om att bearbeta det förflutna. Ett samhälles sätt att bearbeta det förflutna efter samhällsliga konflikter och övergrepp är centralt för dess framtida utveckling. Detta hävdar åtminstone Desmond Tutu, ordförande för den sydafrikanska sannings- och försoningskommissionen, som skriver att ”experience worldwide shows that if you do not deal with a dark past such as ours, effectively look the beast in the eye, that beast is not going to lie down quietly; it is going as sure as anything, to come back and haunt you horrendously.”⁶⁵

64 Odén & Kristenson (2013) s. 6. Jfr Schreiter & Jørgensen (red.) (2013). Denna förändrade syn på mission och försoning får också konsekvenser för synen på diakoni. Se Kjell Nordstokke (red.), *Diakonia in context: Transformation, reconciliation, empowerment* (Genève 2009).

65 Maclean (2006) s. 27.

Förutom sökandet efter den historiska sanningen innehåller försoningsprocesser också andra inslag. Det kan handla om att formell rättvisa skipas, att offentliga ursäkter formuleras, att olika former av gottgörelser genomförs och att de båda parterna erkänner varandras existens och likaberättigande.⁶⁶

En försoning är därmed både riktad mot det förflutna, mot nuet och mot framtiden. Den tar sin utgångspunkt i det förflutna i den bemärkelsen att försoning alltid handlar om något som har skett. Försoningsprocesser kan således betraktas som en form av minnespraktik – ett förlopp där det kollektiva minnet omförhandlas i syfte att förändra nuet och påverka framtiden. Ett exempel på detta är bekännelsen. Ett annat exempel är axlandet av skuld. Ytterligare ett tillbakablickande inslag handlar om ånger. Det handlar om att kunna se konsekvenserna av en handling – att ta på sig ansvaret och formulera en önskan om att handlingen inte hade genomförts. Den ånger som krävs för en försoning handlar också om att ångra av rätt skäl. Det handlar om att inte förneka de skador som handlingen orsakat andra. Ett annat exempel på försoningsprocessens minnesbearbetande inslag är dess inslag av självvald glömska – en önskan om att släppa taget om de oförrätter som begåtts i det förflutna och lämna det bakom sig.⁶⁷

Även om bearbetningen av det förflutna står i centrum för själva försoningsprocessen är dock nuet och framtiden i fokus när den initieras. Försoningen tar alltid sin utgångspunkt i en aktuell situation där de oförrätter som begåtts står i vägen och plågar den ena eller båda parterna. Dess framtidsaspekt handlar om offrens önskan om att se en avsikt hos förövaren om att denne ämnar gottgöra offren och en vilja att i framtiden inte begå liknande övergrepp.

66 Jfr Valerie Rosoux, "Reconciliation as a peace-building process: Scope and limits", i Jacob Bercovitch, Viktor Aleksandrovich Kremenyuk & William I. Zartman (red.), *The SAGE handbook of conflict resolution* (Los Angeles 2009) s. 543–563.

67 Jfr David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes & Luc Huyse, *Reconciliation after violent conflict: a handbook*, *International IDEA* (Stockholm 2003) s. 30.

Hur går denna bearbetning av det förflutna till? I boken *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook* (2003) står exempelvis att

... a divided society can only build its shared future out of its divided past. It is not possible to forget the past and start completely fresh as if nothing had happened. Indeed, the motivation for building a future is precisely to ensure that the past does not return – and so a clear understanding of, and a coming to terms with, that past is the very best way to guarantee it will not come back to haunt a society. The past must be addressed in order to reach the future. Reconciliation, if it is designed and implemented in a genuine and meaningful way, is the means to do that.⁶⁸

I handboken ges en beskrivning av innehållet i försoningsprocesser och hur de kan gå till. Fyra viktiga aspekter lyfts fram. Dessa handlar om *healing*, *restorative justice*, *truth-telling* och *reparation*. De innehåller inslag som syftar till att förstå och förhålla sig till det förflutna. Det rör sig om kognitiv förståelse, emotionell bearbetning och symbolisk gestaltning. De fyra aktiviteterna ovan ska tillsammans leda till ökad ömsesidig förståelse, empati, tillit, fredligt samförstånd och slutligen även bidra till en demokratisk samhällskultur.⁶⁹

En liknande betoning av försoningsprocessernas tillbakablickande funktion går att finna i den försoningsprocess som Lutherska världsförbundet har genomfört i relation till mennoniterna. Mennoniterna är en nutida protestantisk och anabaptistisk kyrkofamilj som har sina rötter i de grupper som utsattes för svåra förföljelser i samband med reformationen.⁷⁰ Som en central del av denna försoning skrev det

68 Bloomfield, Barnes & Huyse (2003) s. 15.

69 Bloomfield, Barnes & Huyse (2003) s. 23f.

70 *Healing memories: Reconciling in Christ: Report of the Lutheran-Mennonite international study commission*, Lutherska världsförbundet (Genève 2010), <http://www.lwf-assembly.org/uploads/media/Report_Lutheran-Mennonite_Study_Commission.pdf>, 25/8 2015; Jfr Fernando Enns &

lutherska och det mennonitiska världsförbundet en gemensam historisk skildring av de skeenden under 1500-talet som alstrat den djupa konflikt som därefter egentligen aldrig har lösts upp. Resultatet av denna historieskrivning blev en rapport med titeln *Healing memories: Reconciling in Christ* (2010). Där betonas vikten av att skriva en ny historia:

The commission discovered that there was no common narrative of the crucial events of the sixteenth century. For the first time, and in an attractive and accessible way, they have presented for us this shared history. To look at the past together in this way is itself an act of reconciliation.⁷¹

Rapportförfattarna menar således att skrivandet av en gemensam historia i sig självt inneburit en försoningsakt.⁷² Denna funktion kan analyseras med hjälp av begreppen *kollektivt* och *kulturellt minne*. De är centrala för det forskningsfält som kallas cultural memory studies och som inspirerats av bland annat Maurice Halbwachs teori om kollektivt minne.⁷³

Kollektiva identiteter, det vill säga gruppmedlemmars föreställningar om vad som karaktäriserar och förenar gruppen, vad som är dess ursprung, funktion och uppgift, har en kollektiv minnesdimension. Där återfinns de narrativ och historiska referenser som artikuleras via olika medier. Eftersom en mellanmänsklig försoning baseras på utsagor om det förflutna är den samtidigt relaterad till det kollektiva

Jonathan Seiling (red.), *Mennonites in dialogue: Official reports from international and national ecumenical encounters, 1975–2012* (Eugene 2015).

71 *Healing memories ...* (2010) s. 6.

72 Jfr Enns & Seiling (2015) s. 31f.

73 För en djupare beskrivning av detta perspektiv se Astrid Erll, *Memory in culture* (Hampshire 2011); Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (red.), *A companion to cultural memory studies* (Berlin 2010); Maurice Halbwach, *On collective memory* (Chicago 1992).

minnet. Försoningsprocesser medför förändringar av kollektiva identiteter. Detta avspeglas mycket tydligt i rapporten *Healing memories*. När det lutherska världsförbundet 2009 beslöt att be mennoniterna om förlåtelse sade Larry Miller, generalsekreteraren för det mennonitiska världsförbundet följande:

We receive your commitment to rightly remember this shared history, and your vulnerability in taking steps to heal the fractured body of Christ in which we live together, as a gift from God. We are aware of the difficulty of the task. We are dealing with holy histories, yours and ours. We are dealing with our most basic self-understandings, yours and ours. For you, the witness of the Augsburg Confession is foundational and authoritative, an essential shaper of your identity. For us, the witness of the Anabaptist martyrs is a living and vital story, retold in our global community of churches to build group identity. How can you distance yourself from the condemnations and their consequences while still honoring your history and strengthening your identity? How can we distance ourselves from use of the martyr tradition which perpetuates a sense of victimization and marginalization – and your reaching out for forgiveness pushes us to do precisely that – how can we thus distance ourselves while still honoring our history and strengthening our identity?⁷⁴

Miller pekar på historieskrivningens betydelse för de kollektiva identiteterna och de båda religiösa rörelsernas grundläggande självförståelse. Detta visar hur kollektiva identiteter både kan aktualiseras, förstärkas, och utmanas genom det kollektiva minnet.

Det finns flera inslag i försoningsprocesserna som har en minnespolitisk betydelse. Jag har tidigare i denna artikel pekat på de officiella ursäkternas betydelse. Sådana ursäkter bidrar till konstruktionen av en omvandlad bild av det förflutna och det kollektiva minnet. Samtidigt

74 *Healing memories ...* (2010) s. 7f.

påverkar detta kollektiva gruppidentiteter. Jan Lofström har analyserat offentliga ursäkter i Finland och beskriver det på följande sätt:

Historical apologies are politics of history in that they contribute to the construction of the public view of the past. They are also politics of cultural citizenship as they entail recognition of injustices that are often significant to the identity and self-perception of the victims. In this respect, they can serve inclusionary purposes; historical apologies for the previously unacknowledged suffering are to the victims a confirmation of their symbolic inclusion in the (national or other) community – their painful memories are institutionally incorporated in ‘our shared memory’ and ‘our history’.⁷⁵

Lofström menar att de offentliga ursäkternas betydelse ligger i deras förmåga att fungera som riter för symbolisk inklusion. Den inkluderande processen riktas till människor vars kollektiva minnen och erfarenheter har osynliggjorts i de offentliga historieböckerna och vars historiska och kulturella identiteter inte har blivit erkända eller uppfattats som legitima av det omgivande samhället. Den reparativa handlingen tillerkänner de diskriminerade gruppernas minnen en plats i det kollektiva narrativ som nationen bär upp, och därmed ges också offrens kollektiva identitet en legitimitet.⁷⁶

I fokus för försoningen återfinns således olika gruppers självförståelse och fiendebilder. Konflikter mellan grupper innehåller negativa föreställningar om den andra parten. En försoningsprocess innebär en bearbetning av dessa, och samtidigt en omvandlad självbild.⁷⁷ Omvandlingen innehåller tre dimensioner: självbilden, bilden av den

75 Jan Lofström, ”Historical apologies as acts of symbolic inclusion – and exclusion? Reflections on institutional apologies as politics of cultural citizenship”, *Citizenship Studies* 15:01 (2011) s. 96.

76 Lofström (2011) s. 95.

77 Rosoux (2009) s. 549f.

andre och bilden av det förflutna. Här finns olika utmaningar. För den grupp som varit offer för våld, förtryck och andra övergrepp handlar det om att successivt låta bilden av den egna gruppens offerskap kompletteras och nyanseras. För den part som begått övergrepp innebär det att kunna se detta och agera i motsatt riktning. För båda parter handlar det om att motverka negativa stereotypiseringar, undvika ensidiga tolkningar där den egna gruppens agerande enbart framställs i ett positivt sken, som osynliggör kritik av de egna handlingarna.⁷⁸

Sanningen, ljuset och det förflutnas avgrunder

Men sanningen ska upp i ljuset, tycker jag. Sen är det klart att vår ställning efter 2000 är ju lite annorlunda. Förut, det som kyrkan gjorde, gjorde man ju också som del av staten. Och nu är vi friare att kunna granska det här också. Och det är viktigt att vi gör det, för framtiden. För det är ju så lätt att en kyrka går i opinioners och taters ledband. Vad kan vi lära av sådant? Det här att lägga skuld på människor som inte längre lever, det tror jag man ska vara lite försiktig med. Men man ska sannerligen se till att ta reda på: Vad var det som hände? Så att vi inte faller i samma gropar.

Citatet ovan är hämtat ur en intervju i radio Sápmi med ärkebiskop Anders Wejryd i februari 2013.⁷⁹ Det tjänar här som utgångspunkt för en diskussion om Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete i relation till samerna. Det framgick ovan att det finns flera orsaker till att detta försoningsarbete initierades. Såväl samerna som Svenska kyrkan har tagit intryck av globala kyrkliga förändringsprocesser och politiska rörelser som dels verkat för att stärka urfolkens rättigheter, dels arbetat

78 Rosoux (2009) s. 549f.; Enns & Seiling (2015) s. 31ff.

79 Intervju med dåvarande ärkebiskop Anders Wejryd i Rádio Sápmi den 26 februari 2013, tillgänglig via Rádio Sápmis hemsida, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=3965&artikel=5455515>>, 18/8 2015.

för att initiera försoningsprocesser mellan de institutioner som deltagit i den tidigare koloniala politiken och de urfolk som drabbats. Här har de nationella kyrkorna haft en viktig uppgift eftersom de både har bidragit till det förtryck som urfolk har utsatts för i olika länder och har spelat en viktig roll i dekolonialiseringen i dessa länder när försoningsarbetet har påbörjats.

Men även de internationella kyrkliga organisationerna har bidragit till att försoningsprocesser initieras. Såväl Lutherska världsförbundet som Kyrkornas världsråd har tagit upp och drivit frågor kring försoning. Redan vid 1990-talets början initierades sådant arbete inom dessa organisationer och medlemskyrkorna uppmanades att ta ansvar för sina relationer till urbefolkningar i de egna regionerna.⁸⁰ Försoningsarbetet kan således ses som ett uttryck för kyrkans ambition att ta ansvar för sitt koloniala arv. Denna historia är starkt präglad av att Svenska kyrkan fram till 2000 var statskyrka.⁸¹ Wejryd pekar exempelvis i citatet ovan på att ”det kyrkan gjorde, gjorde man som en del av staten”. Kyrkans nära relation till staten betonas som en förklaring till de orättvisor som ska undersökas. Det är givetvis korrekt – men denna förklaring kan också nyanseras med en diskussion om kyrkans eget ansvar.⁸²

Wejryd pekar även på att friheten från staten innebär en ökad möjlighet att faktiskt gå in i en försoningsprocess. Samtidigt är det viktigt att se att det försoningsarbete som nu pågår är direkt relaterat till att den svenska staten har genomfört ett liknande arbete.⁸³ Tre år innan

80 Sören Ekström & Marie Schött, *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm 2006) s. 105; Tyrberg (2013) s. 164f.

81 Ekström & Schött (2006), s. 9, 36, 83, 86, 101f.

82 Jfr Rolf Steffensen, ”Å gjøre bot for gammel urett: Noen utfordringer fra kirkens forsoningsprosjekt i lulesamisk område”, i Stephen Sirris (red.), *Kirke i kultur og kontekst* (Tromsø 2007) s. 109f.

83 För statens del, se exempelvis Peter Johansson, *Samerna: Ett ursprungsfolk eller en minoritet? En studie av svensk samepolitik 1986–2005* (Göteborg 2008). Se även *Samerna – ett ursprungsfolk i Sverige: Frågan om Sveriges*

Karl-Johan Tyrberg formulerade sin bön om förlåtelse bad dåvarande sameminister Annika Åhnberg offentligt om ursäkt med anledning av den svenska statens övergrepp mot samerna. Hon sade bland annat att:

Jag tycker att vi måste ha lärt oss någonting av historien och jag vill gärna ta det här tillfället i akt och säga till er, som representant för den svenska regeringen och det svenska samhället att jag är väl medveten om det förtryck som Sverige har utövat över det samiska folket genom historien. Jag vill å regeringens vägnar be om ursäkt för det.⁸⁴

Det finns därmed ett gemensamt förflutet som man försöker hantera. Stat och kyrka går fortfarande i takt, fastän de institutionella banden är avklippta.

När Svenska kyrkan nu försöker ta sig an detta arv sker det bland annat genom att kyrkan försöker kartlägga vad som faktiskt skett i det förflutna. Ärkebiskop Wejryd säger i citatet ovan att det är viktigt att ”sanningen ska upp i ljuset”. Ordet *sanning* syftar här på kunskaper om de historiska övergreppen. Andra företrädare för kyrkan har resonerat på liknande sätt. Exempelvis skriver biskop Karl-Johan Tyrberg i en motion till kyrkomötet år 2000 att ”sanning och försöning hör samman. Ett klagande av sammanhang i det förgångna kan ge material till en försöning i nutid. Genom ett sådant sanningsökande skapas ny historia med helande och gottgörelse och bidrag till gemensam framtidstro”.⁸⁵ Samma beskrivning återfinns i Samiska

anslutning till ILO:s konvention nr 169, Statens offentliga utredningar 1999:25 (Stockholm 1999); Att återta mitt språk: Åtgärder för att stärka det samiska språket, Statens offentliga utredningar 2006:19 (Stockholm 2006).

84 *Att återta mitt språk* (2006) s. 78.

85 *Motion till Kyrkomötet 2000:32 av Karl-Johan Tyrberg m.fl. om den samiska befolkningens identitet i Svenska kyrkan*, KMot 2000:32, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/motioner/KMot-31.htm>>, 25/8 2015.

rådets verksamhetsberättelse från år 2000 med tillägget att ”denna process måste förankras så brett som möjligt och föras vidare i dialog med samerna samt övriga delar av Svenska kyrkan”.⁸⁶

Också kyrkostyrelsen har formulerat detta. I en skrivelse till kyrkomötet år 2000 skriver kyrkostyrelsen att:

Svenska kyrkan iklädde sig redan i början av 1990-talet genom beslut i Kyrkomötet förpliktelser till följd av vad Lutherska världsförbundets och Kyrkornas världsråds generalförsamlingar uttalat om urbefolkningars situation och rättigheter. Det är nu dags att gå vidare i fråga om den urbefolkning i vårt eget land som samerna utgör. I dialog med Samiska rådet inom Svenska kyrkan vill Kyrkostyrelsen finna stegen i en försoningsprocess. Övergrepp och misstag, fördomar och okunskap i det förgångna måste lyftas fram på ett sådant sätt att vi kan lära för framtiden, lägga det förflutna bakom oss och gå vidare tillsammans.⁸⁷

Liknande ställningstaganden formuleras också i utredningen *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (SKU 2006:1). Där står att försoning innebär att båda parter ”sätter sig in i historien i syfte att förstå vad som hänt. Det betyder ett grundligt studium också av vad kyrkohistorien har att berätta”.⁸⁸

86 Kyrkostyrelsens skrivelse till Kyrkomötet 2000:3. Verksamhetsberättelse för Svenska kyrkans stiftelse för rikskyrklig verksamhet för år 1999; Bilaga 6 Samiska rådet i Svenska kyrkan. Verksamhetsområde Samiskt kyrkoliv, KsSkr 2000:3, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/skrivelser/2000-3/ksskroo-03-original.htm>>, 28/8 2015.

87 Kyrkostyrelsens skrivelse till Kyrkomötet 2000:1. Mål och rambudget för Svenska kyrkans nationella nivå åren 2001–2003 2.1 Den nationella nivåns uppdrag, KsSkr 2000:1, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/skrivelser/2000-1/ksskroo-01-original.htm>>, 29/8 2015.

88 Ekström & Schött (2006) s. 105.

Här finns en samsyn som innebär att man först måste blicka mot det förflutna och undersöka vad som egentligen har skett och synliggöra övergreppen innan man kan gå vidare i försoningsprocessen. I Tyrbergs och Samiska rådets formuleringar artikuleras också tankar om bearbetandet av det förflutna som en läkande process – ett gemensamt sökande efter kunskap. De kunskaper som växer fram kan sedan ligga till grund för gottgörelse från kyrkans sida. Både Tyrberg och Wejryd menar också att det är möjligt att lära av historien – och därmed inte falla i samma gropar som kyrkan fallit i tidigare.

Historisk skuld

En viktig fråga som dyker upp i Wejryds argumentation handlar om historisk skuld. Han säger att ”det här att lägga skuld på människor som inte längre lever, det tror jag man ska vara lite försiktig med”. Han menar således att det är viktigt att synliggöra begångna orättvisor – men att skuldfrågan är problematisk. Här tycks Wejryd värja sig inför tanken på historisk skuld.

Frågan om skuld är dock en viktig punkt i en försoningsprocess. Hur ska övergrepp och orättvisor kunna lyftas fram i ljuset utan att också de organisationer, institutioner och även personer som var delaktiga åläggs ett ansvar för sin medverkan i förtrycket? Wejryd har vid ett annat tillfälle, i samtal med samiska representanter, återkommit till frågan om skuld, då han sade följande:

Vilket ansvar har vi för tidigare generationer? Det kan vi fundera på. Jag känner inte något ansvar för de dumheter min morfar gjorde. Men jag vet att jag är påverkad av dem och jag hoppas att mina barnbarn inte retar upp sig på dem. Vi har alla ett ansvar för de misstag vi begår, ett ansvar för att ta in historiska erfarenheter. Det som verkar självklart nu kanske inte är det om 20 år.⁸⁹

89 *Rapport från Ságestallamat ...* (2012) s. 54.

Wejryd talar här åter om skuld och ansvar. Han rör sig dock hela tiden på ett individuellt och personligt plan. En annan ledande representant för Svenska kyrkan som tagit upp frågan om försoning, historia och skuld är förre ärkebiskopen K G Hammar. Tyrberg var nämligen inte den förste representanten för den självständiga Svenska kyrkan som offentligt bad om ursäkt. Ett viktigt steg togs redan år 2000 av Hammar som då var ärkebiskop. Parallellt med försoningsarbetet med samerna inledde nämligen Svenska kyrkan en försoningsprocess med ytterligare en grupp som man förbrutit sig mot – romerna.⁹⁰ I slutet av 1990-talet initierades detta försoningsarbete och vid en gudstjänst i Göteborg i juni år 2000 framförde Hammar en offentlig ursäkt till romerna.⁹¹ Hans ursäkt formulerades på följande sätt:

Vi vill idag i Svenska kyrkan så tydligt vi kan säga att vi sörjer över det som vår egen tradition har orsakat romer av skilda grupper i vårt land. Där vi skulle vara bärare av evangeliet, budskapet om Guds villkorlösa kärlek, där bidrog vi till att resa murar, skapa främlingskap, ta del i förföljelsen. Det andra är när vårt samhälle stiftade lagar som utdefinierade folk så blev kyrkan inget skydd utan kanske till och med en pådrivande faktor. Vi känner sorg och smärta över detta.⁹²

Hammar ber inte explicit om ursäkt eller om förlåtelse. Han betonar vid två tillfällen den egna smärtan och sorgen som ”vi i Svenska kyrkan” känner. I stället för den skuld- och förlätelsematik som finns

90 *Inkludering och försoning: En rapport om romer och resande i Svenska kyrkan* (Uppsala 2013), Enheten för flerspråkighet, Kyrkokansliet, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=989898>>, 3/3 2014; Ida Ohlsson Al Fakir, *Svenska kyrkans förhållande till romer och resande ca 1900–1950* (Uppsala 2013) s. 5f.

91 Per Harling, *Ur djupen ropar vi: Andakt och gudstjänst med fokus på försoning, fred, miljö och rättvisa* (Sundbyberg 2003) s. 62–64.

92 *Inkludering och försoning ...* (2013) s. 8.

i Tyrbergs bön handlar Hammars ursäkt om förtryckarnas sorg och smärta för sin oförmåga att göra det rätta. Han förlägger ansvaret för de tidigare bristerna på det han kallar ”vår egen tradition”. Hammar säger alltså att han sörjer över att kyrkan brast i sitt förhållningssätt och att detta drabbade romerna. Detta kan därmed tolkas som en ursäkt utan att den explicit innehåller de performativa uttryck som karaktäriserar en ursäkt.

Hammar var ärkebiskop och på så sätt en nyckelperson vid den tidpunkt då försoningsprocesserna inleddes. Det finns därför anledning att ytterligare undersöka den historiesyn och den försoningstanke som präglar hans uttalanden. För att få djupare inblick i Hammars sätt att tolka försoning och historisk skuld kan vi gå till hans inledningstal vid kyrkomötet i maj år 2000. Detta tal handlade i sin helhet om hur Svenska kyrkan skulle hantera sitt förflutna som ett led i de försoningsprocesser som hade påbörjats.

Att ge sig in i en försoningsprocess är att söka vägar till läkedom och ny gemenskap och bära den smärta som medvetenhet om det förflutnas mörka avgrunder medför. Ett första steg i en sådan process är alltid kunskap, medvetenhet om vad historien bär på, ansträngningar att försöka förstå, inte försvara, förstå både den som förortat och den som blivit förortad. Det handlar om att undvika en ensidig läsning av vårt förflutna. Det handlar om att ingen av oss kan hänvisa till en tid då kyrkan som en fläckfri spegel avspeglade Guds härlighet och människor trodde rätt och handlade kärleksfullt som en naturlig frukt av denna tro. Det handlar om att se att se att mycken kärlekslöshet skett därför att kristna människor trott att det var Guds vilja, att den rätta tron krävde förnekelse, förföljelse, till och med utdräning.⁹³

93 Karl Gustav Hammar, *Lättare packning – men hur?*, Tal vid kyrkomötets inledning den 16 maj 2000 i Uppsala, se <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/div/hammar-inledningstal-km.htm>>, 10/8 2014.

Hammar menade att försoningsprocessen måste inledas med ett öppet och nyanserat sökande efter kunskap om det förflutna. Både de som har begått oförrätter och de som har blivit utsatta för övergrepp ska hanteras utifrån samma önskan om förståelse. I denna hermeneutiska process uppstår smärta. Det handlar bland annat om insikten att den kristna tron inte är något skydd mot felsteg. I Guds namn har människor genom historien begått förkastliga handlingar. Hammar beskriver således en omvandlad kollektiv självbild vars historiska dimensioner ska inrymma det förflutnas misstag och illgärningar. Han betonar inte statens roll i förtrycket utan lyfter fram kyrkans eget ansvar. Jag tolkar Hammars betoning av nyanserad förståelse och varning för ensidiga tolkningar som en uppmaning att inte låta kunskapssökandet bli alltför moraliserande eller dömande. Vad sägs då om skuld i Hammars tal?

Det som skett i det förflutna kan inte göras ogjort idag. Det kommer för alltid att vara en del av vår historia. Ingen av oss som lever idag kan heller göras personligen ansvariga för det onda som gjorts i det förflutna. Men vi måste anstränga oss att överbygga och hela också nedärvt främlingskap. Vi vet hur lätt historiskt begångna oförrätter blir till en del av en identitet idag, kanske är vi själva bärare av en sådan identitet. Vi ska inte underskatta svårigheten att ta emot en hand utsträckt i försoningens anda, om den samtidigt betyder att jag måste uppge min identitet som förorättad, förtryckt eller kränkt, även om det handlar om historia, tradition och kanske till och med legender.

Någon personlig skuld finns inte, men däremot har vi ett kollektivt historiskt arv som vi måste leva med. Frågan är hur vi hantlar detta arv. En uppgift som åligger oss på grund av det historiska arvet är enligt Hammar att bidra till läkning av det främlingskap som förtrycket har skapat. Det framgår inte riktigt av Hammars tal vad han syftar på när han talar om främlingskap. Han riktar sig i detta

sammanhang samtidigt till grupper eller individer som inte kan släppa det förflutnas oförrätter utan fastnar i en offerroll. Hammar tycks mena att fokuseringen av historiskt förtryck innebär en risk. Den som inte förmår släppa taget om sin "identitet som förorättad" kan genom detta försvåra en försoningsprocess.

Liknande uttalanden har gjorts av ärkebiskop Anders Wejryd. I ett referat från ett samtal med samiska representanter år 2011 säger Wejryd att "hoppet lär de kristna att sluta att vara offer. Det är lätt att båda sidor ser sig som det. Vi ska inte bidra till det".⁹⁴ Även här talas således om offerskapet som en del av en självbild som kan och bör väljas bort.

Vid ett försök att tolka Hammars sätt att tala om identitet och skuld framgår att han menar att historien inte alstrar någon personlig skuld för de efterlevande. Hammar nämner inte heller begreppen skuld för att beskriva kyrkans kollektiva ansvar. Däremot hävdar Hammar att de vars arv utgörs av ett historiskt förtryck löper risk att integrera offerskapet i sin identitet.

I citaten ovan har två centrala aspekter av hanteringen av det förflutna inom ramen för en försoningsprocess synliggjorts – frågan om skuld och offerskap. Både Hammar och Wejryd diskuterar dessa frågor på en personlig nivå. Det konkreta ansvaret för historiska övergrepp kan inte ärvas – samtidigt som de uppmanar förorättade parter att släppa taget om såväl individuellt som kollektivt historiskt offerskap. Skuld ses således som individrelaterat och därför kan ingen människa lastas för någon annan människas handlingar. Samtidigt tycks det offerskap som det historiska förtrycket skapat de facto ärvas. Dessutom beskrivs detta som ett problem, men samtidigt något som de efterlevande kan välja bort – kasta av sig. Här synliggörs skilda sätt att förhålla sig till historiska processer och händelser som väcker viktiga frågor. Vad sker exempelvis i en försoningsprocess av detta slag

94 *Rapport från Sägastallamat ...* (2012) s. 55.

när representanter för den part som varit förtryckande uppmanar den förorättade parten att ruska av sig det förflutna och välja bort offerskapet? Det kan exempelvis uppfattas som en reduktion av de känslor av utanförskap som dessa människor lever i och som de tolkar som ett resultat av historiska övergrepp.

Hammar kommer åter in på frågan om identitet och skuld lite senare i sitt tal. Denna gång handlar det om de val som vi gör här och nu.

Vad innebär en historisk klarsyn för vår identitet idag? Det är ingen enkel fråga och jag ska undvika att antyda ett enkelt svar. Vi kan också ställa frågan så: vad kommer generationerna efter oss att anklaga oss för, för vad i vårt handlande och vårt prioriterande, i vår tolkning av vad kristet lärjungaskap innebär, kommer de att känna sorg och söka försoning? Finns det vägar att idag undvika att framtiden får så mycket att be om ursäkt för, skämmas för, söka förlåtelse och försoning för? Vi – här och nu – längtar efter en lättare packning. En packning som gör mig mera fri, fri att tjäna, fri att vittna, fri att vara.⁹⁵

Med hjälp av diskussioner om historisk skuld och försoning riktar Hammar blicken mot framtiden och pekar på att vi också kommer att generera ett historiskt arv till framtida generationer. Hur kan historiska kunskaper hjälpa oss att undvika att detta blir ett tungt arv? Hammar tycks mena att med en historisk klarsyn kan vi skapa bättre relationer – överbrygga främlingskap och därigenom skapa en lättare packning, inte fullt lika tyngd av historisk bråte. Med insikt om det förflutna kan vi försöka gestalta en bättre framtid.

Hammars önskan om en lättare packning som gör honom ”fri att tjäna, fri att vittna, fri att vara” är viktig för hans sätt att beskriva den

95 Hammar, *Lättare packning – men hur?* (2000).

historiska klarsynens betydelse. Men för att till fullo förstå vad som åsyftas måste försoningen också tolkas teologiskt. Både i Tyrbergs bön 2001 och i Hammars tal vid kyrkomötet 2000 applicerades en teologisk försoningsuppfattning på de försoningsprocesser som Svenska kyrkan deltog i. Tyrberg talade om att Svenska kyrkan och samerna fortsättningsvis skulle vandra en "försoningens väg i Jesu namn". I Hammars tal handlade försoningen om relationen till katolska kyrkan, till det judiska folket, till samerna och till romerna. Han utvecklade sambandet mellan försoning och teologi på följande sätt:

Det specifikt kristna är att livet sker på nåd, att vi inte förtjänar Guds kärlek utan är oförtjänta mottagare av den, att Gud för Kristi skull ständigt erbjuder oss en ny och frisk relation, en ständig nystart, möjligheten att lägga bakom sig, att gå vidare på lätta steg, med lättare packning. Men vi förväntas inte vara helt passiva i denna nyskapelse. Det ligger en gudomlig förväntan på oss att gå till mötes, att sätta namn på smärta och övergrepp. Jesus i Bergspredikan (Matt. 5: 23–24): 'Om du bär fram din offergåva till altaret och där kommer ihåg att din broder har något otalt med dig, så låt din gåva ligga framför altaret och gå först och försona dig med honom. Kom sedan tillbaka och bär fram din gåva.' Men om den broder eller syster vi försyndade oss emot inte längre är inom räckhåll, inte är kvar i livet? Och om det inte var jag personligen som försyndade mig, om det var människor, samhöriga med mig i en och samma trostradition, men som jag likväl inte kan ta personligt ansvar för. Hur gör jag då? Frågorna är många överallt i Kristi kyrka, där det finns en vilja att se med klarare ögon och gå med lättare packning. Vad gör vi med skuggorna, de mörka sidorna, de svarta hålen?

I citatet ovan formulerar Hammar en teologisk förståelse av grunderna för de aktuella försoningsprocesserna. För att kunna försonas med Gud måste människan först försonas med sin nästa. Här återkommer den tanke som låg till grund för kyrkoplikten fram till

1800-talet. Samtidigt dyker Hammars önskan om en lättare packning upp på nytt. Denna packning erhålls genom den ständiga nystart som människan kan erhålla genom att erhålla Guds nåd. Även om människan erhåller denna nåd utan att behöva förtjäna den finns det något som hon förväntas göra. Det handlar enligt Hammar om att ”gå till mötes, att sätta namn på smärta och övergrepp”. Vad som åsyftas här är något otydligt. Han pekar dock både på betydelsen att övergreppet beskrivs och att offrets upplevelse ges utrymme. I traditionellt luthersk teologi är det snarare synden och därmed också skulden som ska formuleras. Det handlar om en syndabekännelse. Här väljer Hammar dock att inte använda traditionella termer utan beskriver beaktelsen på ett annat sätt.

Axla skuld och identifiera ansvar

Det har framgått ovan att Tyrberg, Wejryd och Hammar betonar historieskrivningens betydelse för en försoningsprocess. Även om det finns en enighet bakom tanken att det är viktigt att belysa vad som skett i det förflutna finns dock en större mångfald i frågan om syftet bakom tillbakablickandet och nyttan av ett sådant tillvägagångssätt. Blickar vi bakåt för att dra lärdomar? För att kunna glömma och gå vidare? För att få Guds förlåtelse? För att klargöra ansvars- och skuldfrågan? För att kunna läka relationer? Historieforskningens roll i försoningsprocessen är något oklar i citaten ovan, likaså vad den ska följas av.

I utredningen *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (SKU 2006:1) finns dock en beskrivning som kan ge en indikation om hur man inom Svenska kyrkan tänker i denna fråga:

Försoning måste, som man konstaterat i Norge, innebära bl.a. följande: De orättfärdigheter som förekommit skall erkännas, i princip och konkret, punkt för punkt. Om de som begått övergreppen inte själva kan erkänna dem – övergreppen kan ju ligga generationer tillbaka – så måste någon offentligt göra det på deras vägnar. Som en

följd av att orättfärdigheterna erkänts måste en tydlig önskan till nytänkande och bättring finnas.⁹⁶

Utredarna fastställer en ordning och urskiljer de moment som ska ingå i processen. Det handlar om sökandet efter klarhet, erkännande, nytänkande och bättring. De hänvisar till de erfarenheter som gjorts i Norge och syftar förmodligen på det erkännande som Norska kyrkan uttalade vid kyrkomötet 1997. Detta uttalande innehåller nämligen ett erkännande och uppvisande av nytänkande och bättring.⁹⁷

Det har framgått ovan att en försöningsprocess av det slag som här diskuteras kräver att det som skett i det förflutna måste erkännas. Detta erkännande handlar, enligt min tolkning, först och främst om att kyrkan dels ska undersöka vad som egentligen har skett och därefter ta på sig ansvaret för sin medverkan i det förtryck som pågått. Men vad innebär detta ansvar?

En forskare som försökt att nå en förståelse av den historiska skuldens problematik är Janna Thompson.⁹⁸ Hon skiljer mellan ett synkront och ett diakront perspektiv på skuld. Det synkrona synsättet innebär att skulden endast kan bäras av den individ som begått övergreppet. Thompson menar att teorier om nationers, kyrkors och organisationers moraliska förpliktelser, rättvisa och historisk skuld istället bör utgå från ett diakront och därmed generationsöverskridande

96 Ekström & Schött (2006) s. 105f.

97 Tore Johnsen, *Samisk kirkeråd. Et historisk tilbakeblikk og veien framover*, Samisk kirkehistorieseminar 10 november 2012, Tromsø, se <<https://www.kirken.no/?event=doLink&famID=17367>>, 3/3 2014; *Urfolk i den verdensvide kirke med utgangspunkt i samisk kirkeliv*, Norska kyrkans erkännande av skuld och offentliga ursäkt till samerna i Norge, se beslut och resolutioner i samband med Norska kyrkans kyrkomöte 1997, Sak KM 13/97, <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/kirkemotet/dokumenter_vedtak/kirkemotet-09.11.1997---14.11.1997-trondheim/>, 3/3 2014.

98 Jfr Thompson (2002).

perspektiv. Det innebär att även om de individer som utövade förtrycket är döda så har de efterföljande representanterna för dessa organisationer en skyldighet att undersöka övergreppen och en moralisk förpliktelse att reparera skadan.⁹⁹

Att identifiera och axla ansvaret för historiskt förtryck innebär även att inkorporera detta i sin kollektiva självförståelse och sin förståelse av den grupp som utsatts för övergrepp. Det handlar om en omtolkning av den relation parterna står i. Ett sådant erkännande innebär enligt Thompson att kliva in i ett moraliskt förhållande där den part som tar ansvar för det orättfärdiga i det förflutna gör det genom att samtidigt ta på sig ett ansvar att – i den mån det är möjligt – ställa saker till rätta. Historisk skuld kan således inte undanröjas genom ett erkännande. Det är endast ett steg på vägen. Erkännandet är ett nödvändigt och viktigt steg men den historiska skulden innehåller skyldigheter att i ord och handling agera i en annan riktning än tidigare.

Även om det i exemplen ovan formuleras olika tolkningar av vilka slutsatser man kan dra av den historiska forskningen så finns där en gemensam utgångspunkt – tanken att en försoning kräver en tillbakablick mot det förflutna. Det innebär att Svenska kyrkans historiska ansvar för de kränkningar som samer fått utstå lyfts fram i ljuset. I talet om skuld och försoning finns således olika nivåer. De kyrkliga företrädare som i dag axlar historisk skuld gör det som representanter för sitt samfund utan att själva bära någon personlig skuld i det förtryck som pågått bakåt i tiden. Däremot kan det givetvis finnas en personlig och kollektiv skuld för det förtryck som eventuellt pågår i dag.

Detta representantskap framgår tydligt i biskop Tyrbergs bön om förlåtelse vid försoningsgudstjänsten i Undersåkers kyrka den 25 mars 2001. Han sade att ”som kyrka erkänner vi att vi har del i den skuld som ligger kvar från det förgångna. Vi ber om förlåtelse för det som vi tänkt och gjort fel och för det som vi försummat”. I det ögonblick han formulerade bönen representerade han dagens Svenska kyrka men

99 Thompson (2002) s. 148ff.

också denna kyrka ur ett historiskt perspektiv. I bönen finns en vilighet att axla historisk och kollektiv skuld som en del av försoningsprocessen. Skulden och ångern tycks uppfattas som något nödvändigt. Först därefter kan relationen upprättas och en gemensam väg framåt kan stakas ut.

Förstår inte Gud samiska?

Vid Sägastallamat, en konferens år 2011 om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, fick samer berätta om sina olika erfarenheter av att leva som same i Sverige. En av dessa var Johannes Marainen, medlem av samiska rådet i Svenska kyrkan. Han betonade vikten av att de samiska språken används inom kyrkan och berättade att: "När jag växte upp fick jag tanken: förstår inte Gud samiska? Religiösa frågor omtalades på finska men inte på samiska – som om vårt språk inte duger när man ska samtala om och med Gud."¹⁰⁰ Den fråga som väcktes inom Marainen – och den upplevelse som alstrade den – ska utgöra föremål för artikelns avslutande resonemang nedan. Men dessförinnan ska Marainen få berätta lite mer om sina upplevelser. Han beskriver nedan hur han, via den diskriminering och försvenskingsprocess som skolan innebar för de samiska barnen under 1950-talet, berövades både sin historia och sitt språk.¹⁰¹

Den värsta insikten var dock att jag, för jag hade trott att det var modersmålet, svenskan var det väsentligaste, också hade själv berövat mina barn mitt språk. Än värre är det att höra sin dotter säga: "Jag fick aldrig möjlighet att lära mig känna min farfar – jag hade inget språk att tala med honom på." Vems fel är det? Jo mitt. Jag

100 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012), s. 6.

101 Jfr Huuva & Blind (2016).

hade inte gett henne mitt eget språk så hon kunde tala med honom. Så är det för många av oss samer.

Kyrkan är åtminstone delansvarig. I början av 1900-talet fick dåvarande biskopen i Luleå i uppdrag att ta reda på vad samer behövde lära sig. Hans medhjälpare kyrkoherde Vitalis Karnell i Karesuando skrev bl.a. ”låt dem inte läppja på civilisationens bågare ... det blir i alla fall bara ett läppjande, men det har aldrig och skall aldrig bli till välsignelse. Lapp ska vara lapp”. Kyrkan förvaltade sameskolan väldigt länge och beslutade om den samiska undervisningen, fastän staten så småningom tog över ansvaret. Men skolan har ända från tiden då den leddes av kyrkan fört vidare att samer inte har något värde. Därför är det nu viktigt att kyrkan ser till att språket får användas.

När förre biskopen i Luleå för första gången använde samiska vid en mässa i Umeå, kom två samekvinnor fram och tackade biskopen för att han använt samiska. De kände att de blivit erkända när en biskop bevärdigar sig att använda deras språk. Det märkligaste var att de själva berövats sitt språk och inte kunde samiska. Detta om något visar symbolvärdet för användandet av samiska i kyrkan.¹⁰²

Marainen beskriver en upplevelse av alienering, en dubbel exkludering, som innebar att han både avlägsnades från den gemenskap som hans egen släkt utgjorde och som ledde till att han aldrig fick uppleva jämlik delaktighet i de svenska sammanhangen. I hans berättelse finns en sorg över den språkliga omstöpningsprocess som han tvingades delta i som barn och som resulterade i att hans egna barn förlorade kontakten med det språk som var Marainens och hans föräldrars modersmål. I hans berättelse finns också en betoning av

102 *Rapport från Ságastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012), s. 15f.

Svenska kyrkans delaktighet i denna process. Å ena sidan bär således kyrkan ett tungt ansvar för det som skedde, å andra sidan har kyrkan stora möjligheter att påverka nuet genom att agera för en inkludering av samernas språk.

I inledningen av denna artikel tog jag upp frågan om sambandet mellan försoning, inklusion och erkännandet av en grupps grundläggande rättigheter och behov. Jag vill avsluta artikeln med att fördjupa detta resonemang och då ta min utgångspunkt dels i Johan Marainens skildring, dels reflektera över Karl-Johan Tyrbergs sätt att beskriva försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. Jag syftar på ett tal som han höll på samernas nationaldag 2015 för Samer i syd i Malmö och som bar titeln *Försoning som en väg att gå tillsammans*.¹⁰³ Tyrberg blickade då tillbaka på den försoningsprocess som pågått de senaste decennierna och han talade även om den försoningsgudstjänst som han höll 2001. Tyrberg sade att gudstjänsten påminde om "vad som måste vara självklart för oss som kyrka och som vi försummat: Det kristna budskapet visar på alla människors lika värde. Tron måste uttryckas på modersmålet och med eget kulturellt symbolspråk. Kyrkan har en profetisk uppgift att ge röst åt den som inte kan göra sin röst hörd".¹⁰⁴

Jag betraktar citatet ovan som ett uttryck för en inkluderingsstrategi som innebär ett erkännande av samernas mänskliga rättigheter utifrån teologiska utgångspunkter. Det erkännande som formuleras handlar om varje människas lika värde och att varje människa har rätt att uttrycka sin tro på sitt modersmål och med det kulturella symbolspråk som hon betraktar som sitt eget. En kyrka ska, menar Tyrberg, vara inkluderande i denna bemärkelse. Denna tydlighet blir särskilt viktigt när det handlar om grupper som är samhälleligt

103 Karl-Johan Tyrberg, *Försoning som en väg att gå tillsammans*, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=1228062>>, 2/4 2016. Jfr Tyrberg (2013).

104 Tyrberg (2015) s. 3.

marginaliserade. Deras röster bör också ges utrymme i den kyrkliga gemenskapen.

Tyrberg tycks mena att det är genom kulturell och språklig inkludering som kyrkans universella gemenskap konstitueras. Denna typ av erkännande är enligt min mening ett viktigt kyrkligt bidrag till den övergripande samhällsliga process som syftar till att förbättra samernas villkor i Sverige. Detta kan relateras till att kyrkan, enligt Tyrberg, inte i tillräckligt hög omfattning stått upp för samernas människovärde och rättigheter. Att inkludera samernas modersmål och kulturella symbolspråk i kyrkliga praktiker innebär att i ord och handling erbjuda delaktighet.

Teologen Ola Sigurdson har pekat på hur teologiska argument kan sammantvinnas med ett betonande av människovärdet och därmed också mänskliga rättigheter. Han skriver att frågan om mänskliga rättigheter hänger, ”historiskt, såväl som i samtiden, intimt samman med teologiska frågeställningar om just synen på människan och motiveringen av människovärdet”.¹⁰⁵ I den kristna antropologin finns en grundläggande föreställning om människan som skapad till Guds avbild. Det är grunden för den teologiska betoningen av människors lika värde. Det innebär ett erkännande av ett omistligt värde som varje människa bär. Sigurdson betonar att denna gudsavbildlighet överskrider alla skillnader mellan människor. Den inkluderar således alla människor oavsett tro, språk eller kulturell tillhörighet och är snarare relationell än substantiell. Varje människa är enligt denna föreställning skapad av Gud och har en gudsrelation som både överskrider och genomsyrar de sociala relationer som hon är invävd i. Sigurdson menar därmed att en viktig uppgift för kyrkor kan vara att kämpa för mänskliga rättigheter.¹⁰⁶

105 Sigurdson (2009) s. 254.

106 Sigurdson (2009) s. 256.

En viktig fråga är således vilka effekter det blir när en statskyrka upprätthåller religiös exkludering. Jag menar att kyrkans medverkan förstärker den övriga samhälleliga exkluderingen på ett mycket djupgående sätt. Men detta gäller i lika hög utsträckning när en kyrka agerar på motsatt sätt. När en kyrka vägrar delta i en samhällelig exkludering och istället genomför en religiös inkludering i form av en teologisk betoning av marginaliserade gruppers människovärde och även i konkret handling visar detta innebär det ett erkännande som kan vara av stor betydelse för deltagarna i den aktuella gruppen. En sådan inkludering kan innebära ett viktigt emotionellt stöd och utgöra ett steg i en individuell och kollektiv kamp för upprättelse, rättvisa och ökad samhällelig inklusion. Den norske samiske teologen och prästen Tore Johnsen skriver att "när man synliggör den samiska gudstjänsten genom språk och symboler, så fungerar det ofta närmast som en politisk handling in i ett lokalt samhälle. Det vill säga: Det sänder ett budskap om att kyrkan menar att det samiska är en naturlig och viktig del av det lokalsamhället".¹⁰⁷ En sådan religiös inkludering har inte bara en avgörande betydelse för samerna utan även för samhället och för kyrkan som helhet – för Svenska kyrkans kollektiva självbild, för hennes samhälleliga roll och för den andliga gemenskapen inom kyrkan.

Detta resonemang om erkännandets fundamentala funktion kan relateras till teologen Johanna Gustafsson Lundbergs sätt att betona erkännandeprocessernas betydelse för Svenska kyrkan. Gustafsson Lundberg utgår från filosofen Axel Honneths erkännandeteori som betonar människors behov av erkännande inom tre grundläggande områden: kärlek, juridiskt/rättsligt erkännande och social uppskattning. Dessa områden är enligt Honneth centrala för människors identitetsformering och deras möjligheter att utveckla självförtroende, självrespekt och självuppskattning. När människor förvägras

107 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012) s. 27.

erkännande startar det enligt Honneth en social kamp för erkännande inom de exkluderade grupperna.¹⁰⁸

Gustafsson Lundberg driver tesen att kyrkan kan och bör utgöra en infrastruktur för erkännande. Genom erkännandeprocesser återupprättas människovärdet för olika grupper och de individer vars behov av erkännande tidigare negligerats får möjligheter till delaktighet och gemenskap på nya villkor. Gustafsson Lundberg formulerar här ett ecklesiologiskt synsätt som innebär att försoning och erkännande utgör delar av kyrkans primära funktioner. Detta kan även kopplas till Tyrbergs egna ord i talet ovan: ”Genom erkännandet öppnas för en försoning, och erkännandet utgör i sig en form av upprättelse. Ett helande kan ske i ömsesidighet, och båda parter kan ta ansvar för en gemensam framtid.”¹⁰⁹

Jag menar att Gustafsson Lundbergs teori om kyrkan som infrastruktur för erkännande kan tillämpas i en tolkning av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna och har gett exempel på detta ovan. I undersökningen av denna försoningsprocess blir det också tydligt att försoningsprocesser av detta slag innehåller olika former av erkännande. Tidigare forskning har främst fokuserat på betydelsen av erkännandet av skuld. Jag vill dock avslutningsvis också betona de övriga former av erkännande som ingår i försoningsprocessen och som samspelar inom ramen för det som kallas restorativ rättvisa.

Tyrberg talade exempelvis om kyrkans uppgift att ”ge röst åt den som inte kan göra sin röst hörd”. Det innebär givetvis att kyrkan måste variera sitt gudstjänstspråk. Men om det stannar där så är inte så mycket vunnet. Med utgångspunkt den restorativa rättvisans ambition att erkänna och uttrycka de erfarenheter som offren bär på menar jag

108 Gustafsson Lundberg (2012) s. 8, 18f. Jfr Bert van den Brink & David Owen (red.). *Recognition and power: Axel Honneth and the tradition of critical social theory* (Cambridge 2007).

109 Tyrberg (2015) s. 3.

att ett språkbyte bara är ett första steg i den process som leder till religiöst erkännande och inkludering. En annan betydelsefull aspekt är att erkänna samernas förmåga och rättighet att formulera en kontextuell teologi utifrån sina erfarenheter.¹¹⁰ Det kan exempelvis handla om den konstnärliga, och därmed också teologiska, gestaltningen av kyrkorum och av gudstjänsternas utformning. Men det innebär också en teologisk reflektion där samiska erfarenheter möter och tolkas i ljuset av evangeliet. Den samiske teologen Tore Johnsen beskriver samisk kontextuell teologi som en ”medvetandegörandeprocess om vad det betyder att vara kyrka i Sápmi”. Det handlar enligt Johnsen om vad ”evangeliets budskap är och vad ett kristet svar på evangeliet skulle innebära, i mötet med de centrala frågorna i samisk historia och kultur och i samiskt samhällsliv”. Det innebär ett kollektivt samiskt och dialogiskt projekt, där samer sammanför ”brännande problemställningar i det egna samhället och försöker uppfatta evangeliets budskap i mötet med detta. Vad är evangeliets budskap till människor i vår tid?”¹¹¹

Jag menar att den dialogiska och teologiska reflexion som Johnsen efterlyser är nödvändig både för samiskt kyrkoliv och för kyrkan som helhet genom att samiska erfarenhet ges möjlighet att berika kyrkan. Om Svenska kyrkan, såsom Gustafsson Lundberg föreslår, ska fungera som en infrastruktur för erkännande och försoning blir det uppenbart att denna funktion måste finna en bäring i en fördjupad teologisk reflexion där kyrkans förmåga att härbärgera sådana processer utforskas i dialog med de grupper som lider av förtryck. Då ges samtidigt utrymme för en inkludering på en djupare nivå.

110 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012) s. 25–34. Jfr Tore Johnsen, *Jordens barn, solens barn, vindens barn: kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (Oslo 2007).

111 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (2012) s. 26.

Men kyrkans erkännande av skuld, böner om förlåtelse och axlandet av historiskt ansvar behöver inte nödvändigtvis leda till en djupare inkludering. Det kan också resultera i att många samer av olika skäl väljer att avstå från kyrkans erbjudande om gemenskap. Det är rimligt att anta att den avgörande punkten är huruvida Svenska kyrkan tar försoningsprocessens innehåll och utmaningar på allvar och på olika sätt agerar för att bistå samerna idag. Företrädare för de samiska intresseorganisationerna har vid olika tillfällen pekat på att den statliga koloniseringen av Sápmi och den samhälleliga diskrimineringen av samer fortfarande pågår.¹¹² Det avgörande för relationen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna är förmodligen huruvida Svenska kyrkan tydligt kan visa att insikten om kyrkans historiska delaktighet i de begångna övergreppen har omvandlats till en beslutsamhet att motarbeta diskriminering och kolonisering i vår egen tid.

Källor och bearbetningar

1686 års kyrkolag (Stockholm 1936).

Att återta mitt språk: Åtgärder för att stärka det samiska språket, Statens offentliga utredningar 2006:19 (Stockholm 2006), <<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/13920/a/58519>>, 29/8 2015.

Aulén, Gustaf. *Den kristna försoningstanken: Huvudtyper och brytningar: Olaus-Petri-föreläsningar hållna vid Uppsala universitet* (Stockholm 1930).

Barkan, Elazar & Alexander Karn (red.). *Taking wrongs seriously apologies and reconciliation* (Stanford 2006).

112 Se exempelvis Isak Utsi, Olov-Anders Sikku, Magnus Antaris Sandström, *Staten vågar inte lyfta samefråga*, debattartikel i Svt Nyheter Opinion, 3 juni 2015, <<http://www.svt.se/opinion/article2985686.svt>>, 8/4 2016; Ingrid Unga, Marita Stinnerbom & Jan Rannerud, *Rasismen och hatet mot samer*. Texten överlämnades till kultur- och demokratiminister Alice Bah-Kuhnke 9 december 2015. Textens författare representerar Sámiid Riikkabellodat (Samelandspartiet), Vuovdega (Skogssamerna) och Guovssonásti (Sametingspartiet). Den publicerades på Samelandspartiets hemsida den 19 december 2015, <<http://www.samelandspartiet.se/2015/12/19/rasismen-och-hatet-mot-samer/>>, 8/4 2016.

- Bar-Tal, Daniel. "Nature of reconciliation", i *A conference on truth, justice and reconciliation, Stockholm, Sweden, 23–24 April 2002: Proceedings* (Stockholm 2002), s. 212–214.
- Bloomfield, David, Teresa Barnes & Luc Huysse (red.). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook* (Stockholm 2003).
- Brilioth, Yngve. *Nattvarden i evangeliskt gudstjänstliv* (Uppsala 1926).
- Brink, Bert van den & Owen, David (red.). *Recognition and power: Axel Honneth and the tradition of critical social theory* (Cambridge 2007).
- Bråkenhielm, Carl-Reinhold & Göran Möller (red.). *Tala om försöning: Reflektioner över ett centralt tema i kristen teologi* (Stockholm 2015).
- Camnerin, Sofia. *Försöningens mellanrum: En analys av Daphne Hampsons och Rita Nakashima Brocks teologiska tolkningar* (Uppsala 2008).
- Camnerin, Sofia & Arne Fritzon. *Försöning behövs* (Stockholm 2012).
- Claesson, Urban. *Kris och kristnande: Olof Ekmans kamp för kristendomens återupprättande vid Stora Kopparberget 1689–1713: Pietism, program och praktik* (Göteborg 2015).
- Clements, Keith. "Ecumenism and the new paradigm of healing", *The ecumenical review* 55:3 (2003), s. 256–263.
- Comblin, José. "The theme of reconciliation and theology in Latin America", i Iain S. MacLean (red.), *Reconciliation: Nations and churches in Latin America* (Aldershot 2006), s. 135–170.
- De Gruchy, John W. *Reconciliation: Restoring justice* (London 2002).
- Dignan, James. *Understanding victims and restorative justice* (Maidenhead 2005).
- Ekström, Sören & Marie Schött. *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm 2006).
- Elster, Jon. *Closing the books: Transitional justice in historical perspective* (Cambridge 2004).
- Enns, Fernando & Jonathan Seiling (red.). *Mennonites in dialogue: Official reports from international and national ecumenical encounters, 1975–2012* (Eugene 2015).
- Erll, Astrid. *Memory in culture* (Hampshire 2011).
- Erll, Astrid & Ansgar Nünning (red.). *A companion to cultural memory studies* (Berlin 2010).
- Fitzmaurice, Malgosia. "The new developments regarding the Saami peoples of the north", *International journal on minority and group rights* 16:1 (2009), s. 67–156.
- Gibney, Mark (red.). *The age of apology: Facing up to the past* (Philadelphia 2008).
- Halbwach, Maurice. *On collective memory* (Chicago 1992).
- Hallgren, Bengt. *Kyrkotuktsfrågan: En systematisk studie av kyrkotukten i svensk frikyrklighet och hos Martin Luther* (Lund 1963).

- Gready, Paul. *The era of transitional justice: The aftermath of the truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa and beyond* (New York 2011).
- Gustafsson Lundberg, Johanna. *Medlem 2010: en teologisk kommentar* (Uppsala 2012).
- Harling, Per. *Ur djupen ropar vi: Andakt och gudstjänst med fokus på försoning, fred, miljö och rättvisa* (Sundbyberg 2003).
- Hayner, Priscilla B. *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions* (London 2011).
- Hazan, Pierre. *Judging war, judging history: Behind truth and reconciliation* (Stanford 2010).
- Hedenberg, Sven. *Bikt och avlösning* (Luleå 1941).
- Holmberg, Lars. *Den lidande guden: En studie om försoningens mysterium* (Göteborg 1994).
- Honneth, Axel. *Erkännande: Praktisk-filosofiska studier* (Göteborg 2003).
- Huuva, Kaisa & Blind, Ellacarin (red.). "När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka": minnesbilder från samernas skoltid (Stockholm 2016).
- Johansson, Peter. *Samerna: Ett ursprungsfolk eller en minoritet? En studie av svensk samepolitik 1986–2005* (Göteborg 2008).
- Johnsen, Tore. *Jordens barn, solens barn, vindens barn: kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (Oslo 2007).
- Johnsen, Tore. "Menneskers arbeid eller Guds gave? En teologisk drøfting av forsoning med henblikk på forsoningsprosesser i Sápmi", i Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (red.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkeleg forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013), s. 13–31.
- Jokinen, Heidi. *Medling vid brott: En begrepslig analys av en konfliktløsningsmetode i en senmodern tid* (Åbo 2011).
- Karlsson, Hans-Göran. *Förlåtelse från Gud: Studier till forståelsen av syndabekännelse och avlösning* (Lund 1979).
- Kelman, Herbert C. "Reconciliation from a social-psychological perspective", i Arie Nadler, Thomas Malloy & Jeffrey D. Fisher (red.), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation* (New York 2008), s. 15–32.
- Kiss, Elizabeth. "Moral ambition within and beyond political constraints: Reflections on restorative justice", i Robert I. Rotberg & Dennis Thompson (red.), *The morality of truth commissions* (Princeton 2000), s. 68–98.
- Klein, Rebekka A. *Sociality as the human condition: anthropology in economic, philosophical and theological perspective* (Leiden 2011).
- Kurtén, Tage & Joakim Molander (red.). *Homo moralis: Människan och rätts-samhället* (Lund 2005).

- Lindmark, Daniel. "Samiska röster ur kyrkohistorien – vad har de att säga i dag?", i Kim Groop & Birgitta Sarelin (red.), *Historiska perspektiv på kyrka och väckelse: Festskrift till Ingvar Dahlbacka på 60-årsdagen* (Helsingfors 2013), s. 121–139.
- Lindmark, Daniel. "Sanningen ska göra er fria: Kyrkan, samerna och historien", i Lars Söderholm (red.), *Religion: Konflikt och försoning* (Lund 2015), s. 83–93.
- Lindmark, Daniel & Sundström, Olle. *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi 1–2* (Skellefteå 2016).
- Lindmark, Daniel. "Historiebruk i retrospektiva praktiker: historikers bidrag till försoning", i Lindmark, Daniel (red.), *Gränsöverskridande kyrkohistoria: de språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten* (Umeå 2016) s. 115–142.
- Lindroth, Hjalmar. *Försoningen: En dogmhistorisk och systematisk undersökning* (Uppsala 1935).
- Lundmark, Bo. "O må vi vakna upp!": Samerna, svenska kyrkan och frikyrkorna under 1900-talet", *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* (2011), s. 61–73.
- Löfström, Jan. "Historical apologies as acts of symbolic inclusion – and exclusion? Reflections on institutional apologies as politics of cultural citizenship", *Citizenship Studies* 15:01 (2011), 93–108.
- MacLean, Iain S., "Truth and reconciliation: Hope for the nations or only as much as possible?" i Iain S. MacLean (red.), *Reconciliation: Nations and churches in Latin America* (Aldershot 2006), s. 3–40.
- Malmstedt, Göran. *Bondetro och kyrkoro: Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige* (Lund 2002).
- Mission i kontext: Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse: Ett bidrag från Lutherska världsförbundet till förståelsen och utövandet av missionsuppdraget* (Uppsala 2007), även tillgänglig på <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578644>>, 28/8 2015.
- Nilsson, Bertil. "Att tillhöra den kristna gemenskapen – eller inte: Aspekter på kyrkotukt och utanförskap i kyrkohistorien", i Eva Reimers & Susanne Lindström (red.), *Blott i det öppna: Kyrkorna och kärlekens olika vägar* (Stockholm 2000), s. 24–46.
- Newman, Ernst. *Den waldenströmska försoningsläran i historisk belysning* (Stockholm 1932).
- Nobles, Melissa. *The politics of official apologies* (Cambridge 2008).
- Noll, Rüdiger & Stefan Vesper (red.). *Reconciliation: Gift of God and source of new life: Documents from the second European assembly* (Graz 1998).
- Nordbäck, Carola. "En försoningens väg i Jesu namn: Perspektiv på Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete", i Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (red.),

- De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016), s. 79–122.
- Nordisk familjebok: Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi innehållande upplysningar och förklaringar om märkliga namn, föremål och begrepp*, Nionde bandet (Stockholm 1885), <<http://runeberg.org/nfai/>>, 4/4 2015.
- Nordquist, Kjell-Åke. "Vems sanning? Vems försoning? Om försoning som politiskt begrepp", i Hanna Stenström (red.), *På spaning: Från Svenska kyrkans förs kardagar 2009* (Stockholm 2010), s. 167–190.
- Nordstokke, Kjell (red.). *Diakonia in context: Transformation, reconciliation, empowerment* (Genève 2009).
- Odén, Robert & Olle Kristenson (red.). *Tillsammans för livet: Mission och evangelisation i en värld i förändring* (Bromma 2013).
- Oja, Linda. "God enighet, sämja och kärlek uti landet': Den religiösa lagstiftningen och ambitionen att göra goda kristna av stormaktstidens svenskar", i Torkel Jansson & Torbjörn Eng (red.), *Stat – kyrka – samhälle: Den stormaktstida samhällsordningen i Sverige och Östersjöprovinserna* (Stockholm 2000), s. 17–85.
- Ohlsson Al Fakir, Ida. *Svenska kyrkans förhållande till romer och resande ca 1900–1950* (Uppsala 2013).
- Rodhe, Edvard. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv: Historisk belysning av den svenska kyrkohandboken* (Stockholm 1923).
- Rosoux, Valerie. "Reconciliation as a peace-building process: scope and limits", i Jacob Bercovitch, Viktor Aleksandrovich Kremenyuk & William I. Zartman (red.), *The SAGE handbook of conflict resolution* (Los Angeles 2009), s. 543–563.
- Samerna – ett ursprungsfolk i Sverige: Frågan om Sveriges anslutning till ILO:s konvention nr 169*, Statens offentliga utredningar 1999:25 (Stockholm 1999).
- Shore, Megan. *Religion and conflict resolution: Christianity and south Africa's truth and reconciliation commission* (Farnham 2009).
- Schreiter, Robert J. "Reconciliation and healing as a new paradigm for mission", *International review of mission* 94:372 (2005), s. 74–83.
- Schreiter, Robert J. & Jørgensen, Knud (red.). *Mission as ministry of reconciliation* (Oxford 2013).
- Sigurdson, Ola. *Det postsekulära tillståndet: religion, modernitet, politik* (Göteborg 2009).
- Steffensen, Rolf. "Å gjøre bot for gammel urett: Noen utfordringer fra kirkens forsoningsprosjekt i lulesamisk område", i Stephen Sirris (red.), *Kirke i kultur og kontekst* (Tromsø 2007), s. 103–114.

- Sundin, Jan. För Gud, staten och folket: *Brott och rättskipning i Sverige 1600–1840* (Stockholm 1992).
- Söderbäck, Pelle (red.). *Mission: Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse* (Uppsala 2009), även tillgänglig på <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578654>>, 15/10 2014.
- Thompson, Janna. *Taking responsibility for the past: Reparation and historical justice* (Cambridge 2002).
- Tyrberg, Karl-Johan. "Försoning som en väg mot en gemensam framtid: Ett perspektiv på Svenska kyrkan", i Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (red.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Inspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013), s. 163–180.
- Tyrberg, Karl-Johan. "Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser", i Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (red.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016), s. 43–78.
- Urban Walker, Margaret. *What is reparative justice?* (Milwaukee 2010).
- Werkström, Bertil. *Bekännelse och avlösning: En typologisk undersökning av Luthers, Thurneysens och Buchmans biktuppfattningar* (Lund 1963).
- Öberg, Ingemar. *Himmelrikets nycklar och kyrklig bot i Luthers teologi 1517–1537* (Uppsala 1970).

INTERNETKÄLLOR

- Haglund, Mattias. "Samisk kyrka? En studie av försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna, med jämförande utblickar mot Norge", masteruppsats vid Centrum för teologi och religionsvetenskap, Lunds universitet (2003), <<http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOID=4250432&fileOID=4250433>>, 3/3 2014.
- Hammar, Karl Gustav. *Lättare packning – men hur?*, Tal vid kyrkomötets inledning den 16 maj 2000 i Uppsala, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/div/hammar-inledningstal-km.htm>>, 10/8 2014.
- Healing memories: Reconciling in Christ: Report of the Lutheran-Mennonite international study commission*, Lutherska världsförbundet (Genève 2010), <http://www.lwf-assembly.org/uploads/media/Report_Lutheran-Mennonite_Study_Commission.pdf>, 25/8 2015.
- I försoningens tjänst: Tankar om sanning, fred, barmhärtighet*, Svenska kyrkan (Uppsala 2007), <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578684>>, 28/8 2015.

- Inkludering och försoning: En rapport om romer och resande i Svenska kyrkan* (Uppsala 2013), Enheten för flerspråkighet, Kyrkokansliet, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=989898>>, 3/3 2014.
- Intervju med dåvarande ärkebiskop Anders Wejryd i Rádio Sápmi den 26 februari 2013, tillgänglig via Rádio Sápmis hemsida, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=3965&artikel=5455515>>, 18/8 2015.
- Johnsen, Tore. *Samisk kirkeråd. Et historisk tilbakeblikk og veien framover*, Samisk kirkehistorieseminar 10 november 2012, Tromsø, <<https://www.kirken.no/?event=doLink&famID=17367>>, 3/3 2014.
- Kyrkostyrelsens skrivelse till Kyrkomötet 2000:3. Verksamhetsberättelse för Svenska kyrkans stiftelse för rikskyrklig verksamhet för år 1999; Bilaga 6 Samiska rådet i Svenska kyrkan. Verksamhetsområde Samiskt kyrkoliv, KsSkr 2000:3, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/skrivelser/2000-3/ksskroo-03-original.htm>>, 28/8 2015.
- Kyrkostyrelsens skrivelse till Kyrkomötet 2000:1. Mål och rambudget för Svenska kyrkans nationella nivå åren 2001–2003 2.1 Den nationella nivåns uppdrag, KsSkr 2000:1, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/skrivelser/2000-1/ksskroo-01-original.htm>>, 29/8 2015.
- Mission as ministry of reconciliation: Preparatory paper No 10* (2005), Kyrkornas världsråd, <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/other-meetings/mission-and-evangelism/preparatory-paper-10-mission-as-ministry-of-reconciliation>>, 14/8 2015.
- Mission in context: Transformation, reconciliation, empowerment: An LWF contribution to the understanding and practice of mission*, Lutheran World Federation (Genève 2004), <<https://www.lutheranworld.org/content/resource-mission-context-transformation-reconciliation-empowerment>>, 30/8 2015.
- Motion till Kyrkomötet 2000:32 av Karl-Johan Tyrberg m.fl. om den samiska befolkningens identitet i Svenska kyrkan*, KMot 2000:32, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/km-2000/motioner/KMot-31.htm>>, 25/8 2015.
- Nurturing peace, overcoming violence: In the way of Christ for the sake of the world: An invitation to a process of theological study and reflection on peace, justice and reconciliation during the decade to overcome violence: Churches seeking peace and reconciliation 2001–2010*, <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/commissions/faith-and-order/x-other-documents-from-conferences-and-meetings/theological-reflection-on-peace/nurturing-peace-overcoming-violence-in-the-way-of-christ-for-the-sake-of-the-world>>, 28/8 2015.

- Overcoming violence: The ecumenical decade 2001–2010* (Genève 2011), Rapport från Kyrkornas världsråd, <<http://www.overcomingviolence.org/fileadmin/dov/files/OvercomingViolence.pdf>>, 29/8 2015.
- Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, i Kiruna den 11–13 oktober 2011* (2012), <www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=899745>, 5/9 2015.
- Schreiter, Robert. *The distinctive characteristics of Christian reconciliation*, Catholic Peacebuilding Network, <<http://cpn.nd.edu/topics-in-catholic-peacebuilding/reconciliation/the-distinctive-characteristics-of-christian-reconciliation/>>, 28/8 2015.
- Söderbäck, Pelle (red.). *Mission: Förvandling, försoning, upprättelse* (Uppsala 2009), <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=578654>>, 15/10 2014.
- Tyrberg, Karl-Johan. *Försoning som en väg att gå tillsammans*, Tal vid firandet av samernas nationaldag 2015 i Malmö för Samer i syd, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=1228062>>, 2/4 2016.
- Urfolk i den verdensvide kirke med utgangspunkt i samisk kirkeliv*, Norska kyrkans erkännande av skuld och offentliga ursäkt till samerna i Norge, se beslut och resolutioner i samband med Norska kyrkans kyrkomöte 1997, Sak KM 13/97, <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/kirkemotet/dokumenter_vedtak/kirkemotet-09.11.1997---14.11.1997-trondheim/>, 3/3 2014.
- Unga, Ingrid, Stinnerbom, Marita & Rannerud Jan. *Rasismen och hatet mot samer*. Texten publicerades på Samelandspartiets hemsida den 19 december 2015, <<http://www.samelandspartiet.se/2015/12/19/rasismen-och-hatet-mot-samer/>>, 8/4 2016.
- Utsi, Isak, Sikku, Olov-Anders & Sandström Magnus Antaris. *Staten vågar inte lyfta samefråga*. Debattartikel i Svt Nyheter Opinion, 3 juni 2015, <<http://www.svt.se/opinion/article2985686.svt>>, 8/4 2016.

Contributors

INGVAR DAHLBACKA (Th.D., Phil.Lic.) is professor of Church History at Åbo Akademi University. He has served as the project leader for *The Shifting Boundaries of Tolerance: Inclusion and Exclusion in the Context of Nordic Church History, 1750–2000*. In his research, he has focused on revival movements, emigration, biographies and the uses of history.

JAKOB DAHLBACKA (Th.D.) is a postdoctoral researcher in Church History at Åbo Akademi University. In his research, he has focused on religious uses of history, cultural memory and the spatiality of memory.

KIM GROOP (Th.D.) is a docent and university teacher of Church History at Åbo Akademi University. His research has focused on the history, legacy, and the (trans)cultural memory of Christian mission, Pietism and European colonialism in Africa. His research has also included the “re-building” of cultural memory sites in the former German Democratic Republic.

CAROLA NORDBÄCK (Ph.D., Th.D.) is a docent of Church History working as a teacher and researcher in the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Umeå University. Her fields of research are the didactics of religion, heritage didactics, church history and cultural memory studies.

ANDRÉ SWANSTRÖM (Th.D.) is a docent of Church History at Åbo Akademi University. His current research interests include the history of Jews, Jewish-Christian relation and anti-Semitism in Finland, as well as the history of Finnish military chaplains during WWII. He has served as President of the Finnish Society of Church History since 2015.

ULRIKA WOLF-KNUTS (Ph.D.), retired professor of Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University, has concentrated her scholarship on Swedish folklore in Finland, and particularly folk belief, revivalist folk religion, research history and migration. Since 2015, she has been the Chancellor of Åbo Akademi University.