The Role of the Church in Making a Neighboring Enemy a Loyal Citizen—An Example of Pseudo-Indigenization of Fellow Lutherans

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In this article the crucial role of the Lutheran Church in Sweden in the pseudo-indigenization process of making neighboring Lutheran Danish enemies in the province of Scania into loyal Swedish citizen after the peace treaty of Roskilde 1658, and more pronounced after 1678, is described and discussed. The process included educational, pedagogical, judicial, liturgical and theological-rhetorical means and had significant, invaluable, and long lasting consequences. The province remains as a part of the Kingdom of Sweden. From a historical perspective, the process was fast and successful, even though some modern historians question the speediness of the process and thereby want to modify the picture of a fast and non-problematic Swedification or pseudo-indigenization process.

Keywords: pseudo-indigenization, Swedification, Scania

Introduction

The term indigenization is complex and multi-dimensional, immediately invokes a battery of questions concerning content and meaning. The same goes for pseudo-indigenization. In this paper, a process of pseudo-indigenization is at the center, and the definition used for this latter term is: “when outsiders try to force the infusion of their culture into another culture.”¹ Naturally, this broad definition raises questions, for example concerning how one defines culture. However, it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss definitions, or to get into details pertaining to various general aspects of an indigenization or pseudo-indigenization process. Instead, a concrete historical example of a pseudo-indigenization process will be presented, with specific focus of the role of a Church, namely the Swedification (*försvenskning*) of the former eastern parts of Denmark, i.e. the provinces of Scania (Skåne), Halland and Blekinge, with a specific focus on Scania; how they were turned into a southern Swedish province, simply named Scania—a historic borderland situated on the peninsula of Scandinavia, south and southwest of today’s Sweden, but historically—before 1658—a part of Denmark.² Even though the term Swedification has been questioned, I use it in this article, since it clarifies the ambition

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¹ This definition is used in various materials, such as: *e-Study Guide for: Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition*

(https://books.google.se/books?id=6UVwBAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) and several digital dictionaries – an example is <http://lexbook.net/en/indigenization> [retrieved March 8, 2016].

² The Swedish word *försvenskning*, i.e. approx. “make Swedish”, is here translated into “Swedification.” The term has been questioned (Alenäs et al. 2006).

the Swedish King pronounced already in 1658, while sending a Swedish commission to Scania, giving it the task to investigate the status of “everything” in relation to an “adaption and adjustment to Swedish regulations and customs” (Hallenberg, 1907, p. 194).

This Swedification process has in early Swedish historiography been described as fast and successful, a statement that has been questioned in later contributions.³ Why did this happen fast? Why has this been questioned? What means were used? What identity marks or way of thinking were transferred and implemented into the province of Scania in order to make longtime Danish enemies into loyal Swedish citizens?

Thus, in this paper the pseudo-indigenization process, i.e. the Swedification of former Danish provinces in the last part of the 1600s will be examined and discussed, with specific relevance to the crucial impact of the Swedish Lutheran Church.

The time period covered is the last part of the seventeenth century, a late period of a century of almost constant wars. Sweden and Denmark had for long been neighboring Scandinavian or Nordic countries. Besides, they shared the vastly influential religious and cultural heritage of Lutheranism, and the languages were similar, basically mutually understandable, even though different in character. They were both kingdoms, and saw royal intermarriages. However, even if they were culturally, religiously, and socially close, they had off and on, almost throughout a millennium, been military and political enemies—sharply at many occasions—fighting over the supremacy of Scandinavia. Little wonder, the political and social situation was at the time very complex.

I will in the following introduction present some crucial events preceding the pseudo-indigenization process, and thereafter display essential means used by the Swedish Lutheran Church in the Swedification process of Scania. Needless to say, even if the Church used a range of means, it became at the same time in itself a political means in making neighboring Danish enemies loyal Swedish citizens. And, naturally, when Sweden, through the church, infused its culture into the Danish culture in Scania, it was not an infusion of a vastly different culture, but of particular Swedish aspects, means and traits of a similar broader Protestant and Lutheran culture shared in both states, Sweden and Denmark-Norway, and later in what became the five Nordic states (during this time of history, Finland belonged to Sweden; Norway and Iceland to Denmark). The Nordic part of the world was at this time ruled from two centers, Stockholm and Copenhagen (Alenäs et al., 2006).

In the Swedish pseudo-indigenization process of former Danish territories, I will display the Church of Sweden, supported and ultimately led by the Swedish King, as the key agent.⁴ One reason why the process has been described as successful in Swedish historiography is that no major attempts from Denmark to regain the territory has since this period of time been made—and Scania remains unquestionably Swedish, until this very day.

Sweden in the mid 1600s: War Treaties and Enlargements

The Treaty of Brömsebro 1645

³ Alenäs et al. (2006) and Sanders (2008) are stressing a long process. Of course, it is a matter of perspective. The argument is that Scania stayed as Swedish *provinces* until 1681-83, i.e. the time period 1658-1683, 25 years, moves the interpretation from being “fast” to “long”. From my perspective, even if we include the 1690s, the historical transition was fast. In the early 1700, no major support of a way back to Denmark and Danish was found.

⁴ Most researchers in the field stress the importance of the Church, such as Montgomery (2002: 127, pp. 154-155), Alenäs (2003) and Sanders (2008). Sanders, for example, mentions the role of the Church as “an important Swedification agent.” No one has more specifically or systematically pointed out the various means used (Sanders, 2008, pp. 96-97).

On the order of the Swedish Chancellor Count Axel Oxenstierna, the Swedish field marshal Lennart Torstenson attacked Denmark in 1643. The following war, named the Torstenson's War, was fought on several fronts, both on land and at sea, and lasted until 1645. Peace negotiations, headed by Axel Oxenstierna on behalf of the Swedish forces, and Corfitz Ulfeldt on the Danish side, resulted in the Treaty of Brömsebro on August 13, 1645. Denmark lost the provinces of Härjedalen and Jämtland up north, as well as two islands in the Baltic Sea, Gotland and Ösel. Also, the province of Halland, on the southwest part of the Scandinavian Peninsula, was left as a pledge for 30 years to Sweden. Thus, Norway (belonging to Denmark) and Danish Scania were separated (Svensson, 2015; Alenäs et al., 2006). Interestingly, the parishes in Halland, parts of the Danish diocese of Lund in Scania, were transferred to the Swedish diocese of Gothenburg, and this even if the people of Halland kept their laws and privileges in other areas. As a consequence, men in Halland who wanted to study theology had to get their education in Sweden and no longer in Copenhagen (Svensson, 2015).

The Treaty of Roskilde 1658

The war of 1657-1658 was also fought on several fronts; in Scania but also on Jutland and in Norway and even in Germany. A considerable number of Danish troops were gathered in Scania. However, the Swedish King Charles X Gustavus (1622-1660), had conquered Jutland, and due to the extremely cold weather during the winter of 1657-1658, the sea froze and made it possible to move the Swedish troops over the frozen Belts and reach Zealand, to the complete surprise of the Danish King, who surrendered. The Treaty of Roskilde was signed on February 27, 1658 (only 10 years after the Peace of Westphalia), and ratified on March 24 and March 29 by the Danish and Swedish kings respectively (Sanders, 2008; Svensson, 2015) mentions February 26: the treaty was accomplished this day, but signed on February 27). One third of Denmark was surrendered to Sweden: The provinces of Scania, Blekinge, Halland (this time without time limit), Bohuslän, Blekinge, and Trondheim, in addition to the Baltic island of Bornholm (Svensson, 2015; Engelhardt, 2007; Sanders, 2008). At this time, the Danish language, Danish (church) customs and the Danish Church Ordinance were acceptable in the new Swedish provinces, also in Scania (Engelhardt, 2007). Swedish church services were only held at Swedish military camps, and where Swedish nobility had their own chaplains (Montgomery, 2002).

A New War, and the Treaty of Copenhagen 1660

Only some months later, in August 1658, King Charles X Gustavus attacked Denmark. The goal was a complete Danish surrender. The Swedes sieged Copenhagen, but soon experienced Danish conspiracies at other places. The rebellion on Bornholm was successful—the Swedes were expelled. However, a conspiracy in Malmö, aspired a handover to Danish leadership, failed. On the countryside of Scania, the war launched in 1658 resulted in resentments, among other things due to conscriptions, the practice of, and violence.⁵ In some parts, a beginning of an insurgence was seen. However, this was defeated.

On February 13, 1660, the Swedish king suddenly died. His successor, Charles XI (1655-1697), was four years old at the time, and the high nobility, not least Magnus Gabriel del la Gardie, married to King Charles X Gustavus sister, gained power (Lagerqvist, 2006).

The Swedes sought peace with the Danes. A treaty was signed in Copenhagen on May 27, 1660. The provinces of Scania, Blekinge, Halland and Bohuslän remained Swedish, but the province of Trondheim and the Baltic island of Bornholm were returned to Denmark (Svensson, 2015; Sanders, 2008). The province of

⁵ Quarterage was an act of forcing people to provide troops with living accommodation.

Scania officially became a duchy, governed by the Governor General. It was allowed to keep its Scania Laws and the old privileges—as long as they did not contradict the Laws of Sweden. The decisions were reinforced at the Recess in Malmö 1662, even though the four Estates (the Nobility, Clergy, Burghers, and Peasants), were to be incorporated in the Swedish Parliament (*riksdag*), and, thus, be a part of the Swedish law making, which should bind them to the decisions made by the Parliament (Sanders, 2008; Lagerqvist, 2006). The Danish Church Order (*Kirkeordinans*) of 1537/1539 remained in Scania for several more years.

Bishops Winstrup and Hahn

During the time of disturbance and disorder, the Danish Bishop of Lund in Scania, Peder Winstrup (1605-1679), had accommodated to the Swedish reign and expressed his loyalty to the Swedish King Charles X Gustavus (Engelhardt, 2007; Sanders, 2008). For this reason he had been knighted, even if he, as it seems, had no interest in a Swedification process of the Danish church in Scania (Göransson, 1950). For example, despite the manifold promises of Winstrup to the king concerning the bishop's willingness to introduce Swedish Church service order in Scania, this never took form under Winstrup's leadership. Instead, Winstrup changed this official view after the death of King Charles X Gustavus, and required, along with the priests of the diocese, that they should be able to live in a "pure" form of Christianity, i.e. the Danish form (Montgomery, 2002).

Bishop Winstrup was a Dane in soul and heart, born on Zealand. He had been a student at the universities of Copenhagen, Wittenberg, and Jena, a professor of physics at the university in Copenhagen, and a chaplain at the Danish royal court. He kept the Church in Scania almost intact, i.e. out of Swedish influence, until his death on December 2, 1679 (Göransson, 1950; Svensson, 2015; Montgomery, 2002). There was one clear exception to this: those men who wanted to become members of the clergy had to study in Sweden—and no longer in Copenhagen. Winstrup had not been able to stop this change, i.e. of the Swedish educational efforts of an inculturation of the Scanian theology students.

Winstrup's successor, Canutus Hahn (1633-1687), was a Swede, born in the parish of Uråsa, Småland, and a student of Greifswald, Wittenberg, Rostock and Uppsala University. He became a professor (*ad interim*) at the gymnasium/cathedral school at Lund in December 1662, after some efforts by the Swedish General Governor in Scania Marshall Gustav Otto Stenbock. He was later Professor and Vice-Chancellor at the University of Lund. From 1679, he assisted Bishop Winstrup and finally succeeded him in February, 1680 (Göransson, 1950). Hahn became a most significant person in the pseudo-indigenization process, i.e. the "Swedification" of the province of Scania (Montgomery, 2002).

Unification Efforts in Sweden and the Beginning of the Swedification Process of Scania

In Sweden, national efforts of unification in order to reach the goal, one state-one religion (i.e. Lutheran Christian faith), had resulted in Church Ordinances in 1655, 1663, and 1667. The background was the abdication and subsequent conversion to Roman Catholicism by Queen Kristina, daughter of Gustavus II Adolphus, in 1654. Would the new provinces now be included in this effort?

Peace and War

The relative peace between 1660 and 1675, though full of tensions, became a period of rebuilding the province of Scania. Scania, as well as Halland and Blekinge, was able to send representatives to the Swedish parliament in 1664 (Alenäs, 2003). Two years later, Lund University was founded, with the aim of educating Scanian men who wanted to become members of the clergy. A process of Swedification had started, but the

Danes still had hopes of regaining the lost territories (Sanders, 2008).

On September 2, 1675, Christian V, the Danish King, declared war on Sweden, now led by King Charles XI. Scanian shores were invaded, major cities conquered. The Danes were successful, and on July 1, 1676, the Danish King announced that he should be proclaimed liberator of Scania in the churches in the province. However, in the coming fall, the Swedes started a counter offensive, and on December 4, 1676, the Swedes experienced a major victory at the Battle of Lund (Montgomery, 2002). The Swedish councillor of Realm (*riksråd*) Johan Gyllenstierna, visited all regained parishes in Scania and Blekinge, assembled all adult men and asked them, on behalf of the King, to sign an oath of allegiance.

Also, the Swedish King announced that he no longer was bound to the promises given in 1658, 1660 and 1662, in which he had declared that Danish laws and privileges could be kept in Scania. Instead, the Swedification process took off in a new and more explicit way. For example, in 1678, the King ordered that the priests who had chosen the side of the Danes in the war should be replaced (Montgomery, 2002; Alenäs, 2003).

The war continued and in the long run the Swedes gained major towns, such as Kristianstad in August 1678, even though cohorts of pro-Danish insurgents (*snapphanar*), viewing the province as occupied, caused problems for the Swedes in some northern areas. After almost four years of war a treaty between Denmark and Sweden was signed at the castle of Fontainebleau in France, on August 23, 1679, by the Danes and the French King, an ally of Sweden. This treaty was followed by a peace treaty process in Lund during the night of September 26-27, 1679, in the presence of diplomats from France and Saxony, that produced basically the same terms as those in Fontainebleau, i.e. *status quo*. The Danes had to leave all smaller territories gained in Scania, and thus, acknowledge that the province of Scania remains Swedish. However, Danish laws and customs should remain—albeit a short lived disappointment in the Swedification process (Montgomery, 2002). Some researcher has even described the period 1658-1675 as a period of *Scaniafication* (Gustafsson, 2008), i.e. a sort of “semi-Swedification” process, in which the people of Scania could keep much of Danish customs, rather than a Swedification process. However the period later on is described, by now, the Swedes have learned a lesson.

A New Strategy From 1678

After the war 1675-1679 the Swedish strategy changed. They realized that only a strategically organized implementation of Swedish customs and the Swedish language would secure the new provinces as future stable provinces under the Swedish Crown. The tool to accomplish this goal was the Church and its priests. A major Swedification process was launched.

Already in 1678, on April 10, in the midst of the war, the Swedish King Charles XI had formulated a new and forceful strategy of a unification and Swedification process that stated: The people in the provinces should be persuaded to give up “their old attitude, language, way of thinking and love for their original mother country” (Göransson, 1950, p. 93).

The Church became a forceful actor in this process. In the former Danish provinces of Halland and Bohuslän, the process took explicit forms from 1678. Swedish Daniel Larsson Wallerius (1630-1689) became bishop in Gothenburg, acting on the orders of the Swedish King in changing Danish church customs into Swedish, mandated in 1679 (Montgomery, 2002; Alenäs, 2003).

Later, in 1681-1683, Scania (as well as other provinces) was incorporated in the Swedish kingdom: the Swedish Constitution, Swedish laws and Swedish Church Order were to be obeyed. But how should the people

accept this? What means were used to make enemies into loyal citizens? I will in the following section briefly present five, interrelated means—educational, pedagogical, judicial, liturgical, and theological-rhetorical—all used by the Swedish Church, which became without question a most important actor in the unification process of making the Danish enemies into loyal Swedes. The Swedification process had taken a new and forceful step.

Five Means Used by the Church in the Swedification Process

Educational: A university was founded at Lund, Scania, on December 19, 1666, with charters, letters of donations and privileges, and a constitution that included jurisdiction rights on university matters (and thus, separated from the city's jurisdiction). However, the formal inauguration took part on January 28, 1668.⁶ Economic resources for the task were given through a decision, which enabled the university to use the property of the Diocesan Chapter in Lund (Montgomery, 2002). The purpose was to educate Lutheran priests in Swedish fashion. This educational strategy was a clear and long-time means to spread Swedish education and culture into the province of Scania. The educational option for the Scanian students to study at the Danish university in Copenhagen was hereby closed.⁷ However, the Danish military invasion in 1676 scattered the professors and students, and the university was closed. A few years after the war 1675-1679, in June 1682, the academy/university at Lund was re-founded, not least through the work of Bishop Hahn and Count Erik Lindschöld (1634-1690).⁸ Along Swedish standards, the professors formed the diocesan board (Göransson, 1950).

Founding a university with a specific emphasis was a long term successful factor in the strategical work on the Swedification or pseudo-indigenization process. This long time purpose was also clear in the mind of Bishop Hahn (Göransson, 1950, p. 138). His pseudo-indigenization methods are, for example, found in a letter from Hahn to Governor-General Rutger von Ascheberg (1621-1693) dated April 28, 1682 (Göransson, 1950).

In addition, education for the sextons in the parishes was also arranged for, since it would support a more profound Swedish education of the people. Also, if the sexton did not speak Swedish or did not want to, he should be replaced. In 1678, King Charles XI and Bishop Hahn emphasized education in the Swedish language of the youth. This should also prevent a possible inclination to stay Danish among certain so called “undecided.” Therefore Swedish introductory ABC-books and catechisms would be used in the education of the children (Göransson, 1950). In fact, the Swedish language was the “foundation” in the unification or Swedification process, according to Bishop Hahn (Göransson, 1950).

Pedagogical: The visitations of Bishop Hahn during the autumn of 1678 and in 1680, were times used as opportunities to enforce strong implementation on behalf of the Swedification. A royal regulation from 1678 declared that Swedish text books should be used in the education, and that Swedish born sextons should be positioned in the parishes. The parish education in Scania was run by the sextons.

In 1680, the bishop ordered the sextons to have the children sing the hymn “May God give King Charles and all authority peace and good governance,” at all church services (Göransson, 1950). Also, as mentioned,

⁶ The question of founding a university in Scania had been discussed already at the Swedish *riksdag*/Parliament in 1664 (Montgomery, 2002).

⁷ This earlier introduced Swedish educational effort had resulted in the foundation of other universities, such as Dorpat/Tartu University 1632 (Estonia); Åbo Academy 1640 (Finland, re-opened 1918); partially also in the Swedish territories in Germany: Greifswald University (Montgomery, 2002, pp. 151-152).

⁸ Bishop Hahn actually preferred Kristianstad as a new location of the university, due to several circumstances, for example its location closer to Sweden. The issue was handled by Count Lindschöld, and apparently he viewed Lund a better choice (Göransson, 1950, pp. 130-134, 169).

the books that should be used in the education of the youngsters were Swedish ABC-books. Several thousand were delivered to the parishes in 1681. In addition, at the end of the same year, about 2,000 of *Luther's Smaller Catechism*, published in the Swedish language, had been distributed to the Scanian parishes. Swedish hymn books were ready to be delivered in the beginning of 1683. In these, common Swedish hymns with tunes also used in the Danish hymn book were included, as well as popular Danish hymns translated into Swedish. This meant, that elderly parish members could continue to sing the hymns in Danish, while the youngsters were taught the same hymns on at the same occasions in Swedish. These three books were later included in a common volume (Göransson, 1959).

A Swedish "Altar-" or "Handbook" was printed in the summer of 1682 in order to use Swedish in the liturgy. Swedish prayer books were soon to be used. Sermons would be delivered in Swedish, as decided in August 1682, and, for example, declared at a synod in March and June of 1683. Regularly held visitations ensured this implementation of the Swedification agenda.

It has lately been argued that this pedagogical effort, in which the implementation of the Swedish language was a "grandiose pedagogical project" (Sanders, 2008, p. 102).

Judicial: Already after the peace treaty in Roskilde in 1658, only priests born in Sweden or in the new territories should be appointed. This was not fully applied. In the unification orders of 1678, the issue was brought up and it was decided that in appointment processes only Swedish born should be considered for parish offices. However, Hahn argued that reliable men born in the new territories should have the possibility initially to be appointed, and the King agreed, not least since there were not enough Swedes to fill the vacancies at the time (Göransson, 1950). In addition, the King ordered that the priests who had chosen the side of the Danes in the War of 1675-1679 should be replaced (Montgomery, 2002).

The old Danish privileges given in 1658, 1660 and 1679 actually accepted Danish order and required changes on a voluntary basis. However, persuasion was needed. Bishop Hahn, along with some of the rural deans, played an important role in this work. The visitation trips of the bishop became important tools in this matter.

On May 2, 1681, the Scanian priests of the diocese gathered for a meeting—the last one held according to Danish order, and asked for uniformity in church matters, and to be represented at the Swedish parliament (The clergy made up one of the four Estates in the Parliament). The Swedification process entered another phase. The Danish Church order belonged to the past in the province.

After August 19, 1683, a priest who continued to preach in Danish could be suspended (Göransson, 1959). However, as it seems, no one was suspended on these charges (Göransson, 1959). But, in 1684, sextons who had used Latin in the liturgy were seen to have set a bad example and were consequently discharged (Göransson, 1950).

In addition, the Swedish King banned importation of Danish hymn books, prayer books, and catechisms. Danish Bibles were the exception; they could be brought in until Swedish versions were available (Göransson, 1950).

As mentioned above, when it came to the diocesan organizational structure, Swedish standards were used.

Liturgical (within the frame of the services): A Swedish Handbook/Missal would be used. Some Danish liturgical customs, such as having wax candles on the altar and using Latin were prohibited (Göransson, 1950). The Swedish language would be used; first in the liturgy, then in the readings and prayers, later in the sermons, and finally in all of the divine services. A strict adherence to this was required after Bishop Hahn returned from

the *riksdag* (parliament) in 1682, and the decision was clearly manifested at the synod held in June, 1683 (Göransson, 1950).

The Swedish priest's clothes should be used, mentioned already in the unification order of 1678, and later decided upon by the priests at the gathering in Malmö in 1681.

Thus, step by step, changes were taken in order to achieve the particular end of fostering Swedish customs to accomplish the Swedification of the province, also when it came to the Church liturgy.

Theological-rhetorical: Both in 1646 and 1658, Bishop Winstrup had argued that the Danish loss was a consequence of the sins of the Danes (Engelhardt, 2007; Sanders, 2008).

Also, he declared that the grace of God could be bestowed upon Scanians if they were loyal to the Swedish king, a view most likely informed by his Lutheran orthodox point of view and formed during his studies in Wittenberg, i.e. God reigns and both kings, namely, Charles X Gustavus and Fredrik III, were God-sent and seen as good Lutherans of the Augsburg Confession (Sanders, 2001; Sanders, 2008).

Thus, the theological reasoning might have eroded or undermined some Danish political arguments of regaining Scania, since it was a result of God dealing with the sins of the Danes. In other words, the outcome for the Danes was self-inflicted. Also, orthodox Lutheran should obey the King, no matter if he was Danish or Swedish. This led, likely to some degree, some Scanians to accept the Swedification process, since Scanians as Lutherans would accept the Swedish Lutheran autocracy.

The Continuation of the Unification Process

In Sweden, a broader unification process was at hand during this era. A new Church Ordinance or Church Law in 1686 formed the foundation in the Swedish Church and society for hundreds of years, as well as a new Catechism in 1689, a new Church Handbook in 1693, and a new authorized Bible in 1703 (Lejon, 2005). The object was to form one nation of one faith. This unification process within the Swedish nation included the Swedification process of the new provinces, also Scania. The state was to form a faith foundation of Lutheran orthodoxy by means used by the Lutheran state church in Sweden. It was a way from more loosely formed states, so called "conglomerate states" or "composite states", within a variation of laws and privileges could be accepted in the provinces of the states (Alenäs, 2003; Bergman, 2002), to a systematically unified state: one Church—one King—one Law. Overall, since 1680 and the introduction of the autocracy, the centralization of power was joined with an emphasis on Swedish culture and ideology (Alenäs, Bergman, Gustafsson, & Lerbom, 2006). This Swedish culture was informed by a Christian Lutheran worldview and mentality, which included all citizens, also the King, in specific relationships according to Luther's Three Estates, similar to Danish (and Lutheran German) outlook or worldview. Thus, this process did not cause large cultural conflicts in the provinces gained by the Swedes (Bergman, 2002).

Some Conclusions and Comments on Modern Historiographical Aspects

When one considers the Swedification of the former Danish province of Scania, the operational strategies by the Swedish Church, and the support and decision-making of the Swedish King, were significantly important and had fast and remarkable implications, from 1678 and during the 1680s. In fact, the character and power of the tactical work by the Church in the Swedification process are considered to be momentous (Montgomery, 2002). The parishes were organized geographically and covered every square meter of the province, and in each of these parishes the Church, headed by a Lutheran pastor, organized and administered the

primary education of the people. At firsthand, the Church is to be credited for the Swedification process on the basic level—despite some variation in how fast the process was implemented, and some initial reluctance or refusal, for example among some rural deans (Alenäs, 2003). In addition, researcher Ingun Montgomery claimed: “The Swedification was, as soon as it really took form, almost without friction and was accomplished remarkably fast.” (Montgomery, 2002, p. 155) Even if this might be a too optimistic understanding of the process, there is definitely a large portion of truth to it, and was it almost without friction? Certainly, friction was experienced off and on, and more pronounced in some groups and areas than in others (Alenäs, Bergman, Gustafsson, & Lerbom, 2006), and among some, at some places and during a limited time, even resulting in riots. And was it a fast process? Yes, when it took form, i.e. from 1678, and not least from 1681, by most standards it is considered fast.

However, in 2008, at the time of the 350-year anniversary of the Peace of Roskilde, some additional comments were made. Harald Gustafsson, professor of history at Lund University, claimed that two myths exist in a parallel manner on this issue. The first one is that the Swedification was fast and easy, the second one is that it was accompanied with vast brutality by the Swedes, but not enforced enough to break a particular Scanian identity. The last myth, Gustafsson argues, is popular among modern Scanian right wing populists (Gustafsson, 2008). In addition, and with accuracy, Gustafsson stresses that the Peace Treaty of 1658 made Scania a Swedish province, not an actual part of the Swedish Kingdom. In Scania, with province-status according to contemporary European standards, old laws and privileges were kept intact, as well as Danish Church Order. But the Swedes introduced new taxations and required loyalty to the Swedish King.

The following Danish-Swedish wars (1675-1679) changed the situation. From 1678, a strategy for a Swedification process was formed by the Swedish King, and the Church became the most important actor in this process. Gustafsson argues that the Swedification dealt mostly with administrative and political levels. However, the large implementation in the mentioned areas—the educational, pedagogical, judicial, and liturgical—also dealt with issues on other societal levels, not least when it came to language and customs. Swedish culture and ideology were emphasized by the Swedish autocracy from 1680, a fact that Gustafsson also mentions (Alenäs, Bergman, Gustafsson, & Lerbom, 2006).

The process made most Scanians into Swedes, and soon into loyal ones, starting with the youngsters in the educational, pedagogical and liturgical settings. Therefore, when the Danes made a last attempt to regain the province in November 1709, resulting in the Battle of Helsingborg in late February 1710, they had hardly any support from regular Scanians. The cause was lost (Sanders, 2008). To some degree, trade and other exchanges still continued to exist.

In all, the Swedification of Scania can for good reasons be considered an integration process which included a pseudo-indigenization, a process when Swedes infused the Swedish culture on Scanians in former Danish territories in order to make them into loyal Swedes. And, from a historical point of view, it can hardly be questioned that the process was fast and momentous. A few decades, and the new borders were no longer questioned, and they still remain, 350 years later. And the new border never became an iron curtain. Trade and exchange continued (Sanders, 2008).

As in portrayals of any historical process, this Swedification process has to be understood within its own historical setting, and not colored by nationalistic perspectives of the 1800s or 1900s, or modern perceptions of ethnic cleansing—the latter, for example, proposed by the well-known and widely read Swedish lay historian Herman Lindqvist (2007). Thus, the process that led the Scanians to become, and identify as, loyal Swedish

citizens, loyal to the Swedish king, is not the same issue as the issue of modern nationalism.

In addition, an important aspect in this discussion is that Rutger von Ascheberg (1621-1693), who was appointed Governor-General in Scania in 1680, repeatedly argued for a dialogue between the rulers and the ruled; he saw dialogue as a postulate in the integration process in order to reach a uniformity, which contradicts a more violent understanding of the Swedification process (Sanders, 2008). Historian Hanne Sanders is stressing the peaceful attempts in the Swedification process, pointing at basic dialogues between the Swedes and the Scanians (Sanders, 2008).

Swedish identity marks, such as political, educational, judicial and liturgical, were integrated into and implemented in the province of Scania in order to make the longtime Danish enemies into loyal Swedish citizens, even though a specific language accent is still alive, old cultural marks, such as architectural ones, are still obvious, and some prefer to use the modern semi-official so called Scanian flag, with a yellow cross on a red background (a mix of the Swedish and Danish flag), beside or instead of a Swedish one, Scania unquestionably remains as a part of the Kingdom of Sweden.

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