The General Synod’s special service of worship

24 November 2021

WITH THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN’S APOLOGY TO THE SAMI PEOPLE
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Time to apologise

24 November 2021 is the date of a unique, special and solemn service of worship in the national sanctuary of Uppsala Cathedral. The Church of Sweden’s General Synod, Sami, community representatives and international witnesses will come together. The time has come for the Church of Sweden to make its apology to the Sami. This follows a long process of hearings and preparation, and the apology will be made with trepidation and with hope.

Trepidation, because an apology turns the old power dynamic on its head: the power over how an apology is received lies with the receiver, not with the party making the apology. Hope, because we have now worked together to establish commitments that can pave the way towards a reconciled fellowship.

This special service of worship is not an endpoint. But it is an important milestone. Since the 1990s, work has been in progress on the historical relations between the Sami and the Church of Sweden (p. 60). On this day, we are particularly grateful to all those who have provided their determination and experience, their research and stories, their ideas and actions. Who have overcome preconceptions and allowed themselves to be deeply affected, who have shielded the weight of frustration and demonstrated courage.

2006 saw the publication of the report *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Sami issues in the Church of Sweden). This led to the Ságastallamat dialogue conference in Kiruna in 2011, which in turn gave rise to the research documented in *Vitboken* (The White Paper), the stories compiled in Nomadskoleboken (The Nomad School Book) and the book *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (The Sami and the Church of Sweden). All of these were published in 2016.

Three articles in this booklet report on abuse perpetrated by the Church: one article on *Vitboken* (The White Paper) (p. 40) and two articles on how the Church has contributed to anti-Sami racism (p. 46) and on the coercive methods used against Sami faith and spirituality (p. 52).
Today, therefore, we have good knowledge of the nature of the abuse against
the Sami for which the Church of Sweden is responsible. We also know
that the wounds caused by this abuse remain deeply embedded in the Sami
today. When the state-run Truth Commission eventually begins its work,
we must be prepared for additional perspectives to emerge. However, we
already know enough to realise that we must apologise to the Sami.

In one sense, the apologising party always comes with open, empty hands.
They do not control how the apology is received. In another sense, the apol-
gosing party must not come empty handed. There must be credible evi-
dence that the apologising party intends to strive to prevent the abuse from
reoccurring and to achieve reconciliation.

So on this day it is also important to express the commitments that the
Church of Sweden has made nationally and in all thirteen dioceses (p. 66).
It is now our joint responsibility to live up to them. This must happen if the
apology is to provide the impetus to move forward on the path of reconcili-
ation – as Christ’s love encourages us to do.

The pilgrimage towards reconciliation must continue. During our journey,
we need to stop to see whether we are heading in the right direction or if we
need to take a different approach. So, in the coming years, representatives
of the Sami and the Church of Sweden will meet regularly for Ságastallamat
meetings to assess the progress we are making in implementing these com-
mitments (p. 71). The Church of Sweden will make its apology again at the first
Ságastallamat in October 2022 in Luleå. It is right and proper that this apology
is made in both Uppsala Cathedral and in Sápmi (the cultural region tradition-
ally inhabited by the Sami).

The Church of Sweden is also the Church of the Sami. Learning from Sami
spirituality, faith and theology is part of our Christian discipleship. Let us be a
church that, with the sea, the rivers and the mountains, sings the praises of God’s
justice among the nations as the basis for our reconciliation (Psalms 98:7-9).

Antje Jackelén
ARCHBISHOP

Ingrid Inga
CHAIR OF THE SAMI COUNCIL IN THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN
The General Synod’s special service of worship

WITH THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN’S APOLOGY TO THE SAMI PEOPLE
* = Congregation stand.

**Bold type** = headings and texts to be spoken/sung by the congregation.

**Italics** = translation of text to be spoken/sung in another language.

**Music** = to be sung by the congregation

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**Ringing**

The Preparation / Tjàanghko / Tjàhkkaniebmie / Tjàhkånibme / Tjoahkkim / Čoagganeapmi

**Hymn 228 Procession** (to be sung in the language of your choice)

(Swedish)

\[\text{Music}\]

2. Gud mötte med nåden oss alla / i dopets välsignade stund,
med ordet han än vill oss kalla / och tukta och trösta i grund.
Kring helga nattvardsbordet han samlar än sitt folk,
där möter han de sina, en evig kärleks tolk.
Än räckes Guds frälsning ...

3. Den eld som vår Frälsare tände / skall föras från vän och till vän,
till alla han budskapet sände, / som själv han ju bjuder oss än:
ål ut i hela världen, förkunnande mitt ord
för allt som Fadern skapat, för folken på vår jord.
Än räckes Guds frälsning ...

4. I tro under himmelens skyar / vi vandrar i fädernas spår,
vi bidar i städer och byar / en Andens och Gudsrikets vår.
Vår saliga förvissning, vårt fäste och vårt mod
är syndernas förlåtelse i Kristi namn och blod.
Än räckes Guds frälsning ...

5. I tro under himmelens skyar / vi nalkas den skimrande strand,
i hoppet, som städse förnyar / vår lovsång i jordlivets land,
kring Lammets tron vi sjunger en gång i Faderns hus
den sällsamt nya sången, lik stora vattens brus:
Än räckes Guds frälsning ...


(Lule Sami)

1. De jáhkujn dal balvatjij vuolen / li sáddjidam, tjuohpadam de
ja jáhkko gåjt le ieme vuogen, / de oabllum, diehk’ jávsådam le.
Juo buorádusá båddå, de Härráj jårgijdit.
De duosstut Kristus Härráv ja sunji åskeldit.
Le viesso ájn Härrá, le viesso ájn Härrá.
Mij råhkåp ja dårvustip gal.

2. Sån ármujn dal gájkajt le duosstum, / ja jaskadam gástadusán,
ja bágojis baktu le gåhttjum / de boahtet, le sán lånestam.
Ja gå de álmmuk tjoahken suv bievde birra le,
de Kristus iesj le danna, man hávsskes båddå de!
Le viesso ájn Härrá ...
3. Sån gåhttjum le gájkajt dal vuolgget, / suv bágov dal sárnutjit de.
Gå tsahkkám le dållå, de buolvved’ / ja råhkåla, gåhttjum ham le:
de värälđij dij mannit, muv bágov sárnnedit,
gájk’ álmmugijda hållit ja jáhkov bigodit.
Le viesso ájn Härrá ...

4. De jáhkujn dal balvatjij vuolen, / li barggamin, sárnnedime,
ja värälđin ájn ieme vuogen / li gåhttsámijt vuordatjime.
Le dårvvo, ávo ája, dån nåv le sálugis,
gå ságav munji rája le luojttám ándagis.
Le viesso ájn Härrá ...

5. De jáhkujn ájn balvatjij vuolen / juo almmáj lip lahkanime.
Gå ájn dáppe jábmema loamen, / le hievedus badjánime.
Na, akti Lippa ávdän de ávos lávludip,
le skoavve tjátje lágásj gå Lippav hievedip.
Le viesso ájn Härrá ...


(Northern Sami)

1. Min máddarat dolin leat oskon, / leat eallán ja doaimmahange
ja Sámis ain guollo dat čuorvun, / mii olbmuid ain gohččume lea.
Dál buorádusa dahket, lea áigi ollánan,
juo suttuidettet Kristus lea didjii soabahan.
Gii gáhtá ja osku, gii gáhtá ja osku,
son sutnje ain ármugas lea.

2. Lea Hearrá min mánnánis váldán, / go gásttasis salastii min.
Lea sániinis suttus min boktan / ja jedde ja bagada min.
Ain eahkesmállásbeavdái lea son min gohčodan,
gii lea min ovddas jápmán ja buohkaid ráhkistan.
Gii gáhtá ja osku ...

3. Dan dola man cahkkehii deike / son dáhtošii viiddidit ain,
dan såga man eatnamii sådde / son gulaha sániiguin dain:
»Buot álmbogiidda mannet mu sáníid sárdnidit,
ja sivdnádusa gohččot de Áhčis rámidit!«
Gii gáhtá ja osku ...
4. In faith under heaven’s skies / the fathers have reaped and sown,
and still through village and town / the call of evangelists sounds.
Behold the time is come, for Lord Jesus make way,
repent of your sin, heed what the Gospel says.
And still God’s salvation, and still God’s salvation
for those who repent and believe.

3. The fire that our Saviour kindled / shall carry from friend unto friend,
to everyone came his message, / the message he offers us still:
go out into the world, proclaiming my word
for all His Creation, for everyone on Earth.
And still God’s salvation ...

4. In faith under heaven’s skies / we wander our ancestors’ path,
in our homes across the land / awaiting the Kingdom of God.
Our blessed assurance, our strength and courage too
forgive us our sins in Christ’s name and blood.
And still God’s salvation ...
5. In faith under heaven’s skies / we near the shimmering shore,
in the hope that is ever renewing / our praise for our lives on God’s Earth,
within our Father’s house, at the throne of the Lamb,
our wondrous song we sing, while pure rivers flow:
And still God’s salvation ...


**Invitation**

(Lule Sami)
Áhtje ja Bárne ja ájlis Vuojŋŋanisá namán.
Amen.

_P:_ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
_Al:_ Amen.

(Southern Sami)
Vaeriej jïh guevteli Jupmele,
råhtoej jïh gellielaaketjevoeten Jupmele,
jaevriej, mearoen jïh jielen Jupmele,
datne mijjen lïhke gusnie mijjieh årroeminie,
dov lïhke jielebe,
dov nommesne rohkelibie.

God of the mountains and the open countryside,
God of the forests and rich diversity,
God of the lakes, the seas and vibrant life,
God who is with us where we live our lives,
we want to be near you,
we want to pray in your name.
Today’s prayer
(Swedish)

God of reconciliation,
we thank you for sending your Son
to save the world.
We are nourished by your love.
Guide us as we seek the path of reconciliation with each other.
Surround us with mercy
and help us receive your grace.
In Jesus’ name.
Amen

Kyrie with testimonies of abuse by the Church
(Northern Sami)

P: Christ, see us, hear our cry. / All: Christ, see us, hear our cry.
P: Shine through our darkness. / All: Shine through our darkness.
P: In your grace have mercy. / All: In your grace have mercy.
P: Turn your face to us. / All: Turn your face to us.
Sami religion and spirituality have historically been devalued and portrayed by the Church of Sweden as paganism, superstition, devilry and idolatry incompatible with the Christian faith. They are part of our way of life and our living conditions, which are strongly linked to our traditional use of land and natural resources in Sápmi. These lands and the nature are our home in which our identity, memories, culture, sacred places, spirituality, livelihoods and language have been shaped and sustained over millennia. Our way to live in close harmony with the land and nature is to live spiritually. In our spiritual tradition, prayer and blessing are part of our daily lives in the sense that we place our daily work in God’s hands. It reminds us of God’s presence in all that we do and of God’s care for us and for our responsibility to manage our lands/home for the next generation. In our tradition, prayer and blessing are always linked to good deeds and to gratitude and to being part of God’s Creation. Sami religion and spirituality are part of the Christian faith – if the Church of Sweden is prepared to acknowledge this.
ABOUT THE NOMAD SCHOOL (Nils–Henrik Sikku)
(Northern Sami)

Badjel čuohti jagi leat gollan dan rájis go internáhttaskuvla nomádaide ása-huvvui. Skuvla beare dakkár mánáide mat elle nomádaeallima. Nils–Henrik Sikku leai okta sis. Čiežajahkásažžan álggii su mátkki ...


More than a hundred years have passed since a boarding school for nomads was set up. A school exclusively for children who lived nomadic lives. One of them was Nils–Henrik Sikku. His journey began at the age of seven ...

My young friend, I want to ask you something: How are you feeling today? Do you see the light of hope in the dawn? Or does the path of
tears still await you? The path you’ve followed so many times, the arduous one full of terrible memories. Forbidden to shed tears of longing, forbidden to seek solace in the night. My young friend. Would it be better if you had known the truth about an enforced journey with no end? Deprived of the desire to be yourself. Judged a useless nomad of little worth. You were sent to another country with an emotionally cold climate. How do you see it all today, my friend? We had to stay in the forests and the mountains, far from everyone else. That was to be our future, always. Owning your own house and a piece of land was forbidden. Our way of life was worth nothing. We learned to write and speak in a foreign language. To read the Bible, sing hymns, recite the details of kings’ plundering raids, by heart. We were locked up in a boarding school, where we were to have sense pounded in to us. Instead of the useful knowledge that should have been our inheritance, we were fed alienation. We were corralled, crushed, silenced. Sami land was to be obliterated with threats and God’s blessing.

Our activities and our existence belonged only to the wilderness. We were no longer Sami, just Lapps and nomads. Soon we would be gone for good. All that nature had provided us with could be seized. Yet we never gave up. We stood firm against the icy methods of the oppressor. Yes, old friend. I can just make out the light of hope in the dawn!

Kristus, gula čuorvasan ...

ABOUT THE DIVISION INTO CATEGORIES (Eric–Oscar Oscarsson)

(Swedish)

“The mountain Lapps are the nomads that form the very core of the Lapps. It is they that carry on the traditions of their ancestors and best preserve the unique features and character of the Lappish nation. The forest Lapps and the fisher Lapps are, to a greater or lesser degree, degenerate and decrepit Lapps.”

The forest Sami, who were less-itinerant reindeer herders, were to be incorporated into the Lappish settler and farmer group. The fisher Sami did not engage in reindeer herding, they kept goats, and it was their fate to become part of the Swedish proletariat.

The words of Bishop Olof Bergqvist in Luleå in 1908 that were to etch themselves into the minds of the whole of society and influence views on
which people were Sami. As a shaper of public opinion, Olof Bergqvist helped put in place the division into categories that came to characterise the Swedish reindeer husbandry legislation.

1928 saw the law that, according to Sami leader Israel Ruong, cut razor-like through the Sami ranks. The ideas mentioned above became law. Sami not involved in reindeer herding were deprived of Sami rights, mainly rights to the land and water they had worked. Those Sami were assimilated in both society and the Church. The Church contributed by rendering Sami invisible, which makes it seem that they have been pushed aside into an existence that can be perceived as a non-Sami existence.

This division into categories has affected my own family. Regarded as Swedes and deprived of the right to fish in our ancestral fishing waters and snare ptarmigan on the mountain edge. Forced into a double life, in silence, and hiding as a Sami. Regarded and treated as Swedes in society and in the Church, denied identity. This was the outcome of the division into categories, for us.

Kristus, gula čuorvasan ...

ABOUT RACIAL BIOLOGY  (Rose-Marie Huuva)

(Northern Sami)
Báhppa bálvváinis rokkai hávddiid okta nálledutki gábidii oaveskálžžu sámi njuoratmánás bastilis dearri sirrii oavvvi gáldnan máná rupmašis
bearaš moraštii máná árpmus hávdádeamis eadni ja āhčči eaba diehtán ahte báhppa sivndiid sudno máná oavvvi haga impida ávdugasvuhtii
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Kristus, gula čuorvasan …

about racial biology (Rose-Marie Huuva) (Northern Sami)

Báhppa bálvváinis rokkai hávddiid okta nálledutki gáibidii oaiveskálžžu sámi njuoratmánás bastilis dearri sirrii oaivvi gáldnan máná rupmašis bearraš moraštii máná árpmus hávdádeamis eadni ja áhčči eaba diehtán ahte báhppa sivdnidii sudno máná oaivvi haga impida ávdugasvuhtii

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Eadni okto álás bálluin vilges liinni ovdas govviduvvo ovdabeali duohkebeali olgeš ja gurut beali ja dat baldonas nálledutki ruovdemihttu dego njuolla oaivvi ča da

85 jaga maŋil Uppsala Carolina Rediviva gealláris mon gávdnan din eatnán bearrašan álbmogan nálledutki 20–logi sierra mihtuis ja alas govais Eadni 8 jahggasas máná riebutii oktage lean doppe suddjeme din gohkesoaivvagiiit veahkaváldimis

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Mu Sámi Biibbalis logan Hearrá, gi oazžu boahdit du goahtái gii beassá ássat du bassi váris?

Dat gii lea rehalaš ja dahká dan mii lea riekta gean váibmu lea vuoigat ja sågat duodat.

Mon lean boahtan dā stuora bassi goahtái min máddariigu geat ánuhit fas beasat hāvdit ráfai

The priest and his servant dig up graves a race scientist requests the skull of a Sami infant a sharp edge separates the head from the cold child’s body

the family mourns their child at the funeral, the mother and the father are spared from the knowledge that the priest asks God to bless their child without a head

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Mother naked afraid in front of the white cloth is photographed from the front back right and left sides and the terrifying race scientist’s iron measuring instrument like an arrow through the head
After 85 years in the basement of Carolina Rediviva library in Uppsala
I find you
my mother my family my people
in the race scientist’s 20 size charts in the nude photos
My mother 8 years old
defenceless children no one protected you
from the abuses of the long-skulled people

---------
I read the Sami Bible
Lord who may dwell in your hut / tent,
who is allowed on your holy mountain?

He who walks blamelessly and
does what is right and speaks the truth from his heart.

I have come to this great sacred hut
with my ancestors who pray
to once again be given the peace of the tombs

Kristus, gula čuorvasan …

ABOUT LANGUAGE AND LOSS OF IDENTITY (Julia Rensberg)
(Swedish)
My name is Julia Rensberg, I’m 26 years old. I grew up in Mora and am a member of Ruvhten Sjıte sameby (Sami association), but now live in Jokkmokk.

I regularly read posts on social media where people talk about the difficulties they have in searching for a Sami identity. Who is a Sami? Who is allowed to wear a Sami gákti? Can you be a Sami and not live in Sápmi? Do you have to know a Sami language? These are major, complex issues that need to be looked at from several different perspectives and in different contexts.

The complexity of the issue stems from the historical abuses suffered by the Sami. These continue to affect many people. People are searching for a Sami identity that has been lost for one or two generations. The grief and emptiness that arose as families moved to towns and cities and lived according to the norms of the majority society has become a trauma
After 85 years in the basement of Carolina Rediviva library in Uppsala I find you my mother my family my people in the race scientist’s 20 size charts in the nude photos My mother 8 years old defenceless children no one protected you from the abuses of the long-skulled people

I read the Sami Bible

Lord who may dwell in your hut / tent, who is allowed on your holy mountain? He who walks blamelessly and does what is right and speaks the truth from his heart.

I have come to this great sacred hut with my ancestors who pray to once again be given the peace of the tombs

Kristus, gula čuorvasan …

about language and loss of identity

Swedish is now my first language, but Sami is, and will remain, the language of my heart and I find the language in the lands. I myself have struggled to reclaim my Southern Sami mother tongue. Speaking Sami never feels as natural as when you are out in the forests and on the land, and especially when engaged in the practical work inherent in our Sami livelihoods. The language is resting in our lands, waiting to tell its tale and support its revitalisation.

In “De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna” (The Historical Relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami), a book published in 2016, we can read that, from the 14th century onwards, it was not uncommon for the birkarls, a settler group that controlled taxation and commerce, to ruthlessly exploit the privileges they were given by the Church, and this led to direct abuse. In 1340, a charter of freedom was issued, giving Christians who spread the faith and those who had been Christianised the right to take possession of land for themselves and their heirs in Lapland, i.e. Sápmi. Direct colonisation and forced Christianisation continued until the 20th century.

Today, the Church of Sweden is one of Sweden’s largest forest owners, and about 40% of this is on our traditional lands. In the Church constitution, this is referred to as returnal revenue on donations made to the Church, which are to be managed so as to provide the best possible return. In 2015, the General Synod agreed that new management models should be developed for forestry. So 6 years have passed, and as far as I know the work has not progressed ...

As long as the Church considers itself entitled to control Sami territory, it will allow colonisation to continue. Without the lands we lose our culture, identity, language and traditional livelihoods. I hope that, with this apology and through identifiable action, we will enter into a reconciliation process together as allies.

Kristus, gula čuorvasan ...
The Ministry of the Word / Båхko / Báhkuo / Båhko / Sátni

The Old Testament Reading

Psalm 98:7–9 about God's Creation

Rejoicing in God's righteousness (from the Lule Sami test translation from the Swedish Bible Society)

Merra sjoavvá ja gájkka mij danna l, värált ja gájka dan årro.
Äno giedajt spettjudi, váre aktan sjållårdalli Härrá åvdån:
gehtja, sån boahtá ednama badjel ráddidittjat, värálda badjel rievtesláhkáj ráddidittjat, álmmugij badjel rievtugit ráddidittjat.

Let the sea roar, and all that fills it; the world and those who live in it.
Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills sing together for joy at the presence of the Lord, for he is coming to judge the earth.
He will judge the world with righteousness, and the peoples with equity.

The Epistle

from Acts 2:4–8 on the birth of the Church in diversity

»Eah dah Galilejeste, gaajhkesh gïeh sopt-sesteminie? Guktie dellie fïereguhte mijjeste maahta jïjtse ietnien gïelem govledh?«
All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other
govledh.'

The Gospel

from Matthew 22:36–40 about the threefold commandment of love

"Teacher, which commandment in the law is the greatest?" He said to him, "'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.' This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like it: 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

P: This is the word of God.
All: Thanks be to God.
the crowd gathered and was bewildered, because each one heard them speaking in the native language of each. Amazed and astonished, they asked, “Are not all these who are speaking Galileans? And how is it that we hear, each of us, in our own native language?”

*The Gospel* from Matthew 22:36–40 about the threefold commandment of love

(Swedish)

“Teacher, which commandment in the law is the greatest?” He said to him, “‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”

P: This is the word of God.
All: Thanks be to God.

The Church of Sweden’s apology to the Sami

At the close of the apology, the congregation is asked to rise.

Reading of the Beatitudes Matthew 5:3–13

(Northern Sami)

»Ávdugasat leat vuoiŋŋasteaset geafit, dasgo almmi riika lea sin.
Ávdugasat dat geat moraštit, dasgo sii ožžot jeđđehusa.
Ávdugasat leat vuollegaččat, dasgo sii árbejit eatnama.
Ávdugasat dat geat nelgot ja goiket vanhursskisvuodá manńái, dasgo sii gallehuvvojit.
Ávdugasat dat geat leat váibmoláddásat, dasgo sii ožžot váibmoládisvuodá.
Ávdugasat leat buhtisváimmogat, dasgo sii besset oaidnit Ipmila.
Ávdugasat dat geat duddjojit ráfi, dasgo sii gohčoduvvojit Ipmila mánnán.
Ávdugasat dat geat doarrádallojuvvojit vanhursskisvuodá dihte, dasgo almmi riika lea sin.
Ávdugasat lehpet dii go olbmot bilkidit ja doarrádallet din mu dihte, gielistit ja sárdnot bahá din birra juohke lâhkái. Illudehket ja ávvudehket, dasgo din bálká almmis lea stuoris. Nu sii doarrádalle profehtaidge ovdal
“Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
“Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted.
“Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth.
“Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled.
“Blessed are the merciful, for they will receive mercy.
“Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God.
“Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God.
“Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
“Blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you. “You are the salt of the earth; but if salt has lost its taste, how can its saltiness be restored? It is no longer good for anything, but is thrown out and trampled under foot.

Statement of the Church of Sweden’s commitments

**Hymn** (to be sung in the language of your choice)

(Swedish)
2. Min kyrka är stark som en fjällbjörk, / nåja nåja nåja nåja nå, i mitt hjärta har roten sitt fäste, / nåja nåja nåja nåja nå

3. Min tro, som älven den glittrar, / nåja nåja nåja nåja nå, brusar mäktigt genom mitt hjärta, / nåja nåja nåja nåja nå


5. Nåjå nån gåjå nån gåjå nån gå, / nåjå nåjå nåjå nåjå nå, nåjå nån gåjå nån gåjå nån gå, / nåjå nåjå nåjå nåjå nå.

4. Muv juojggusa guoddá muv sielov, / gieresvuodajn almmáj làbdijdi, ja muv vuolev dal dunji vattáv, / gut muv gieresvuodajn sjivnnjedij.


(Northern sami)

1. My altar the mountain that shines, / no ya no ya no ya no ya no golden in the morning hours, / no ya no ya no ya no ya no

2. My church is strong as a birch tree, / noya noya noya noya no, the root is fixed in my heart, / noya noya noya noya no

3. My faith glitters like the river, / noya noya noya noya no, roaring powerfully through my heart, / noya noya noya noya no

4. My song carries my spirit, / it rises towards the heavens, I give the song to you, / you, Creator with your love.

5. Noyo non goyo non goyo non go, / noyo noyo noyo noyo no, noyo non goyo non goyo non go, / noyo noyo noyo noyo no.

Speech by the representative of the Sami Parliament
Greetings from witnesses to the apology

- Elder from the Anglican Church of Canada
- Preses (Presiding Bishop) Olav Fykse Tveit, Church of Norway
- Archbishop Tapio Luoma, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland
- Archbishop Mark McDonald, Anglican Church of Canada

The Intercession

(Swedish)

Your kingdom come, your will be done!

The Lord’s Supper / Maalestahke / Skalluo / Máles / Máles / Mális

Offertory Hymn 399

A collection is taken for Act Church of Sweden. Swish no. 9001223.

(Swedish)
2. Vi ber för dem vi saknar / då vi församlas här,
för dem som inte anar / vad tro och trygghet är,
för dem som vi har sårat / med vad vi gjort och sagt,
för dem som vi har hindrat / att se din kärleks makt.

3. Vi tänker på de många / som känner andra dom,
på dem som vi har svikit / och inte brytt oss om.
Vi ber dig, Gud, om nåden / att medan än är tid
få gå med ljus och glädje / till dem som saknar frid.


1. We carry many with us / as we come in prayer.
What Christ has always given / is for us every one.
We all receive your bounty, / the baptised in their home.
We carry many with us, / oh God we pray for them.

2. As we all gather here / we pray for those we miss,
for those who do not know / the strength that comes with faith,
for those we have caused hurt / through what we’ve said and done,
for those we’ve deprived of seeing / the power of your love.

3. We think of all those people / who others seek to judge,
Of those we have betrayed / and failed to give our care.
We ask, God, for the mercy / while time is on our side
to go with light and joy / to all those in despair.

*The Thanksgiving*

(Swedish)

Upplyft era hjärtan till Gud.

P: Lift up your hearts.
All: We lift them to the Lord.
P: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
All: It is right to give Him thanks and praise.

*Sanctus*

(Swedish)

F He-lig, he-lig, he-lig, Her-re Gud Se-ba - ot. Him-lar-
na och jor - den är ful-la av din här - lig-het. Ho-si-
an- na i höj-den. Väl-sig-nad va-re han som kom-mer, i
Her-rens namn. Ho - si - an - na i höj - den.
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts,
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

*The Eucharistic Prayer* (read in Swedish)

P: ... Do this, as often you drink it, in remembrance of me.
All: We proclaim your death, Lord, and trust in your resurrection until you come again in glory.

*The Lord’s prayer* (to be spoken in the language of your choice)

Southern Sami


Lule Sami

Áhattje mijá / guhti le almen. / Ájlistuvvus duv namma. / Báhtus duv rįkkka. / Sjaddus duv sidot, / gąk almen, nąv aj ednamin. / Vatte midjiij uddni / mijá bąjvvasaj lájbev. / Ja luojte midjiij suttojdimme åndagis, / nąv gąk mi aj luojttep / mijá velgulattjajda. / Ja ale mijáv găhtjįalbmaj lájddi, / ájnát várjįjala mijáv bahás. / Juhtie duv le rįkkka / ja fábmo ja herlukvuohta / ihkeven ājggáj. / Amen.

Northern Sami

Áhčči min, don guhte leat almmis. / Basuhuvvos du namma. / Bohtos duv riika. / Šaddos duv dáhttu, mo almmis nu maiddái eatnama alde. / Atte midjiide odne min beaivválaš láibámet. / Ja atte midjiide min suttuideamet ándagassii / nugo maiddái miige ándagassii addit min / velggolaččaidasamet. / Alege doalvvo min geahččalussii, / muhto beastte miįh bahás eret. / Dasgo du lea riika ja / fápmu ja gudni / agálašvuhtii. / Ámen.

Swedish

Vår Fader, du som är i himlen. / Låt ditt namn bli helgat. / Låt ditt rike komma. / Låt din vilja ske på jorden så som i himlen. / Ge oss i dag det bröd vi behöver. / Och förlåt oss våra skulder, / liksom vi har
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, 
Heaven and earth are full of your glory. 
Hosanna in the highest. 
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. 
Hosanna in the highest.

*The Eucharistic Prayer* (read in Swedish)

P: … Do this, as often you drink it, in remembrance of me.

All:  We proclaim your death, Lord, and trust in your resurrection until you come again in glory.

*The Lord’s prayer* (to be spoken in the language of your choice)


(Lule Sami)  Áhttje mijá  /  guhti le almen.  /  Ájlistuvvus duv namma.  /  Båhtus duv rïjkka.  /  Sjaddus duv sidot,  /  gåk almen, nåv aj ednamin.  /  Vatte midjij uddni  /  mijá bäjvvásasj lájbev.  /  Ja luojte midjij sutto jdimme ándagis,  /  nåv gåk mij aj luojttep  /  mijá velgulat tjajda.  /  Ja ale mijáv gähttjalibmáj lájddi,  /  ájnat várjjala mijáv bahás.  /  Juhte duv le rïjkka  /  ja fábmo ja herlukvuohta  /  ihkeven ájggáj.  /  Amen.

(Swedish)  Vår Fader, du som är i himlen.  /  Låt ditt namn bli helgat.  /  Låt ditt rike komma.  /  Låt din vilja ske på jorden så som i himlen.  /  Ge oss i dag det bröd vi behöver.  /  Och förlåt oss våra skulder,  /  liksom vi har förlåtit dem som står i skuld till oss.  /  Och utsätt oss inte för prövning / utan rädda oss från det onda.  /  Ditt är riket.  /  Din är makten och äran / i evighet.  /  Amen.

(Northern Sami)  Áhčči min, don guhte leat almmis.  /  Basuhuvvos du namma.  /  Bohtos du riika.  /  Šaddons du dáhttu, mo almmis nu maiddái eatnama alde.  /  Atte midjiide odne min beaivválaš láibámet.  /  Ja atte midjiide min suttuideamet ándagassii / nugo maiddái miige ándagassii addit min / velgolaččaidasamet.  /  Alege doalvvo min geahččalussii, / muhto beastte min bahás eret. / Dasgo du lea riika ja / fâpmu ja gudni / agålašvuhtii. / Âmen.

(English)  Our Father in heaven, / hallowed be your name, / your kingdom come, / your will be done, on earth as in heaven. / Give us today our daily bread. / Forgive us our sins / as we forgive those who sin against us. / Lead us not into temptation / but deliver us from evil. / For the kingdom, the power, and the glory / are yours now and for ever. / Amen.

*The Breaking of Bread*  
(Swedish)  

P:  The bread which we break is a sharing in the body of Christ.

All:  Though we are many, we are one body,  
    for we all share in one bread.

*The Peace*  (language of your choice)

The peace may be exchanged, with the words:

(Swedish)  Herrens frid.
(Southern Sami)  Jupmelen raeffie.
(Lule Sami)  Härrá ráfe.
(Northern Sami)  Hearrá ráfi.
(English)  Peace be with you.
*Agnus Dei*

(Swedish)

Lamb of God, you take away the sin of the world: have mercy on us.
Lamb of God, you take away the sin of the world: give us your peace.

The Communion

**Song during communion**

(Northern Sami)

Oahppat du dovdat lea ohcaleapmi, oahppat du dovdat.
Boahtit du lusa, du liegga salii oaidnit gii duođai leat.
Don leat mu âhčči, mon lean du mánná don mu råhkistat.
Du lahka leahkit, gullat du sárdnut, dorvu goit munn je lea.

To get to know You is my heart’s desire, to get to know You.
To be in Your presence, close to Your heart, see who You really are.
You are my Father and I am your child, I know that you do love me.
To be in Your presence, hearing Your voice, that’s all that I really need.

**Prayer** (to be spoken in the language of your choice)

(Swedish)

Kristus, vi tackar dig för din outsägligt rika gåva.
Du blev ett svar på vår bön,
ett bröd för vår hunger.
Hjälp oss nu att vara ditt svar till dem,
som saknar vad vi äger i överflöd.
Hjälp oss att höra det rop som du har hört,
förstå den nöd som du har förstått,
tjäna den mänsklighet som du har tjänat.
Uppenbara för oss ditt bords hemlighet:
ett enda bröd och
en enda mänsklighet.
Amen.

(Southern Sami)

Kristuse, datnem gihtebe dov joekoen ræjhkoes vadtesi åvteste.
Datne mijjem rohkelassen vaestiedassine sjïdïh,
jïh laejpie mijjen nealkose.
Viehkehth mijjem dov vaestiedassine dejtie årroðh
gïeh ohtsedieh dam mij mijjen luvnie velvie.
Viehkehth mijjem tjåårvehtassem govleme, maam datne govleme,
neavroem guarkedh maam datne guarkeme,
almetjidie dïenesjïdïh giejtie datne dïenesjamme.
Dååjrehth mijjese dov buertien tjéakoesvoetem:
Aajne laejpie jïh
aajne åålmege.
Aamen.

(Lule Sami)

Duv giittep, Kristus, duv sårnnomahtes valjes vattåldagås.
Dån sjaddi mijjá råhkålviså våsstådussan
ja mijjá nielge lájbben.
Viehkeda mijjáv årrot duv våsstådussan sidjïj,
gejs mijjá vallje vådnun.
Viehkeda mijjáv gullat tjúorvvasav mav dán le gullam,
niedav dádjadit nåv gák dán dádjadi,  
almasjmáttov dievnastit mav dán le dievnastam.  
Bigoda midjij bävdát tjegosvuodav:  
akta ájnna lájbbe ja  
akta ájnna almasjmáddo.  
Amen.

(Northern sami)
Mii giitit du, Kristus, mearehis rikkis attáldagat ovddas.  
Don šaddet min rohkosa västádussan  
ja min nealggi láibin.  
Veahket min dál šaddat du västádussan sidjiide  
geain váilot dat maid mii badjelmearálaččat oamastit.  
Veahket min gullat dan čuorvasa man don leat gullan,  
ipmirdit headi nu mo don leat dan vásihan,  
bálvalit olmmośsoga man don leat bálvalan.  
Almmustahte midjiiide du beavddi čiegusvuodaid:  
okta áidna láibi ja  
okta áidna olmmośsohka.  
Åmen.

(English)
Lord, we thank you for your inexpressible gift.  
You became the answer to our prayer,  
the bread for our hunger.  
Help us now to be your answer to those  
who lack the things we have in abundance.  
Help us to hear the cry you have heard,  
to understand as you have understood,  
to serve as you have served.  
Reveal to us the secret of your table:  
one bread and one humanity.  
Amen.
The Conclusion / Raajeme / Rääjame / Rääjäm / Rääjämdus / Vuolggahaapmi

**Hymn** 297 (to be sung in the language of your choice)

(English)

Lord, we thank you for your inexpressible gift. You became the answer to our prayer, the bread for our hunger. Help us now to be your answer to those who lack the things we have in abundance. Help us to hear the cry you have heard, to understand as you have understood, to serve as you have served. Reveal to us the secret of your table: one bread and one humanity.

Amen.

(Swedish)


(Southern Sami)

2. Biejjieh gujht båetieh, / jaepieh gelkieh vaasedh.
Maadtoej gïejide vaedtsibie.
Ij Elmien vuelie / gåessie gan maarvenh,
jïh mijjen vaajmoeh aavosne.

3. Dan jïjjen eengkelh / geerjene laavloejin.
Almetjhbååhperen goltelin:
Jupmelen raeffie / almetje aavodh!
Mijjen lea lutnjestæjja!


(Lule Sami)

1. Hávsske le ednam, / hávsske Hárrá almme,
jasska sielo vájaldi.
Gäjnno le guhkke / vâråldin vádtset,
de almen ávos lávludi.

2. Ájge val båhti, / ájge de vas vássi.
Buolva buolvajt guoradi.
Almmelasj lávlom, / målggadij gullu,
gå sielo almmáj vájaldi.

3. Ieŋŋgila vuostak / lávlun râjnârijda.
Sielos sielluj tjuojalij:
Guddneda Hárrâv! / Ednamin ráfe!
Ge, uddni Jesus rieagádij!


(Northern Sami)

1. Hávski lea eatnan, / hávski Ipml albmi,
sielut vázzilit allelli.
Eatnamiid čáppa / čađa mii vázzit
lávlumiin paradiijásii.
2. Áíggit vel bohtet, / áíggit galget vássit.
   *Sogat sogaid leat čuovvumin.*
   Áío goit skádjá / almmálaš nuohtta,
   sillomet illulávlagiin.

3. Ëngelat lávlo / eatnan báimmaniidda.
   *Siëlus sillui dat skájaidii.*
   Olmmoš, dal illit, / Jesus lea boahn;
   Ráfi son buvttii eatnamii.

Teaksta: B. S. Ingemann 1850, C. Bååth-Holmberg 1884. Sápmái: Georg Gripenstad 1955,

1. *Fair is creation,* / splendid is God's heaven
   when pilgrims walk the way along.
*All through the bountiful* / realms of Creation
   we head for paradise with song.

2. *Ages are coming,* / ages will be passing,
   as generations come and go.
*Nothing can silence* / heaven's own echo
   as joyful songs of pilgrims grow.

3. *Angel's song sounded* / first time for the shepherds,
   from soul to soul the word was spread.
*People rejoicing,* / born is the Saviour,
   the peace of God on earth is shed.

Words: B.S. Ingemann 1850, C. Bååth-Holmberg 1884. Transl. K Stendahl, P Harling

*The Blessing*  
(Southern Sami)

Jupmele dijjem bueriesjugnede jih dijjem vaarjele.
Jupmele jíjtse ååredæjjine dijjese tjuavka jih dijjem aarmode.
Jupmele jíjtse ååredæjjam dijjen gájakoe jarkoe jih dijjese raeffiem vadta.
Jubmelen: Aehtjien jih Baernien + jih aejlies Voejkenen nommesne.
Aamen.
The Lord bless you and watch over you.  
The Lord make his face shine upon you and be gracious to you.  
The Lord look kindly on you and give you peace.  
In the name of the Father and the Son + and the Holy Spirit.  
Amen.

The song of the Sami  

Organ Voluntary  Retiring procession  
Fanfare  
Craig Sellar Lang (1891–1971)
Four communion bowls in memory of the apology

As a national sanctuary, Uppsala Cathedral has been given four communion bowls to be used in the celebration of the Eucharist. They are designed to resemble traditional Sami food bowls and were made by Sami craftsman Jon Utsi.

At the special service of worship at the General Synod, they will be present at the location where the testimonies of historical abuse and the apology will be presented. During the offertory hymn, they will then be carried to the altar to be used as bread bowls in the communion. They thus bear both the apology and the body of Christ.

ABOUT THE ARTIST:

Jon Tomas Utsi is a 47-year-old artist from Porjus. He creates handicrafts in wood and horn (duodji). Through his duodji, Jon aims to tell us who he is and pay tribute to the vast knowledge and ingenuity of the older generations. His work has also been featured in Swedish public service channel SVT’s television series Det vackraste samiska hantverket (The Most Beautiful Sami Handicrafts).
The White Paper as a scientific anthology

ADAPTATION OF ROLAND ASPLUND’S TEXT AT SVENSKAKYRKAN.SE/FORSKNING/VITBOKEN
The anthology, as well as the *Vitboken* (The White Paper) project as a whole, should be understood in light of the reconciliation work that has been in progress between the Church of Sweden and the Sami since the 1990s. A key milestone in the Church’s work on Sami issues was the commission of inquiry appointed by the General Synod in April 2005. The terms of reference were based on the premise that the Church had perpetrated abuse against the Sami. From the early colonisation and well into the 20th century, abuse has been perpetrated against the Sami population, and the Church of Sweden has contributed to this.

The inquiry, *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Sami issues in the Church of Sweden), resulted in a number of proposals for action. One of them was that the Theological Committee of the Church of Sweden should hold a hearing on Sami identity with respect to the creed of the Church of Sweden. The Ságastallamat hearing was held in Kiruna on 11–13 November 2011.

At the hearing, demands were made for the Church of Sweden to clarify and acknowledge the injustices that the Church has inflicted on the Sami during various periods of history. More in-depth knowledge of the Church’s abuse against the Sami was seen as a requirement for continuing the reconciliation process.

The project started in November 2012. Daniel Lindmark at Umeå University was project manager and Olle Sundström was project secretary.

*Vitboken* (The White Paper) anthology consists of two volumes of 35 articles by different writers. It was published in April 2016, and contains around 1,200 pages in total. Each chapter provides summaries in several Sami languages.

*Vitboken* (The White Paper) is a scientific anthology. In it, the Church of Sweden describes the violations and wrongs that it perpetrated and examines its guilt and responsibility towards the Sami in a colonial past.

“I believe that *Vitboken* (The White Paper) can mark the start of a reconciliation process between the Church and the Sami,” said Sylvia Sparrok, the chair of the Sami Council of the Church of Sweden at the time *Vitboken*
"När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem
(The White Paper) was published. She said it was terrifying to read about the Church’s contribution to racial biology.

The entire *Vitboken* (The White Paper) and individual chapters can be downloaded (in Swedish) from svenskakyrkan.se/forskning/vitboken.

**Popular science version of Vitboken (The White Paper)**

The findings from the *Vitboken* (The White Paper) project have also been published in a popular science version, *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* (The Sami and the Church of Sweden: foundations for ecclesiastical reconciliation). The book, which has come to be known as the synthesis book, summarises the findings and offers tools for future discussions. Three chapters of the synthesis book offer different perspectives on reconciliation. This is the project’s final publication. The synthesis book has also been translated into English.

**Nomadskoleboken**

"När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och har ännu inte kommit tillbaka" – *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* ("When I was eight years old I left my home and have not yet returned" – Memories of Sami school days) is the title of the book about the nomad schools. The book came into being following conversations between representatives of Sami ecclesiastical life and church leaders. The aim was to document and make visible the role of the Church in colonial history and the oppression of the Sami through the nomad school system, especially in the period between 1910 and 1950.

The book focuses on the stories of ten elderly Sami about what it was like to be in a nomad school, work hut or residential *goahti* (Sami hut or tent). One of the former students said that “The Sami were treated like dogs. Sent us to Jukkasjärvi where we didn’t even have a bed or a table!”

The nomad school reform of 1913–1916 stipulated that the children of reindeer-herding Sami would be educated in travelling schools that followed the Sami as they moved around, and in fixed-location schools from the fourth grade. The teaching mainly took place in *goahti* tents.
This policy, known as “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” (Lapps must be Lapps), distinguished between reindeer-herding Sami and Sami with a permanent place of residence. In the eyes of the authorities, the true Sami were those who were mountain reindeer herders. The less itinerant reindeer herders who lived in the forest areas had to attend work huts, as they were not considered “real nomads” by the authorities. Sami with no connection to reindeer herding were not considered by the authorities to be Sami and had to attend mainstream elementary schools. Here, Sami children were to be assimilated into Swedish society and culture. The Sami language was repressed, Sami identity was shamed and children were not given opportunities to learn from traditional Sami knowledge.
the white paper as a scientific anthology

PHOTO: FDA/DIV/MGN
The Church contributed to racist thinking

TEXT BY ROLAND ASPLUND
Representatives of the Church of Sweden contributed to racist thinking and a division of the Sami that still persists. Priests helped to conduct racial biology studies using their local knowledge and contacts.

The Church of Sweden played a major role in Herman Lundborg’s racial biology studies in Lapland in the 1910s to 1930s. Lundborg lived for long periods in Jukkasjärvi’s Lapland parish with priest Georg Bergfors, who was passionate about the subject and supported Lundborg by providing advice and crucial contacts.

Through Bergfors, he received advice on where in northern Sweden he could best locate the “miscegenation” (racial interbreeding) that he believed was taking place and that threatened the “racially pure” Swedish population, potentially leading to crime, depravity and TB. It appears to be Georg Bergfors’ advice that led Herman Lundborg to increasingly focus on investigating the Sami. In addition, the priest sometimes travelled with Lundborg on racial study expeditions that included taking skull measurements.

**Priests key to information**
The priests were the key to the racial biologists gaining access to the villages in the north. They had local knowledge, transcribed parish registers and helped in many ways. Sami individuals and families were surveyed, photographed, their skulls measured and other physical data collected.

The parish registers were scrutinised for any “miscegenation” in the family history. Priests provided information on the Sami’s character and loose living, and on mental illness and hereditary deformities, which according to racial biology were signs of “degeneration”. They were also able to provide information on the major church holidays that brought reindeer-herding mountain Sami together; it was difficult for the racial biologists to meet them otherwise. But there are also examples of priests who opposed helping the racial biologists in their work.
Racial biologists given access to the church’s nomad schools

The Church was the organisation responsible for the nomad schools, which were schools for the children of mountain reindeer herders. In these schools, the racial biologists could work relatively undisturbed, collecting what they needed in terms of skull indices, photos and blood samples from Sami children, but also “intelligence scores” regarding the children’s mental capacity from the teachers. Sami children were stripped naked and would sometimes stand shivering in front of the camera.

The men of the cloth who initiated and administered the nomad school system, set up in 1913, had a firmly-rooted racial mindset. Three leading figures were Bishop Olof Bergqvist of Luleå, Pastor Vitalis Karnell of Karesuando and Georg Bergfors. Bishop Bergqvist and Georg Bergfors were both supporters of the State Institute for Racial Biology in Uppsala, which was the world’s first such institute, founded in 1922.

Racist views were spread

Bishop Olof Bergqvist held racist views, but these were considered commonplace at the time. In his pastoral letter from 1904 to the priests and teachers of the diocese he writes:

“As for the nomadic Lapps, experience has shown that it is not to their advantage to try to instil in them a higher level of civilisation. They should be taught what they need to know for their nomadic life and reindeer husbandry, along with the basic truths of Christianity.”

Sami were isolated

The “original Lapps” in the mountain regions were to be isolated from the rest of the population; otherwise they would perish as a people. The nomad school would provide their children with an education suited to their living conditions. Non-itinerant Sami and forest Sami “are, to a greater or lesser degree, degenerate and decrepit Lapps” and would slowly perish and be completely assimilated into the Swedish majority population, the bishop said.

The bishop’s ideas on race influenced racial biology research and Herman Lundborg, who had been appointed head of the State Institute for Racial Biology.
"Lapps must be lapps"
Pastor Vitalis Karnell established the norm that the “real, genuine” Sami were the reindeer-herding Sami in the mountains. In an article, he coined the saying “Lapps must be Lapps”. This became an expression of how the Sami were viewed and treated in the first half of the 20th century.

“When a Lapp or Lappish woman begins to walk around Stockholm in Lapp costume that is unbecoming to a greater or lesser degree, when the Lapps begin to form associations and have their own newspaper, when they begin to acquire a folk high school education, then it is the end of them as Lapps and then they become the most miserable people one can imagine. --- Lapps must be Lapps.”

Division of the sami
With the creation of the nomad school system, the nomadic reindeer-herding Sami were separated from other Sami. This division into reindeer-owning Sami and other Sami was reflected in Swedish reindeer husbandry legislation and influenced the 1928 Reindeer Grazing Act on the right to undertake reindeer husbandry and other Sami rights. As a result, the majority of Swedish Sami today do not have these rights – a situation that the Church of Sweden has been instrumental in creating.
ABOUT THE AUTHORS
This text is based on Maja Hagerman’s article *Svenska kyrkan och rasbiologin* (The Church of Sweden and racial biology) and Erik-Oscar Oscarsson’s article *Rastänkande och särskiljande av samer* (Racial thinking and differentiating between Sami) from the *Vitboken* (The White Paper).

**MAJA HAGERMAN**, science journalist and author who writes non-fiction books on Swedish history, including *Det rena landet* (*The Pure Country*, 2006), on the topic of Swedish race researchers. The book *Käraste Herman: Rasbiologen Herman Lundborgs gåta* (Dearest Herman: The enigma of Herman Lundborg, racial biologist, 2015), is about the head of the State Institute for Racial Biology.

**ERIK-OSCAR OSCARSSON**, formerly a priest in Norsjö parish, vicar and a diocesan curate for Southern Sami parish work. Member of the Sami Parliament. His research interests include Sami bibliography, Sami school history, anti-Sami racism and Sami organisational history.
Sami religion severely repressed

TEXT BY ROLAND ASPLUND
The Church and the crown, i.e. the Swedish state, went hand in hand and made demands that were revolutionary for Sami society and culture. During what was known as the Swedish Empire period in the 17th and 18th centuries, the crown was particularly interested in Sápmi and the Sami due to a desire to control trade across the Cap of the North, tax the population in the area and exploit ore resources.

The Sami population was to be disciplined through mission, education and legislation. They were to be converted to the Lutheran faith and renounce their own religion, which was strongly linked to livelihood, family structure and culture.

It was at the beginning of the 17th century, when ore was discovered, that chapels and priests were established in Sápmi in earnest. Churches were built in Pite Lapland, in Arvidsjaur, Arjeplog and Silbojokk, and at Nasafjäll, where a silver mine had been started.

The Church demanded that only one God be worshipped – a God that did not accept competition. All Sami were expected to participate in parish catechetical meetings and the Eucharist. The meetings involved everyone learning the catechism by heart.

The priests also demanded that the Sami marry, baptise their children and bury their dead in the churchyard, not “in the forest” as was the old custom.

The Church’s mission was a serious threat to Sami culture, habits and everyday life, and affected all Sami. These demands were also made on other subjects in the expanding Swedish Empire, but the Sami were forced to learn a foreign language in order to manage relations with the state and the Church.

Some of the Church’s demands were acceptable to the Sami, while others were rejected. The mission was to change Sami culture, although conversion of the Sami was very slow.
At the end of the 17th century, the Church discovered that the Sami were not as Christian as it had believed. King Karl XI wanted to see that they had turned over a new leaf, and new efforts were made in which the Church and the crown together used coercion, threats and punishment to bring about radical change.

"The devil’s bible"
The Church regarded the traditional Sami religion as superstition and idolatry. The nåjd or shaman, whom the priests respected, was called a “sorcerer” and the ceremonial drum was called the “devil’s bible” or “magic drum”.

The *jojk* or traditional Sami song was labelled by local priests in the 17th century as the work of the devil. The Sami gods were described by some priests as devils and those who worshipped them as whores. Ultimately, Sami rites and rituals were the work of the devil in the eyes of the Church.

The priests sometimes also physically attacked sacred sites, as well as individual Sami. Such sites were destroyed by overturning *sejt*, objects shaped by nature, and religious objects were stolen or confiscated by priests.

The destruction made it difficult for ritual acts to be shared, and religion became the concern of the individual Sami.

**Resistance**
There was resistance among many Sami to being Christianised. One strategy of resistance among the Sami was to go underground and only practise religion and rites in secret.

Other Sami strategies included active resistance, such as continuing to bury their dead where they died, hiding their children and refusing to send them to school.

When no other methods seemed to help, the Sami protested in words and deeds against priests who destroyed drums and sacred places.
ARTICLE BASED ON GUNLÖG FURS ARTICLE
This text is based on Gunlög Fur’s article *Kolonisation och kulturmöten under 1600-och 1700-talen* (Colonisation and Cultural Encounters in the 17th and 18th centuries) and Anna Westman Kuhmunen’s article *Bassebäjke: Heliga platser i landskapet* (Bassebäjke: Sacred Places in the Landscape) from the book *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna* (The Historical Relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami).

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Reconciliation – a theological perspective

TEXT BY MICHAEL NAUSNER, 3 AUGUST 2021
The stages of reconciliation on a personal level are also necessary for the process of reconciliation on a collective level. If the Church has wronged a group or fellowship, a process of reconciliation is needed in which repentance, confession, reparation and forgiveness are recognisable steps on the path to full reconciliation. For the reconciliation process to proceed, therefore, there needs to be a willingness on the part of Church representatives to look as honestly as possible at what has actually happened in the past, but also a willingness to acknowledge unresolved guilt, even if it is from some time in the past. Admitting complicity in such guilt is essential if a public apology is to be meaningful. An apology paves the way for forgiveness. The concrete goal of the reconciliation process is the establishment of fair relations between the parties to the conflict. No reconciliation without justice. Theologically, such justice is rooted in justification by faith and reconciliation in Christ. It is the Church’s ongoing task to interpret and give expression to the interconnectedness of the Christian vision of reconciliation and reconciliation at the social and political levels. How can participation in cosmic reconciliation through Jesus Christ become a concrete reality in the created world, in the here and now?

The concept of reconciliation encapsulates what the whole of the Christian faith is at its heart concerned with, namely the healing of broken relationships between God and humanity, and thus also between human beings and between human beings and the whole of Creation. Reconciliation between the created world and God and reconciliation within the created world go together. God’s divided humanity and wounded Creation need reconciliation. The Bible bears witness to a good Creation in which human beings are called upon, in the image of God, to work with God in a loving relationship with all Creation. While humans initially resisted this call and turned against God, their neighbour and nature, God in his grace and love is faithful in His willingness to remain in covenant with humanity and all Creation (Genesis 1-11). In ancient Israel, God’s sustained willingness to be reconciled was celebrated annually on the Day of Atonement, when a “scapegoat” was symbolically burdened with the sins of the people and chased out into the wilderness (Leviticus 16). According to the Christian faith, it is Jesus Christ Himself who is at the centre of the whole world’s reconciliation with God, and it is He who bears the sins of the entire world. He has exposed Himself to the evil of the
world and in His resurrection has overcome it. So Jesus Christ has become the door to reconciliation for all Creation. The Church is called upon to be a fellowship of reconciliation and to invite others to participate in what God has done and continues to do to reconcile the world.

In the history of Christianity, the emphasis in the doctrine of reconciliation was on the reconciliation between human beings and God through Jesus Christ, and there are many theories about the way in which Jesus’ vicarious suffering and death brought about reconciliation. What is crucial to Christian faith is that reconciliation has taken place through Jesus Christ. God in Jesus Christ is the giver of reconciliation, and humankind needs to receive this reconciliation as a gift. Some stages in the reconciliation process are indispensable: guilt needs to be repented, confessed and forgiven, and ultimately a new relationship needs to be enabled through reparation. On this earth, reconciliation is never complete; instead, Christians look forward to its completion on Jesus’ return. In the meantime, reconciliation needs to be continually received and acted upon. The process needs to run its course. The central celebration of reconciliation in the Christian tradition is the Eucharist, in which the various stages of the reconciliation process are lived out. In the Eucharist, as a primordial form of Christian fellowship, it becomes clear, on the one hand, that reconciliation is something that is received and not something that can be done and, on the other hand, that the spiritual dimension of reconciliation is linked to its social and ecological dimensions.

Reconciliation between God and humankind necessarily finds expression in the reconciliation of the created world. Therein lies the prophetic and political dimension of the Christian faith. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus even sees interpersonal reconciliation as a prerequisite for worship in the true sense (Matthew 5:23-24). The Greek terms used in the New Testament for reconciliation testify to a change of place with the other. Reconciliation thus has to do with empathy and solidarity with the other. The fact that God Himself had experienced the human situation in Jesus Christ (2 Corinthians 5:19-21) makes it possible for people to live in reconciliation; that is, in deep solidarity with one another. This solidarity transforms personal relationships but is rooted in a social, an ecological, indeed even a cosmic reconciliation. All things on Earth and all things in heaven are reconciled...
through Jesus Christ (Colossians 1:20). With this horizon in mind, reconciliation emerges not only as something personal but as the vocation of the entire Church to live in peace and reconciliation with different groups and communities.
Actions taken during the reconciliation process
A number of actions have been taken to address the areas identified by the sami representatives during the reconciliation process.

**Documentation of abuse and action on issues identified:**

- Nomadskoleboken “När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit hem” – minnesbilder från samernas skoldag (“When I was eight years old I left my home and I have not yet come home” – memories from Sami school days), 2015.
- *Vitboken* (The White Paper) *De historiska relationerna mellan samerna och Svenska kyrkan* (The Historical Relations between the Sami and the Church of Sweden) and the synthesis book, 2016.
- *Rörande repatriering av mänskliga kvarlevor* (On the repatriation of human remains – addressed in The White Paper): The Archbishop invited Sami stakeholders, museum and government representatives and the Ministry of Culture to roundtable discussions in November 2017 and April 2019 respectively; a joint communication was sent to the Ministry of Culture regarding changes in legislation to create a process to facilitate the repatriation of remains; the Church of Sweden co-financed a repatriation project in Lycksele in 2019 and contributed to the repatriation of remains in August 2019 and September 2020.

**The reconciliation issues have also been raised at the following:**

- Seminar at the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan, South Korea in 2013.
- Seminar at the Sami church days in Mo i Rana in 2013 and Arvidsjaur in 2017.
- International seminar at the Central Church Office in conjunction with the ordination of Bishop Eva Nordung Byström in 2014.
Examples of projects for children and young people

- *The Sami confirmation camp:* The Church of Sweden has organised a Sami confirmation camp since 1985. The issue is of interest to the entire Church of Sweden. The camp strengthens young Sami in their Sami identity, culture and faith. It is an important meeting place for young people from all over Sápmi and ultimately helps to strengthen Sami culture and language. The camp is an important part of Sami ecclesiastical life in which ambition is translated into action.

- Intra-church survey of the situation of Sami children and the Church’s work with this group, 2013.


- Nordic Sami Youth Conference, 2015 in Helsinki, Finland organised by the Church of Sweden along with Sami working in sister churches in Finland and Norway and Sáminuorra (the Sami national youth organisation in the Swedish part of Sápmi).

- Seminar at the Swedish Forum for Human Rights in Luleå, 2015, along with Sáminuorra and others.

- Youth participation in the International Church Conference on Indigenous Peoples in Tromsø, 2016 – see above.

Support for indigenous rights

- In connection with the publication of the white papers, the issue of indigenous rights was raised with the relevant ministry and with the Riksdag’s Committee on the Constitution.

- Alternative reports and input into international reviews:
  - For the Council of Europe: *Väga vara minoritet En rapport om minoritetsrättigheter i Sverige 2012* (Dare to be a minority – a report on minority rights in Sweden, 2012); *Marginalized and Ignored – National Minority Children’s Struggle for Language Rights in Sweden, 2013.*
  - For the UN: *Human Rights Challenges in Sweden 2014 Joint Submission for Sweden’s Second Universal Periodic Review* (along with Sáminuorra and others), and communication in the context of the latest UN Universal Periodic Review, 2020 cycle (raising the issue of repatriation of remains).
• The Central Church Office participated in dialogue on indigenous issues initiated by WCC, New York, 2013.
• Polemical articles (in Swedish)
  – Aftonbladet debatt September 2021 https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/1OqWlJ/nu-maste-staten-ge-samerna-upprattelse
• A number of consultation responses, including on a reindeer husbandry convention, the consultation system, forest management and minority issues that also affect the Sami.
• The report *Samernas rätt att bruka Svenska kyrkans mark* En studie av nationell och internationell rätt (The right of the Sami to use the land of the Church of Sweden – a study of national and international law), 2015 (report on the significance of ILO 169 for the Church of Sweden).
• The General Synod’s decision on ratification of ILO 169, 2015.
• The Central Church Office and the Sami Council took part in a conference in Umeå in 2016 on the Truth Commission, arranged by the Sami Parliament, the Equality Ombudsman and Umeå University.
• Dialogue with northern dioceses on forest issues: meeting at the Central Church Office; 2-day seminar in Umeå in 2019.
• Almedalen Seminar 2019 The precious water source – commodity or sacred site? With representatives from Sâminuorra and others.

**Theological reflection on Sami spirituality**
• During follow-up discussions in the Theological Committee after Sággastallamat 2011-2019, a strategic plan was developed at national level in the Church of Sweden for reconciliation work for 2020–2024.
• The Archbishop’s seminar on Sami spirituality based on the Archbishop’s Lenten Book in the bishops’ Lenten seminars, *Stå fasta i Hoppet* (Stand firm in hope), spring 2021 https://vimeo.com/511509799.
Examples of actions aimed at strengthening Sami ecclesiastical life


- *The Book of Worship*: selected parts have been translated into Northern, Lule and Southern Sami. Brought into use in 2020.

- *Hymn book in Lule Sami* Decisions were taken at the 1992 meeting of delegates and a final version of the book was published in 2006. Collaboration with the Church of Norway.

- *Hymn book in Northern Sami*: A decision was taken at the 1992 meeting of delegates, but a more structured piece of work was only initiated in 2005, with a final version of the book being published at the end of 2020.

- *Hymn book in Southern Sami*: A decision was taken at the 1992 meeting of delegates, but a more structured piece of work was only initiated in 2004, with a final version of the book to be published in 2023/2024. Collaboration with the Church of Norway.

- *Bible translations*: The Swedish and Norwegian Bible societies are currently translating the Bible into Lule and Southern Sami. Lule Sami NT is ready, OT is expected to be completed in 2025. A complete Southern Sami Bible is perhaps 20 years away. The Church of Sweden contributes financially. The Bible was published in Northern Sami in 2019. The Bible societies of Norway, Sweden and Finland collaborated. The Church of Sweden supported the project but to a minor extent compared to the churches of the other countries.

- At the reception of the Archbishop in Uppsala Cathedral in 2014, the Gospel was read in Northern Sami, and Bible passages in Sami were read at the ordination of Bishop Åsa Nyström and Bishop Eva Nordung Byströms in Uppsala Cathedral.

- The Archbishop’s participation in the celebrations marking the centennial of the 1917 Sami Assembly in Tråante (Trondheim) in 2017, including participation in the special service of worship in Nidaros Cathedral.

- Sami liturgical elements, hymns and solo singing at the special service of worship for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Uppsala Cathedral, October 2017.
• The Archbishop’s sermon at the opening service of worship of Jokkmokk Market in 2019, and meetings with the Sami Parliament, Sáminuorra and others.

• The Archbishop’s Lenten Book 2019 by Martin Lönnebo about Pärlälven (Pearl River).

• The Archbishop’s Lenten Book 2021 by Bo Lundmark På nötta och nyröjda stigar i Sápmi (On worn and newly cleared paths in Sápmi).

Other activities related to Sami ecclesiastical life

• Sami church days are organised with Norway and Finland. To take place next in Enare, Finland, 2022.

• Nordic church cooperation on indigenous issues

• Climate issues: The Church of Sweden arranged an international indigenous peoples’ conference in Storforsen in 2015, a follow-up in Iceland in 2017 and a seminar in Almedalen in 2019.
The Church of Sweden’s commitments linked to the apology to the Sami – Overall objectives for further reconciliation work
In June 2021, the Central Board of the Church of Sweden agreed on eight objectives linked to the Church of Sweden’s apology to the Sami. The decision entails eight commitments as objectives and SEK 40 million in funding for the work over ten years. It meant that an action plan for continuing to work to meet the Church of Sweden’s commitments for the 2022–2031 period will be developed in close dialogue with the Sami Council and the dioceses.

The purpose of the commitments is to set objectives for further reconciliation work. The Church of Sweden is pushing ahead by creating structures for the work within the Church in dialogue with Sami representatives. There is a need in this work to build long-term trust and confidence and to ensure transparency and participation in the remainder of the joint process.

The work on Sami issues in the Church of Sweden will be developed in accordance with these eight overall objectives. A brief description of what this may involve is provided under each objective. Actions under each commitment are detailed in the action plan.

1. Preach the Gospel in the Sami languages and in the Sami cultural context, with respect for the Sami spiritual and ecclesiastical tradition
Being able to read or hear the Gospel in one’s own emotional language contributes to a more direct form of address and to a sense of belonging. The Sami languages need to be used and their profile raised in worship activities and in the activities of the parish. This includes Bible texts and hymns being made available in Sami. Texts in Sami in the Book of Worship can facilitate worship in Sami. Sami symbolism, Sami ecclesiastical traditions and contextual interpretation of texts help increase inclusion and make the Gospel accessible in a culturally relevant way.

2. Make Sami spirituality, theology and ecclesiastical tradition visible within the Church of Sweden
The basic mission of the parish needs to be implemented in a way that promotes the inclusion and raises the profile of the Sami. Church documents
need to be designed with respect for spiritual and ecclesiastical Sami traditions so that people can affirm their Sami identity. Such traditions need to be highlighted and respected within the Church of Sweden.

3. Help strengthen and revitalise the Sami languages in the activities of the Church of Sweden
By raising the profile of Sami languages and increasing their use in parish activities, the Church of Sweden can help strengthen them. This is particularly important in activities aimed at children.

4. Increase knowledge and awareness of the Church’s historical relations with and abuse against the Sami and the consequences of these
The material produced in the Church’s survey work needs to be disseminated so that knowledge of the Church’s historical actions and complicity in abuse against the Sami and the consequences of this is expanded in the Church of Sweden. Greater knowledge can contribute to reflection on and increased understanding of why the Church of Sweden is working on reconciliation in relation to the Sami. It can also help raise awareness among elected representatives, employees and parishioners about issues related to the Sami and their living conditions and the Church’s responsibility to contribute to redress and reconciliation.

5. Expand knowledge of and respect for the principles of indigenous rights within the Church of Sweden and in society
Indigenous rights are part of human rights. Respect for and observance of indigenous rights are essential for a socially sustainable society. The principles of indigenous rights affect a wide range of areas in society. There needs to be better general knowledge of these principles in the Church of Sweden. The Church of Sweden will strive to respect the principles of indigenous rights in its activities.

6. Increase the influence and participation of the Sami in the Church of Sweden
According to the principles of indigenous rights, the Sami have the right to self-determination in matters that affect them. This means that the Church of Sweden should actively promote Sami influence and participation in the
Church’s activities and find ways for this to happen. Participation of the Sami in decision-making processes is a particular priority in matters of principle affecting them.

7. Strengthen the identity and spiritual development of Sami children and young people
Under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Sami children and young people have the right to spiritual development. They also have the right to their native language and to develop a cultural identity. Efforts that strengthen the vitality, identity and spiritual development of Sami children must be promoted.

8. Promote transnational Sami ecclesiastical life
The Sami are a transnational people living in four states. They see themselves as one people, and Sami ties across national borders are strong. The Church of Sweden has a long history of close cooperation on Sami issues with its Lutheran sister churches in Norway and Finland. Russian Sami are also invited to the joint Nordic Sami church days. Transnational cooperation strengthens and develops Sami ecclesiastical life in the Church of Sweden and should therefore be actively promoted. For larger Sami ecclesiastical projects, such as major translations, Nordic cooperation is essential.
The official apology to the Sami will be made twice: firstly at the General Synod’s special service of worship on 24 November in Uppsala Cathedral, and secondly at the planned Ságastallamat 2 conference in Luleå on 21–23 October.

Ságastallamat means dialogue or conversation in Northern Sami, and the first Ságastallamat hearing was held in Kiruna in October 2011. Many individual testimonies were given during the meeting in Kiruna, testifying to the pain that many Sami bear due to past policies and structures that have suppressed Sami identity, culture and language.

A Ságastallamat 3 is scheduled for 2026 and a final Ságastallamat 4 in 2031.
The Church of Sweden’s apology to the Sami people for historical abuse is an important event in a long process of truth and reconciliation. The apology will be made both at the General Synod’s special service of worship in Uppsala Cathedral on 24 November 2021 and at the Ságastallamat in Luleå in October 2022.

In the context of the Church, the word ‘forgiveness’ may seem more natural than ‘apology’. However, it is for good reason that the word apology is used by both states and churches in reconciliation processes with indigenous peoples.

The party asking for forgiveness expects the other party to be both able and willing to forgive. We ask God for forgiveness because we have God’s promise that God will forgive. No such promise can be requested of a people who have suffered oppression. An apology is made; it can be embraced and accepted. But first and foremost, it is an acknowledgement of the moral responsibility of the offending party – without the other party being expected to respond with forgiveness.

The party receiving an apology must be given time and space to respond to that apology and should not be required to indicate when a response will be given and what the response will be. At the same time, an apology is an inescapable step on the path to reconciliation.

Read more about Reconciliation on p. 56