This publication is made available online by Swedish Institute of Mission Research at Uppsala University.

Uppsala University Library produces hundreds of publications yearly. They are all published online and many books are also in stock. Please, visit the web site at

www.ub.uu.se/actashop
"DARING IN ORDER TO KNOW"

Studies in Bengt Sundkler's contribution as Africanist and Missionary Scholar

Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia no XXXIX
Festschriften belong to a genre of their own. They mirror contacts and interests of the recipient.

This is a true for The Church Crossing Frontiers as it is for most Festschriften. The collection of Essays on the Nature of Mission which was presented in Honour of Bengt Sundkler on his 60th Anniversary in 1969 may be impressive. Yet it merely reflects the width of personal friendship and the relevancy of the missiological contribution of Bengt Sundkler.

On his 75th Anniversary it is right and proper to focus even more directly on this missiological contribution in a new collection of Essays in Honour of Bengt Sundkler. Some of his pupils and co-workers — of different generations — try in this Festschrift to assess different features of Bengt Sundkler's scholarly contribution. There will necessarily be an emphasis on African studies. There is also Bengt Sundkler's Bibliography 1969—1983, which also contains some interesting supplements to the bibliography which completed The Church Crossing Frontiers.

Bengt Sundkler is still actively involved in Mission Studies. He is just about to finalize his magnum opus: a one-volume History of the Christian Movement in Africa. This Festschrift, therefore, is not a final assessment of what Bengt Sundkler has achieved as an Africanist and a Missionary Scholar. It is rather an attempt to provide a background, which will enrich the pleasure of following the history of the Christian Church in Africa all through the centuries with Bengt Sundkler as the guide.

Daring, in order to know that was Bengt Sundkler’s title of his lecture, when he as Bishop of Bukoba — and Professor Upsaliensis on leave from his Alma Mater — summarized the history of the International Missionary Council on the eve of its integration with the World Council of Churches in New Delhi on 17th November 1961. As a title Daring, in order to know is a fitting pointer also to characteristic features in Bengt Sundkler’s own scholarly contribution. Courage, concerned commitment, and understanding involvement in people inform his analysis. Artistic ambitions inspire the form of presentation of his results. That is why we have decide to call this Festschrift, "Daring, in order to know"; Studies in Bengt Sundkler's contribution as Africanist and Missionary Scholar.

Carl F. Hallencreutz
List of Contents

To Bengt Sundkler, 7th May 1984 ......................................................... 3
Doktor Missiologiae Upsaliensis
  by Carl F. Hallencreutz ................................................................. 5
Bengt Sundkler, Prophet among Prophets,
  by Axel-Ivar Berglund ................................................................. 24
  + Bengt Bukoba,
  by Marja-Liisa Swantz ................................................................. 35
Between the Scylla of Syncretism and
the Charybdis of a Self-appointed Ghetto: Bengt Sundkler in Svensk
Missionstidskrift during 25 years
  by Jonas Jonson ............................................................................. 45
Bengt G M Sundkler, Bibliography 1969—1983,
  by Kajsa Ahlstrand ........................................................................ 55

This Festschrift has been edited by Carl F. Hallencreutz
with the assistance of Jan A. Henningsson

4
DOCTOR MISSIOLOGIAE UPSALIENSIS

by Carl F. Hallencreutz

Introduction: Bengt Sundkler's local base

“Only the local is real” Bengt Sundkler has always committed himself to that affirmation and tried to translate it into praxis. Generalities may be useful for scholarly purposes. But they do not contain and communicate life. That is a matter of personal interaction and shared concerns in local situations.

The local does not rule out international dimensions. On the contrary; it is in the local situation — and only there! — that dynamics in international relationships are tested. It is there that they become challenging and really relevant.

Nor do references to the local mean status quo. They do not rule out change and flexibility. But they take the here and now in all its dimensions very seriously.

In Bengt Sundkler’s life as scholar as well as a church-man the local base has changed considerably. At times it has been Dundee or Bukoba, London or Uppsala. However, it is a Studiosus et Doctor Upsaliensis that Bengt Sundkler has given his lasting contribution to missionary studies. The Faculty of Theology of Uppsala University has been his real local base.

It was as Studiosus Upsaliensis that Bengt Sundkler was trained during the 1930s. It was at that time he initiated an impressive series of scholarly monographs. In 1948 he was appointed full professor in Ecclesiastical and Missionary History at his former Alma Mater. After missionary services in South Africa and Tanzania and an assignment as Research Secretary of the International Missionary Council he resumed scholarly production. In his research seminar and through the Swedish Institute of Missionary Research he initiated and further developed a challenging teaching ministry, the reward of which is the series of doctoral theses published in Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia

In 1974 Bengt Sundkler retired from faculty commitments. But he did not terminate his ministry as Doctor Upsaliensis. Instead he was relieved in order to be able to devote himself fully to the historical study of the Christian Movement in Africa.

Still Uppsala is Bengt Sundkler’s local base. It is here that he this year celebrates his 75th anniversary by finalizing the manuscript of his one-volume Church History of Africa.

Bengt Sundkler is indeed Doctor Missiologiae Upsaliensis. In an attempt at a summary assessment of his scholar-
ly contribution to missiology and
missiography it may prove rewarding to
dwell on his early achievements as Stu­
diosus Upsaliensis and to try to follow
how his scholarly approach and missio­

A lastling contribution to Swedish

missiology

As research student of 27 years of age
Bengt Sundkler defended his doctoral
thesis Svenska Missionssällskapet
1835—1876: Missionstankens genom­
brott och tidigare historia i Sverige in
April 1937. It was an extensive study of
the first Swedish missionary agency on a
national basis. It comprised more than
600 pages (appendices and indeces in­
cluded) and proved to be an achieve­
ment of a mature scholar.

Today Sundkler’s doctoral thesis
should best be characterized as a com­
prehensive missiographic study. It iden­
tifies characteristic features of SMS and
illustrates significant achievements and
undeniable shortcomings of that na­
tional agency. Sundkler also identifies
theological and other religious and socia­
lar causes of emerging issues and signifi­
cant advances of the missionary society.
He uses an active and dramatic lan­
guage. He often speaks of “radical rises”»
“dramatic confrontations, et cet.

Sundkler studies the characteristics
and development of SMS within a wide
and multidimensional framework. At
the very centre there are the office­
bearers and Board-members of the SMS
— the so called Directorate. Sundkler is
keen to see and present them as living
and committed actors in the process. He
makes determined efforts to give repre­
sentative descriptions of significant
members of SMS as a team of missiona­

ry administrators and distinguished
mission friends.

A first additional dimension is provi­
ded by parallel or contrasting develop­
ments of other international or national
missionary agencies and the interaction
of SMS with these agencies. On the in­
ternational scene there is particularly
the relationship with the Evangelical
Basle Mission on the one hand and the
Pan-Lutheran Dresden or Leipzig Mis­
sion on the other. Sundkler proves how
gradually the preferences of SMS are
transferred from Basle to Leipzig.

Within Swedish Church-life Sundkler
traces individual initiatives — such as
Johan Ternström and his Ny kyrklig

Gidskrift and more representative local
ventures — such as Lunds Missionssäll­
skap with Peter Fjellstedt as a distin­
guished representative — which
emerged as alternatives in certain areas
to the national SMS. He pays particular
attention to the delicate relationship of
SMS and the emerging Swedish Evange­

clical Mission (EFS). This new agency
developed in order to safeguard pastoral
influences of Carl-Olof Rosenius and
did not find SMS conform to its own
more determined Evangelical-Lutheran
emphases.
As a second dimension there is the interaction of SMS and ecclesiastical authorities within Sweden on national and diocesan levels. During the period under review there emerged within some dioceses so-called support-associations to the national SMS. As the Bishop of Gothenburg (1818—1839) and Archbishop of Church of Sweden from 1839 to his death in 1851, Carl Fredrik af Wingård was one of the most distinguished spokesmen of the missionary cause and also of the SMS at the middle of the 19th century.

Sundkler also makes a deliberate effort to trace the development of local support to SMS within the local parishes. This is his third additional dimension. Actually he combines a more textual analysis with quantifications on the basis of financial reports and statistical material. He manages to give very concrete evidences of the variations and fluctuations over time of the local response to the emerging missionary movement.

A fourth additional dimension has specific historical preconditions. The SMS emerged and expanded at a time of intensive reform and extension of primary education on the local level under the supervision of authorities within the territorial parishes of Church of Sweden. At the same time there were new ventures in educational polices vis à vis the nomadic Sameh-population in Northern Sweden. The SMS involved it-
self in an extensive programme of support to voluntary measures with Christian schools and hostels in Sameättnam. Sundkler is keen to give a full account of that programme.

There is also a decidedly missiological dimension in Sundkler's missiographic analysis. He agrees with Heinrich Frick's identification of contrasting concerns in German missionary developments, where the predominant alternatives were interdenominational or evangelical ("Uniert") missionary objectives on the one hand and more confessional Lutheran emphaes on the other. Sundkler sees a similar contrast qualifying the development of SMS as such.

It started as an interdenominational society, where also Moravian and Methodist influences operated. Gradually it expressed more and more Church-centred confessional preferences.

Sundkler's missiographic analysis is decidedly actor-oriented. He gives due attention to the wider theoretical and structural framework of the development of SMS. But he insists that in the history of that society, too, "the personal element is the highest in the history of Christian missions" (Sundkler 1937, p 227).

Sundkler here testifies to a personalistic interpretation of history which his own professor, Knut B. Westman, whom he should succeed in 1948, adhered to. That was the legacy to Uppsala-historiography from Erik Gustaf Geijer, the great Uppsala-historian and philosopher of the 19th century. This tradition from Geijer had also made its marks on Nathan Söderblom.

Applying such a person-centred view of history Sundkler qualified his missiographic analysis of SMS. He did not limit himself merely to writing institution-history. He aimed — and indeed achieved — a dynamic interpretation where SMS in the first place is seen as an inter-personal co-operation.

The SMS is not merely an institution. It is primarily a missionary and administrative team.

This personalistic perspective also influenced Sundkler's missiological analysis. He was more concerned with the individual persons, who held certain missiological views and tried to influence their society accordingly, than with the different theological and structural elements which were involved in these views.

In this regard both missiology and missiography have further improved their analytical tools since the late 1930s. It is, thus, possible today to qualify Sundkler's analysis of the interaction between interdenominationalism and confessionalism in the development of SMS.

Both interdenominationalism and confessionalism can be specified. Distinctions should be made between theoretical or missiological elements on the one hand and structural elements of different kinds on the other. Such structu-
eral elements can be, for instance, canonical or administrative relationships to ecclesiastical units which adhere to a specific confessional tradition or formal working relationships with missionary agencies, which are informed by the same confessional tradition.

Such a differentiation allows a qualification of Sundkler's analysis of the increasing impact of the confessional element in the development of SMS. There are both theoretical and structural factors involved in this change of emphasis. To some — such as Peter Fjellstedt — structural factors were more important. To others — such as Johannes Rohtlieb — theological factors — in Rohtlieb's case preferences for confessional Lutheran emphases in German Church-life — were more commanding.

This distinction between theoretical and confessional elements in the development of SMS has a further implication. In his missiographic analysis of SMS Sundkler sees that the "Victory of Confessionalism" during the 1860s provided the base for a break-through in Swedish Church-life during the following decade of an ecclesio-centric missiology. This development, however, had both structural and theoretical implications.
There were significant structural factors inside and outside of the SMS which during the 1870s favoured the formal integration of that society into the newly formed Church of Sweden Mission, whilst EFS pursued its task as an independent missionary society within Church of Sweden. There were also theoretical factors, some of which conformed with Johannes Rohtlieb’s assessment of German developments.

From a structural point of view the break-through of Church-centered missiology certainly should be seen as a consequence of the “Victory of Confessionalism” within SMS. From a theological point of view, however, the problem is more complex. There were confessional elements involved. But the Church-centred missionary emphasis had wider implications than merely Lutheran confessionalism. There was also an ecumenical legacy. This was later on explored in the missionary theology of predominant spokesmen of CSM such as Henry W. Tottie and Nathan Soderblom. This legacy has also informed Bengt Sundkler’s independent contribution to continued developments of Church of Sweden Mission as well as to international missionary theology.

**Jésus et les Paiens — an early missiological challenge**

The major missiological contribution of Bengt Sundkler as research student in Uppsala, however, was not his analysis of interdenominationalism and confessionalism in the history of SMS. Prior to his doctoral thesis he had published a minor thesis in New Testament Exegesis — *Jésus et les Paiens* (first published in *Révue d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* (Strasbourg) 1936 and later in *Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala* 1937) — which is indeed a major missiological challenge.

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

Prepared for service in the world church: Bengt and Ingeborg Sundkler 1937

*Jésus et les Paiens* (1936/7) could be compared with a MA-thesis according to British standards. As the title suggests it is a reconsideration of missionary dimensions in Biblical theology. More specifically it focuses in the first place on the synoptic Gospels. When
the thesis was published as a research report of the New Testament seminar in Uppsala 1937 it was also supplemented by an analysis of Anton Fridrichsen of the missionary theology of St John's Gospel.

It is important to consider the relationship of Anton Fridrichsen and Bengt Sundkler when we assess Jésus et les Païens. In the middle of the 1930s the Norwegian scholar Anton Fridrichsen had established himself as full professor of New Testament Exegesis in Uppsala. In 1935 he had initiated Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok (The Year-Book of Swedish Exegetical Research), which he introduced by spelling out his specific understanding of Biblical Realism.

According to Fridrichsen the primary objective of the Biblical Sciences was to try to understand Biblical texts from within. They should be interpreted with due account to their textual context as well as their wider socio-religious framework. New Testament texts should be seen against the Old Testament and wider Semitic background.

As a teacher Fridrichsen was captivating also by his own teaching methods. He enjoyed to contrast seemingly opposite positions, illustrate the shortcomings of both and advance as his own solution to the problem a third option which was not merely a simple synthesis in the Hegelian sense of two antithetical points of view.

In Jésus et les Païens Bengt Sundkler applies what he has learned from Fridrichsen. During the early 1930s Sundkler was a diligent member of Fridrichsen's research seminar in Uppsala. Furthermore he had been given a room in Fridrichsen's flat at Norrlandsgatan.

In the 1930s there were two opposite views in biblical scholarship concerning Jesus' own missionary horizon. On the one hand there was the emphasis from the time of Adolf von Harnack on the particularity in the Gospel according to St Matthew. On the other there were attempts, which were more or less conform with more established missionary exegesis, to maintain a continuity between the so called Missionary Commandment (Matt. 28:18 ff) and previous texts in the first Gospel which may contain a universalistic perspective or at least could be seen as evidence of a gradual extension of Jesus ethnical and geographical orientation.

Sundkler assessed each of these options and contrasted them. He did not find anyone really conform with New Testament concerns, when they were seen within their wider religious and social context.

For his own part Sundkler saw formulations which might undergird a particularist interpretation. He deliberately drew attention to the Biblical stress on a necessary and dynamic interaction of Jesus and the Jewish people. However, his real contribution was to probe further into the Old Testament background of this exclusive emphasis and to deve-
lop his own interpretation. He saw immediate connections between the election of the Jewish people to become a representative minority and the worldwide mission of Jesus. Jesus had to act at the very centre if he wanted to influence the periphery. That is why the interaction of Jesus and the Temple — the very nexus of the earth — was such a pregnant theme in New Testament missionary theology.

In Jésus et les Païens Sundkler limits himself to this "interprétation centripète". He indicates that the dramatic confrontation between Jesus and the Temple, which caused his Crucifixion and Resurrection, introduced an altogether new phase in the History of Salvation. He furthermore implies that the Missionary Commandment is an interpretative expression of these new dimensions. Even so he is keen to maintain that also after the Resurrection the primary relationship of Jesus is to his own Jewish people. He is well aware that this interpretation "n'est pas sans conséquences actuelles" (Sundkler 1937, p. 38), though he is not able within the framework of a MA-thesis in New Testament Exegesis to fully explore these missiological consequences.

As David T. Bosch makes evident in his contribution to The Church crossing Frontiers. Essays on the Nature of Mission in Honour of Bengt Sundkler (1969), there is an interesting coincidence in time as well as a significant convergence of concerns between Sundkler's MA-thesis and Oscar Cullmann's Le caractère eschatologique du devoir missionnaire et de la conscience apostolique de S. Paul, which also was published in RHPR 1936. In both cases there are fresh and independent attempts to probe deeper into the Biblical understanding of the preconditions of Christian Mission. In Cullmann's case there are more explicit references to the eschatological framework of Biblical missionary theology. The Christian Mission — also when it moves from the very centre towards the periphery — plays a profound role in Salvation History in the interval between Christ's Ascension and the Parousia.

As is made evident in J. Blaw's The Missionary Nature of the Church (1962) both Sundkler's and Cullmann's early challenges to missionary theology provided a healthy theoretical basis for reconsiderations of the missionary mandate of the whole household of God and of the integration of Church and Mission. Bengt Sundkler's plea for an interpretation centripète, however, may have made an even greater impact on reconsiderations during this period of the relationship of the Church to the Jewish People. One evidence is the immediate link between Bengt Sundkler and Krister Stendahl. Stendahl belonged to a later generation of Friedrichsen's research students. He has further elaborated similar motives as those which Sundkler highlighted in his MA-thesis. Stendahl has more fully explored
S:t Paul's view of the interaction of Jesus and the Jewish People.

A Church-centric qualification of Sundkler's missionary theology

In the first part of Missionens värld. Missionskunskap och missionshistoria (1:st ed 1963; 2:nd ed 1971; Engl. transl. The World of Mission 1965). Sundkler applies in condensed form his findings from Jésus et les Pâïens. However, here he elaborates further the wider Biblical framework of the dramatic relationship of Jesus to the Temple. He gives an involved summary of the Election-history which from the time of Abraham qualifies Old Testament developments. He also spells out his interpretation of Matt 28 as a proclamation against the background of Daniel 7 of the universalistic implications of Jesus' fulfilment of Old Testament prophesy. He is far more explicit in his reference to the "centrifugal" dynamics in the Church's missionary orientation from the centre to the periphery after the Resurrection. At the same time he maintains his interest in an immediate relationship of Jesus to the Jewish People.

It is apparent that the Church-centred emphasis is much more predominant in Bengt Sundkler's later missionary theology than it is in his MA-thesis in New Testament Exegesis. The missiological section of Missionens värld is one evidence of this. In this handbook Sundkler is more conform with contemporary trends in missionary theology as they were summarized in Johannes Blaw's study. Actually compared to Jésus et les Pâïens Sundkler's doctoral thesis from 1937 gives more room for ecclesiology, though the framework here is an historical and missiographic analysis of changes of emphases within the SMS during the 1870s.

During the second half of the 1930s several factors — economic as well as structural and theoretical — favoured a breakthrough of Church-centric emphases in missionary theology. The outcome of the World Missionary Conference in Tambaram, South India, in 1938 reflects the changing missiological climate. Ecumenical and missionary developments during the Second World War were informed by these new emphases.

Bengt Sundkler was, of course, not unaffected by this ongoing reorientation of ecumenical missionary thought. It informed his attitude and priorities as a missionary in South Africa and Tanzania. Here he involved himself in theoretical and structural problems of identity in emerging local African churches. His encounter with the problem of ongoing fragmentation of African Christianity in Southern Africa proved to be a challenge both to an understanding analysis of so called African independency and to a critical reassessment of predominant missionary ecclesiology and attitudes to the local church. In his deliberate attempt to redefine the
Church's interaction with its religious and social environment he also drew on new insights in functional analysis according to the Malinowski school of thought. He also established fruitful contacts with experienced South African scholars such as Monica Wilson.

There are three remaining achievements of Bengt Sundkler's Church-centric missionary theology. The first is of a more general interest. It is a profound rethinking of the classical three-selves-formula as a definition of the primary objective of Protestant missions.

Bengt Sundkler did not deny the progressive character of the three-selves-missiology, when it was conceived in the middle of the 19th century by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. In the late 1940s, however, the classical formulations raised both administrative and theoretical problems. Coupled with the idea of euthanasia of mission the three-selves-formula did not prove to be adequate as a definition of the true marks of the Church.

In order to improve standards Sundkler pleaded that administrative qualifications such as self-governing, self-expanding and self-supporting should be replaced by theologically more pregnant terms of reference. An ecclesiastical unit should be assessed in the first place in terms of its relationship to Christ. Missions, thus, should encourage the development of churches, which were not primarily self-governing but governed by Christ, not self-supporting but supported and nurtured by Christ, not self-propagating but witnessing to Christ. At the same time individual missions should critically assess in how far they were informed and governed by the same Christ-centerdness. Against this background Sundkler could move on and argue for indigenization within praying, confessing, expecting and suffering churches in the Third World as the real objective of sending churches in the West.

The very first text where Bengt Sundkler more fully applied this kind of missionary ecclesiology was his manuscript for *Ung kyrka i Tanganyika* (Young Church in Tanganyika), which was not published until 1948. Later on in the Swedish debate and in preparatory discussions which paved the way for the World Missionary Conference in Willingen, 1952, Sundkler as Professor Upsaliensis explicitly elaborated his alternative definitions of the objectives of the Christian Mission (see further Mission och kyrka, in *Ny kyrklig tidskrift*, 16, 1947, pp 25—33, and Kyrkobildningen på missionfälten, in *Svensk Missionsidskrift*, 3, 1950, pp 176—196). His approach inspired fresh scholarly studies of 19th century missionary theology, such as P Beyerhaus: *Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem* (1954), T Furberg: *Kyrka och mission i Sverige 1868—1901* (1962), and J Aagaard: *Mission, Konfession, Kirche. Die Problematik ihrer Integration im 19. Jahr-
hundert in Deutschland. I—II (1967). He maintained this Church-centred emphasis in his missionary theology also after Hans Hoekendijk’s attempt to turn the “Church inside out” and the breakthrough of different Missio dei — ideals which were based on other historico-philosophical preconditions than Bengt Sundkler’s personalistic and actor-centred approach.

New Perspectives on African Church-life
The other area where Bengt Sundkler’s Church-centred missiology proved to be very rewarding was the study of emerging churches in Africa with their pastoral and theological problems.

Bengt Sundkler is rightly connected with the scholarly study of so called independent church movements in Africa. However, his pioneering venture in this field, which is eloquently assessed by Dr A J Berglund in this Festschrift, should not be seen in isolation from his major contributions towards a relevant understanding of the character and depth of established mission churches in Africa. A series of studies such as Ung kyrka i Tanganyika (1948), The Christian Ministry in Africa (1961), Bara Bukoba: Kyrka och miljö i Tanzania (1974) and the revised English edition Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania (1980) is convincing evidence of this. Actually Bengt Sundkler is at present crowning his lasting contribution to the scholarly study of church-life in Africa by completing his major one-volume African Church History.

In this context The Christian Ministry in Africa (1961) deserves special attention. It is Bengt Sundkler’s comprehensive report of an extensive as well as intensive investigation of emerging pastoral and theological problems during the final phase of the period of decolonization, when there emerged new patterns of partnership between local churches and foreign missions in Africa. This study was initiated by the International Missionary Council in 1953. It involved Bengt Sundkler and his advisory team in far-reaching field studies in different parts of Africa. The leading spokesman for the Church in Africa in the group was Christian Baëta of Ghana.

The Christian Ministry in Africa (1961) is a scholarly treatise which is based on involved field study in different parts of Africa. At the same time it is a deliberate piece of applied Studies in Mission.

It is informed by Bengt Sundkler’s Church-centred missionary theology as well as his general personalistic perspectives.

This is reflected in the plan of presentation of Sundkler’s extensive research report. He “begins where the pastor himself begins: with his calling to the ministry. . .” (Sundkler 1961, p 10). It then moves on and sees the development and function of the African pastor within its wider ecclesiastical and social
framework. He also deals with structural and theoretical problems in theological education in Africa. He devotes his last chapter to emerging themes in African theology.

Also in these chapters which are more concerned with political and ecclesiastical structures and theoretical frameworks Sundkler's personalistic perspective predominates. He, thus, invites the reader to "meet Pastor Ulmenda" (Sundkler 1961, p 138). On the basis of diaries from individual pastors from Uganda, Southern Tanzania, "Central African Federation", as Zambia and Zimbabwe were called at that time, and Johannesburg and The Rand he gives concrete illustrations of different and differing relationships of the Christian Minister within his congregation and beyond. He also highlights the delicate relationship between pastors and teachers during the period of decolonization.

With its wealth of biographical material The Christian Ministry in Africa in retrospect proves to be a unique and authentic illustration of problems in African Church-life in the late 1950s. Its value as a source for historical studies in post-war developments in African Church history will, I suggest, increase as those who preserved traditions from that time increasingly have passed away. Evidences of "Dreams as Channels of God's Call" (Sundkler 1961, pp 25—31) which are supplementet by others in Bra Bukoba (Engl ed 1980, pp 98—112) prove the point.

In retrospect The Christian Ministry in Africa also occupies an interesting position in the history of Christian thought in Africa. Already the interaction of Bengt Sundkler and his African colleague, Christian Baêta, is most representative. In his own Christian theology Baêta, too, as a Ghanaian Presbyterian occupied a Church-centred position. From such a starting point he explored the development of an indigenous African theology in the strict sense.

It is that kind of Christian theology which Bengt Sundkler wanted to encourage. In his concluding chapter of The Christian Ministry in Africa he explicitly explores themes which should be further developed in an ongoing reconsideration of Christian theology and praxis within traditional African cultures. He also illustrates what he sees as promising potential by summarizing an expressive Easter sermon from Michael Msobe (Sundkler 1961, pp 283 f).

The 1970s was a dramatic decade in the development of Christian theology in Africa. There developed an heated conflict between Black and African theology. In that discussion Sundkler's plea from 1961 for an African theology in the strict sense was questioned as purely ethnographic and not sufficiently involved in the struggle for justice of the Black Man.
Manas Buthelezi was certainly right when he interpreted *The Christian Ministry in Africa* more as a plea for African theology than as a specimen in Black Theology. This was a qualified theological assessment. It did not necessarily imply a critique of Sundkler's active concern for justice and dignity of the discriminated-against Black Man in South Africa.

The third area were Sundkler's Church-centred orientation of Missionary theology has given lasting results concerns the interaction of missionary and ecumenical research.

**Ecumenical dimensions**

There are necessarily ecumenical dimensions in any relevant missionary theology. In Bengt Sundkler's contributions to missionary research the ecumenical perspectives are involved already from the very beginning. There are explicit ecumenical dimensions in Sundkler's doctoral thesis on *Svenska Missionssällskapet*. The *Christian Ministry in Africa* can in fact be seen as a contribution to both Missionary and ecumenical research. However, in addition to his extensive contribution to Mission studies, which also explores ecumenical problems, Bengt Sundkler has devoted himself to ecumenical studies in a qualified sense. There are primarily two major monographs: *Church of South India: The Movement towards Union 1900—1947* (1954) and *Nathan Söderblom: His Life and Work* (1968).

a) **Ventures in Church Unity**

Bengt Sundkler's predecessor Knut B Westman had served as a missionary in China. In 1930 he was appointed Professor of the History of Missions and East Asian Religions at Uppsala University. From 1948 onwards Sundkler initiated a new orientation of Mission studies. They should be more Church-related. Furthermore they should be geared towards African developments.

Even so Sundkler did not limit himself only to African studies. He had a wide outlook and was captivated by political developments in China as well as ecumenical ventures in South India. Actually he saw these developments as a constructive alternative to the "fissiparous tendencies in Protestantism which he observed rather closely in Africa, more particularly South Africa" (Sundkler 1954, p 16). In 1954 he published the classical study of the movement towards unity which led to the formation in 1947 of the Church of South India.

*The Church of South India* (1954) is arranged as a chronological study in the same way as Sundkler's doctoral dissertation from 1937. The team around which the whole presentation revolves, is this time the so called Joint Committee which initiated the Church Union Negotiations between the South India United Church (Ex-Congregationalists and Ex-Reformed), the Anglican church establishment in India, and Wesleyan Methodists, and which brought them to
a successful fulfilment. More specifically Sundkler devotes himself to some of the real pioneers namely Bishops Azariah (Dornakal), Palmer (Bombay) and Waller (Madras), and Dr Banninga who at that time was Principal of the SIUC Theological Seminary in Pasumalai.

Sundkler is keen to illustrate the interactions, clashes and exchange within this team which was the real nucleus in the movement towards Church Union in South India. He also highlights ecumenical motives and theological preconditions which informed different options during the negotiations.

But he places this ecumenical movement within a very wide framework. He gives a comprehensive background of Indian Church history and early Faith and Order developments. He also dwells on problems involved in the relationship between the ecumenical pioneers and the local churches in India and their "Mother-churches" in Great Britain and America.

There are specific theoretical reasons for Sundkler to pay special attention to the wider ecclesiastical framework for the Church Union movement in South India. He interpreted this ecumenical venture as a development where different and hitherto isolated Church histories converged and became united into one ecumenical movement. This development had its repercussions also on the previously separated church traditions, which outside of India maintained their respective identities. This hermeneutical key to ecumenical history in fact corresponded with Bishop Palmer's organic view of the Church Union venture as a continued growth into wider and fuller unity (cf Sundkler 1954, pp 116—120).

The way in which Sundkler explored the interrelationship of Church Union ventures in India and the reaction within the Western "Mother-Churches" of the partners involved necessarily gave a Western emphasis to his analysis. Actually some may have been tempted to suggest that the necessary references to this interrelationship gave a too Western flavour to the South Indian Church Union Scheme (Sundkler 1954, pp 345—349).

Bengt Sundkler on his part was not prepared to advance such critique of the scheme. Instead he applied in this case his revision of the three-selves-formula primarily in two ways. In the first place he did not see the emerging churches in South India as isolated religious minority groups only. Instead he recognized that within the Body of Christ they were ecclesiastical units on a par with churches in the West. Secondly he recognized that the Indian Church as a Church which is governed by Christ has its right to make its own appropriation of the Christian tradition. He was also most interested in bringing forth how the ecumenical pioneers in South India really aimed at "building the ancient church in new India" (Sundkler 1954, p 348).

The Church of South India is a speci-
alized specimen in ecumenical studies. At the same time it is a major contribution to Indian Church history in a wider sense as well as in a more specific.

As a contribution to Indian Church history in a specific sense — i.e. a study of Indian initiatives in ecclesiastical developments — Sundkler's investigation in the movement towards Church Union in South India limits itself deliberately to those Indian church leaders who from different starting points opted for a merger of the established Protestant Church traditions in South India. As already is noted Bishop Azariah of Dornakal is a leading actor in Sundkler's presentation. Sundkler also highlights the provocative contribution of D M Devasahayam, an energetic Evangelical and "radical Independent from Nagercoil" (Sundkler 1954, p 268). He presents C K Jacob who with his Kerala-background became the bishop of Central Travancore. As colleagues of J J Banninga he presents S Kulandran and H Sumitra, who developed their Congregational legacy into a profound commitment to organic unity. Sumitra was in fact a member of the very first Joint Committee. Later on he would succeed Bishop Hollis as Moderator of the Church of South India.

In continued studies in Indian Church history wider perspectives have been explored in the search for Indian initiatives in ecclesiastical and theological developments. The radical Madras group who in the 1930s pleaded for a rethinking of Christianity in India has captured the interest of Indian scholars. Bengt Sundkler does not overlook the critique of this group of independent Christian intellectuals such as P Chenchiah, V Chakkara and A J Appasamy. He pays particular attention to the relationship of D M Devasahayam to that group (Sundkler 1954, pp 204—207).

Today we know more of the theological preconditions and socio-political implications of the Christo samaj. Their critique of the South Indian Church Union Scheme has been seen in a somewhat different perspective, than that of Bengt Sundkler's thirty years ago.

In his Introduction to The Church of South India Sundkler inserted an interesting biographical note, which explains his specific Church-centred perspective on the ecumenical venture in South India. In the first half of the 1960s Bengt Sundkler was on leave from his Uppsala chair in Missions and served as the bishop of the North Western diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania. In that capacity he tried to explore insights from ecumenical developments in South India and involved himself in the search for wider regional Church Union in East Africa. "Geographical complications", varying priorities in Church policy within different ecclesiastical partners and emerging political tensions between Kenya and Tanzania, however, did not allow as far-reaching an advance as was achieved.

b) **Nathan Söderblom:**
**His Life and Work**

Bengt Sundkler’s second major contribution to ecumenical research is his intellectual biography of Nathan Söderblom as an Ecumenical Pioneer (*Nathan Söderblom: His Life and Work* (1968.).

As a student in Uppsala Bengt Sundkler had been introduced to Nathan Söderblom. The Swedish Archbishop had actually recommended Sundkler’s application for a scholarship to Strasbourg and Paris. He was personally involved in Sundkler’s plans for postgraduate studies in Theology (Sundkler 1968, p 10).

Having returned from his mission to Bukoba, Sundkler was commissioned in 1965 to write a Life of Söderblom (ibid). At that time preparations were well on the way for the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1968. It is a remarkable achievement of Bengt Sundkler to have been able in less than three years to conceive and complete such an inspiring, solid and thought-provoking contribution to the Uppsala Assembly and to continued ecumenical studies.

As a scholarly intellectual biography *Nathan Söderblom: His Life and Work* belongs to a literary genre which Bengt Sundkler so far had not explored. However, with his Anglican connections he was well acquainted with the Life and Letter-type of studies. With his personalistic and actor-centred view of history Sundkler faced the invitation to present an independent interpretation of the Life and Work of the ecumenical pioneer as a compelling intellectual challenge. After all he had himself enjoyed fairly extensive ecumenical experiences and he was formed by the historiographic tradition which Söderblom himself had adhered to.

In his very comprehensive study of Söderblom Sundkler grapples basically with two problems. The first is how Söderblom’s ecumenical vision was formed; the other is what made Söderblom’s extensive ecumenical involvement specific or, perhaps, even unique.

Sundkler presents Söderblom’s early development both as a student and scholar and as Archbishop of Church of Sweden during the First World War with the first question in mind. That means that he applies a specific perspective and structures his presentation accordingly. He explicitly limits himself to those factors which inform courageous and far-reaching ecumenical involvement in the 1920s. Personal relationships — Sundkler especially focuses on Nathan Söderblom’s delicate relationship to his father — intellectual stimuli — Sundkler highlights Söderblom’s grappling in Uppsala with Ritschlian theology, his encounter with Phenomenology of Religion and Oriental studies, and his en-riching exchange with French culture
and theology, not least with A. Saba­tier's symbolo-fideism — and concrete challenges in Church and Society — Sundkler discusses more specifically Söderblom's involvement in the missionary cause and his attempts during the First World War to encourage and maintain international contacts as an expression of the supranationality of Church and Mission — are among the factors which Sundkler finds significant in the formation of Söderblom's ecumenical vision.

Moving on to his second major problem Sundkler admits that characteristic of Söderblom's ecumenical contribution is his administrative abilities and specific charisma to encourage colleagues and co-workers to join forces in order to achieve the same objective. However, Sundkler also moves on to a deeper level and highlights the necessary link between Söderblom's specific programme of Evangelical Catholicity and his plea for an active involvement in the search for reconciliation and justice in social affairs during the post-war period. More than what has previously been recognized in the history of the Ecumenical movement Sundkler proves how basic in Söderblom's total ecumenical commitment was his own Faith and Order-programme, where social action had its necessary basis in liturgy and where the Church's Orders were effective symbols which communicated renewing life of the Holy Spirit but which should never be absolutized.

Sundkler's most significant contribution to Ecumenical history in this intellectual biography of Söderblom may not be his chapter on Söderblom's Stockholm-Conference full of will and concrete insights into conference deliberations though it is. Even more fresh and thought provoking as a contribution to the history of the Ecumenical movement is his preceding chapter on Uppsala and Catholicity (Sundkler 1968, pp 253—229). Here Sundkler spells out the very wide framework of bilateral ecumenical contacts which Söderblom developed with Uppsala as the very nexus. This Church-related ecumenical programme provided the real framework of the Stockholm-conference and the subsequent Life and Work movement.

Sundkler does not deny the missionary dimension in Söderblom's ecumenical development. He indicates what a challenge the emerging Student Missionary Movement was to Söderblom as a Studiosus Upsaliensis. Actually during his first year as a student (1883/84) Söderblom became a member of the newly established Student Missionary Association in Uppsala. Later on he was the editor of its Meddelanden (Sundkler 1968, pp 26 ff). Sundkler furthermore illustrates how actively involved Söderblom was in the formation of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church as an episcopal church in South India. Most likely Söderblom anticipated the merger of that Lutheran minority Church and the emerging Church of South India.
(Sundkler 1968, pp 307—314). Sundkler may in fact have been able to emphasise even stronger the interrelationship of Mission and Ecumenism in Söderblom’s ecumenical general view. It was as the actively involved Chairman of Church of Sweden Mission during a very expansive phase in its history that Söderblom evolved as ecumenical pioneer.

Conclusion
Bengt Sundkler has given a surprisingly rich and comprehensive contribution to missionary and ecumenical research. Two main lines link his extensive contribution as Professor Upsaliensis with his mature theses as research student in Uppsala in the 1930s. One is his personalistic and actor-centred interpretation of history. The other is his Church-centred missionary theology. Against this background we may be able to appreciate even more fully magnum opus we now look forward to: Bengt Sundkler’s one volume Church History of Africa.
1. Two illustrative instances are points of departure. The first occurred nearly nine years ago in Diakonia House, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. I was privileged in sitting with a group of men. All my friends, except three, were either bishops or archbishops. Two of the remaining three had risen to the dignity of moderator and one was a cardinal. As a prelude to the meeting of the day lay weeks of planning, discussions and creative preparation towards a theological training program. Ahead was an effort to give Biblical insights to the many leaders who were shepherds of a considerable number of Soweto's population. Other prospective study participants would come from elsewhere in South Africa. We had arrived at an important question on the meeting's agenda: Who is to give the required instructions? Of necessity it could not be simply anybody who thought himself or herself equipped to undertake this important task. So formidable a task as facing bishops, archbishops, moderators and a cardinal requires more than mere formal education and gained academic insights! Several names were proposed during the course of the conversation, and equally many were dismissed.

A middle-aged man but clearly younger than all the others and sitting to the left of the chairman, raised his hand. He was given the floor. As if to mark his personal regard for what he was about to say he rose to his feet. Slowly, and with that dignity that only a man of Africa can accumulate, he spoke, looking up into the ceiling of the room: "Honoured chairman, my fathers, bishops, archbishops and great men of God gathered here today! Many distinguished names have been proposed. But God's Spirit has not indicated a single one as the name of him who is to teach us and our children. Now whilst listening to my honoured fathers, I came to see a vision. Indeed, a vision albeit that it is clear daylight outside! In the vision I saw a man. He was a white man. In his hands he carried a book. The book had many pictures. The pictures were of us, our people, our prophets, bishops, archbishops and great men of God! I looked at the man! I said to him: 'I see that you are a white man. But you are carrying a book with pictures of black men of God. Please excuse me, Mnumzana, but let me know your name seeing that you appear in this way.' He answered me in my own tounge, the language of my fathers. He said: 'Since when does a man simply quote his own name?' I was
very much astonished and started to tremble, seeing this white man carrying a book with pictures of black people of God and who knew the customs of our people! I nearly fell down. But he spoke to me saying: 'But I shall tell you my Zulu army identity. I am Phondolwendlovu.' That is what he said to me. Now, having given you the vision which I have seen in broad daylight, I have a question to you, ye prophets, bishops, archbishops and men of God. Is it not per chance God's Spirit moving me to draw attention to this man whom I do not know but claims to be known as Phondolwendlovu, he who held in his hands a book with pictures depicting black men of God?"

There was a stir in the assembled gathering. Men were taken aback, for also visions in broad daylight are serious and not to be taken lightly. After silence, once the speaker had been seated, there was prayer in African fashion followed by brainstorming of no small measure. The book with the pictures was soon produced, much to the amazement of the man who had seen the vision. It was placed on the table around which the gathering sat, many merely glancing at it because they had it in their personal bookshelves. Finally, after much appreciative and sometimes long-winded evidence to the value of both the book and its author, one was ready to receive a proposal.

When the final word was about to be said, another meeting participant revealed a fact that changed plans to approach Phondolwendlovu. He claimed to know that the man who had appeared in the vision was writing yet another book, this time about the history of the whole Church on the continent of Africa. He added that the man ought to conclude this task given him by the Spirit. Thereafter he could be informed of the vision in Braamfontein, South Africa, in August of the year 1975. Today he is being told of it!

The second occasion is dated February 1984. The scene is Ceza, Zululand. A woman of mature age, dressed in green and white, wearing fashionable headgear and equipped with two staffs of such kind that ritual and tradition require, stood upright and with authority. When the visitor from far-off shores beyond the seas had been introduced and said a few words of greeting, she called attention. "Mfundisi," she said, "do you know of a man who once was here at this very place and was known as Phondolwendlovu? We are told that he travelled extensively in the whole world but eventually settled down in the land of his fathers, that land from which we are told you have come. Is he per chance known to you?" The reply was in the affirmative. The woman, retaining her calm and exalted dignity, went on to say that she belongs to the local Ceza parish, but that she had been healed from barrenness by a prophet. Her healing had taken place at a pool immediately underneath a waterfall close to Ceza.
Immersion in the waters of that pool, coupled to physically exhausting exorcism with prayer and subsequent integration into the community of the officiating prophet had been her salvation. But besides the life-giving experience of healing, she recollected with equal enthusiasm that her baptism in the pool had been witnessed by no less a person that her Ceza parish priest, Phondolwendllovu himself. Fearing his wrath and expecting excommunication, she had avoided him. But one Sunday afternoon she ran into him, unexpectedly and unavoidably, along a path running between Ceza and Sianda. As custom demands, he had greeted her first. She had responded shyly and with some hesitation because she feared. But in a beautiful way he had neither hurt
her feelings or avoided the crucial issue when he introduced as subject of conversation the question of baptism. "He amazed me," she said. "Truly, he amazed me! He did not scold nor excommunicate. He asked me questions pertaining to what had taken place there at the waterfall in the pool," she said, pointing in the direction of the waterfall. "I found myself answering clearly and calmly. Then he spoke of baptism in the parish church, explaining what happens. Then I spoke again! Then he. It was not before the sun began casting long shadows that we parted, taking leave of one another, both as worthy human beings. I tell you, he amazed me very much! For he neither scolded nor dismissed. We shared as if we were of the same family, speaking nicely to one another without any bad words. To this very day I remember him and his speaking. I listened frequently to him even in the church building after that meeting. He spoke clearly and with patience. He also listened. White people in general do not listen. But he listened. That is why I remember him very much."

In characterizing Bengt Sundkler as a prophet among prophets, several issues come to the fore. No doubt these are evident in Bengt Sundkler's scholarly production on the prophets of South Africa. But a few may be placed on record as particularly significant.

2. A prophet is a person of unquenchable thirst for knowledge. I find it difficult to visualize the prophets of the Old Covenant other than persons with wide-open eyes and alert ears, keenly attentive to attitudes and circumstances of living in their surroundings. The zeal for knowledge belonged to their particular area of competence. For how otherwise were they to be prophets, people of God speaking with authority and insight?

Better insights was the driving motivation that led to the meeting in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. The search for widened perspectives and deepened appreciations on the understanding of baptism was baked into the concerned discourse between the woman and her parish minister at a place along the path that runs between Silanda and Ceza. Who dares question the yearning for insights that dwells so conspicuously in the person of Bengt Sundkler?

There are many approaches to gaining knowledge. One method is by way of the written word. But it, like all others, had its limitations. One becomes unhappily aware of the limited scope of books, articles and other documentation when discovering that little of any qualified significance, or sometimes nothing at all, has been written on a particular essential subject. Reasons for the lack or absence of documentation vary. It is possible that the newness of the subject-matter has to be revealed and exposed in order to attract the academic attention that it deserves. Or, equally possible, one has missed the uniqueness of research possibilities simply because the issues at stake have become so every-day
common and taken for granted, that they bypass one.

Bantu prophets in South Africa did not appear on the scenes suddenly in the late 1930-ties. They had been there for thirty years and more at that time, with roots penetrating deeply into the 19th Century. But it was Bengt Sundkler more that anybody else who undisputably placed them on the world map of religious phenomenology. The prophets thus having been paid valid attention, were to remain the forms of considerable interest by many scholars. But Bengt Sundkler's "Bantu Prophets of South Africa", first published in 1948, remains the classic, still being the basic and ever challenging study of the anguish and the jubilation of the prophets. Besides numerous articles, "Bantu Prophets of South Africa" has been followed more recently by "Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists". These two major publications as well as the many shorter studies are the fruit of the zeal for insight.

Alarmed at the lack of serious academic attention given the prophets (other than largely negative criticism), and having observed that among them was to be found clues to deeper and richer understandings of that which is specifically African, he set about the ambitious task to discover the colleagues who shared the field with himself. With characteristic intuition and sensivity, his research led him to be present when things happened, to share with the folk he was studying and to respond to their queries. For as far as humanly possible the process of exploration was to be one of participating observation, a receiving and a giving. In the words of the woman at Ceza in March 1984: "I found myself answering clearly and calmly. Then he spoke of baptism in the parish church, explaining what happens. Then I spoke again! Then he!"

It is great scholars who allow the unschooled to be their teachers. They can afford this luxury because they know that behind the face of every human being there is a uniqueness and a value from which to learn, despite inability to read and write. It was in home visitation and the everyday communication with people in every walk of life that Bengt Sundkler uncovered, amongst a host of other details, the role of the three-legged cooking-pot which subsequently was to play such a significant part in his own Zulu proclamation. His growing awareness of Zulu appreciation of drama coupled to the important role of ritual and symbol and most certainly verified time and again at many a baptismal and cleansing rite in pools of clear and running water, or his presence at the nocturnal Passover celebrations practiced in Zionist traditions, plus a host of other convivial opportunities, led him to recognize the rich overtones that are so important in Zululand religiosity.

Bengt Sundkler's publications on prophets of the Zulu Zions are, by sociological and religious definition, filled with data and facts. These fascinate the
reader to no small degree. But richer than these are the many hints at the overtones, those most important experiences which only the initiated and understanding participant will be able to acknowledge. Formulating them is exceedingly difficult — is this due to the inadequacy of sociological epistemology? Or is it because there is that integration of the sociological, religious and historical, expressed in symbols and ritual of the total life-pattern, that adds to the uniqueness and the depth of the overtones, deep to the extent that definition of them is on the verge to being impossible?

3. A prophet seeks to speak in a comprehensible fashion to a given situation. Thus it was with the prophets of old in Israel. They were men continually groping with the question of proclaiming a divine message in a contextual manner to circumstances of human life and living of their day. Thus it is with the many prophets in Africa who heal, exorcise, proclaim and liberate. Thus it was, and is, with Bengt Sundkler. His ability to express academically orientated theological conceptions in a language fully understandable also by an illiterate belongs to those gifts of grace which God gives His servants.

The issue at stake was the concept and role of the local congregation. He said that a living and witnessing Christian community is like the three-legged cooking-pot, a utensil found in every Zulu home in the Cezela area. The older folk who from their childhood had memories of the earthenware pot resting on three stones placed in the hearth, had the benefit of an even richer symbolism. With them the figure 3 had deep meaning. 3 stones implied a secure and unfaultering support. 4 stones would not have fulfilled the same useful function, whilst one stone removed from under the earthenware pot implied the tipping over and emptying of the contents of the clay vessel. But whatever the age of the listener, the symbol of the three-legged spoke clearly.

The speaker wished to draw attention to three essentials. Firstly, inside the pot there is food — who can live without food? In the process of eating, all will eat from the same pot. Thus it is with the congregation — it has an essential life-giving nourishment for all. Secondly, like the pot supported by the three legs, so the Christ-confessing community is upheld by three God-given pillars: by worship and proclamation, by instruction and by works of love and mercy, its outreach in the diaconate. Remove one of these and the congregation will have lost an essential and characteristic pillar of identity! Add some other support and it could cause unbalance if given too great emphasis! Or the fire underneath the pot is smothered for lack of room or of fresh air! Thirdly, in order that the vegetables or raw meat or meal in the pot become something edible, there must be a fire burning under the pot and among the legs of the pot. So al-
so in the community of God's people. The Holy Spirit, God's own flame, must warm, enlighten and transform the congregation in order that it becomes that life-giving, divinely born and bred communion in its surroundings which God wants it to be. Unless the power-resource of God's own choosing be allowed to move among the pillars of the faithful, quickening as it moves, the community of believers becomes no more than a human get-together among many others.

The symbol of the three-legged pot in Zululand became an instrument through which was conveyed something more profound than words can express. The pot, bound culturally to both the older Zulu generation and the younger, had a natural and generous place in the minds of everybody who listened to the exposition. To them the parable conveyed a message of great importance regarding the essence and role of a Christian congregation. In the process of parish instruction the cooking-pot rose to become more than a utensil. Its shape, its use and its great importance in the lives of all people was fully understood by everybody, also the least intell-
lectually equipped. But precisely because it was so fully appreciated, did its deeper symbolic message transcend into spiritual depths of no small meaning. The pot in the prophet’s mouths became a comprehensible and challenging tiding never be forgotten.

Proclamation in Zululand is not limited to what is said from the pulpit, or in parish education or in attitudes only. Proclamation is included in everything, and keenly so the realm of ritual and drama. Basically, all liturgical action ought to have meaning and convey a message — have we in the sophistication of the Western world lost some of this? Do we need a prophet to set us right again? Bengt Sundkler has told us that he is convinced that prophets of Africa have much to contribute to the treasurehouse of the Church Universal. It is in Zululand that he, in his conviction that proclamation has a road to the hearts of humans also along the lines of liturgical richness, looked for an opportunity to test his claim.

Lent! Holy Week, including Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Saturday of the final rest prior to the rising from that rest (prophetically hinted at already in the Scripture’s opening two chapters)! Then the night between the Saturday of rest and the first day of the week, this night of great expectations! Followed by the day, the greatest of days!

What other occasion in the course of the Church year, other than the celebration of the incarnated King’s arrival on earth or the birthday of the Church, would lend itself more gloriously to proclamation by way of liturgical drama, richness in participation and emotion, as well as the subsequent overtones so deeply experienced, yet so difficult to express? With characteristic ingenuity Bengt Sundkler sought a means whereby the message of Easter could be integrated into experience and thus be made as comprehensible as possible. The result was an overall drama with many acts, stretching from Maundy Thursday to the chrism celebration with the living Lord after the night-long watch and the meeting with the day of resurrection on the graveyards — the very places where the great things are to happen on awaited occasion in our future.

Certainly the Biblical message of Christ and His salvation, of resurrection and of eternal life were put across in a fashion whereby people understood, took to heart and were deeply edified. It was by no means a question of going half-way! On the other hand it was a question of new forms within which to express the relatively new faith, the one moving from a westernized straight-jacket approach to meet the parishoner at a third point new to both.

So meaningfully did the message of Easter speak to people of Zululand that there is no place in the land where “iGood” (technical name for Good Friday and Easter celebrations) is not known today. Certainly most (if not all)
Zionist prophets cannot conceive of an Easter other than in terms of drama and experience.

4. It is an accepted fact that we live in a world rich in interreligious diversities. South Africa is placed squarely on the world map also in this regard and Ceza has its fair share of pluralities.

Many of us look upon religious manifolds as a threat. In our search for replies that hopefully will end all future questioning by those whom we experience as a menace, we dogmatize and withdraw defensively into corners of safety. From these positions of security it becomes an easy task to dismiss the others, exposing their weakness and excelling in own formulations on truth.

Naturally, places of dogmatized protection are comfortable. They offer ready answers, neatly packed and frequently very well formulated. The sometimes agonizing experience of being exposed because one has no clearcut or articulated answer, is conveniently and effectively avoided.

But the position of security has inbuilt dangers, the greatest of these being definitions of God. For God, being Almighty, Omnipotent, Eternal and Father of all creation, is not to be capsuled in frail human terminology. Still less is He to be equated with the form of one particular tradition of the Church. Being far more important than the symbols are language used by His people when referring to Him, God calls us out of comfortable systematized enclosures of safety in order to discover, to grow and to share in the world surrounding us.

Christian diversity, like all religious manifolds, is closely related to the diversity of symbols and symbol interpretation, to the social orders and cultural settings in which people live, to language and concepts. The problem that we are called upon to tackle in efforts to reach out to folk of other belief-patterns and faith expressions, is therefore the challenge of understanding. The woman in green and white spoke of baptism with her particular terms of reference as the setting in which she had understood her healing encounter in the pool of clear water underneath the waterfall. Bengt Sundkler carried in his person another understanding, one which had roots in a totally different earth from that in which the woman cultivated hers. Whilst she already had withdrawn to avoid the humiliation of being scolded and excommunicated because of her definition, her partner in dialogue defused her security. His attitude was that of participation and outreach rather than releasing the trigger of a defence-mechanism.

Bengt Sundkler has taught us the great importance of the not easily mastered piece of homework called communication. Sincere and goal-orientated communication in general is seldom easy — communication among adherants to a similar faith but with varying values attached to language, symbols,
rituals and thought-patterns which express the faith is possibly even more difficult! But because it is a test on patience in one's ability to listen both constructively and generously, on ability to eliminate presuppositions and on preparedness to reassess again and again, the exercise has its profoundly beautiful results. Mutual concerns and lifelong fellowship, rich memories widened perspectives, generous proclamation, these and so many more positive experiences grow out of the toils of constructive outreach.

Above all, and perhaps of greater importance than the personally experienced benefits which develop in the process of outreach, is the new language that emerges. It develops as a result of concerned dialogue. In the course of pursuing one another's points of departure and therefore an experience in sharing, one discovers how to relate one set of values against another in the common search for that which is the truth about God and of God.

One's own experienced faith, with its particular language and symbols, provoked and challenged in dialogue to define what exactly the confession contains, becomes a resourceful input which God can use to His honour and His peoples' edification. The emerging and therefore new language is everything but syncretistic. It is on the other hand, rich in local human speech formulas, entrenched in the thought-patterns of the people concerned and often sharply to the point. The following, brought to attention by Bengt Sundkler who quotes sons and daughters of Africa, speak for themselves in terms of Biblical theological articulation and maturity: "We are humans because of One who became a human in order that we may become fully human", "He who calls another a sectarian is himself a sectarian", "Am I written in the Book of Life?".

************************************************

In paying tribute to an eminent scholar on the occasion of his 75th birthday, one has but one inclusive and all-embracing word to say — what a rich life! Rich in experience, rich in relationships, rich in involvement, rich in outreach, rich in assessment, rich in human concerns, rich — and particularly so — in concerns for the outreach of the Gospel. It was for this specific concern that he dedicated his life in ordination! It was for this reason that he allowed E.W. Smith's book on James Aggrey to influence him to the extent that he fell in love with Africa. In a life-long effort to break barriers of isolation in order that the Gospel become relevant to increasing numbers of people, he generously called upon a parishoner to sing and shake in a church-building of Western stringent tradition!

There are so many who have had the privilege and honour of sitting at the feet of this prophet and teacher. Today we all rise to salute you, Phondolwend-
lovu! Do you see that your sons and daughters are many, stretching from Cezza in the south to Scandinavia in the north? Do you hear that they are giving thanks, thanking you for your life and witness and thanking God who so wonderfully has made use of your gifts of grace?

You have left footmarks along the paths you have trodden, Phondolwendlovu, footprints that have sunk deeply! We shall not forget them, still less erase them! In your following and to the glory of God we shall attempt to be faithful stewards of a heritage we treasure and honour!
On the 30th of July 1961 professor Bengt Sundkler was consecrated Bishop of the (newly formed) Evangelical Church of North western Tanganyika. He was to serve in that position three and a half short years and even of them to suffer from an illness for four months. Yet that period sufficed to make history in the life of the Church. In his own life it brought out a converging motif out of a multiplicity of strands, each of which could have formed a full pattern by itself. As the first Bishop of the diocese, in 1963 to be part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, Bengt Sundkler's manifold gifts and life's experiences were all made use of and given one great, living purpose.

To the episcopal period there had been a beautiful prelude. In the war years 1942-45, as a young missionary, Bengt Sundkler had been called from Zululand to serve as the Superintendent in the "orphaned" Church of Buhaya. During that time many of the seeds had been planted which later came into fruition as the Church matured. Many of the close and lasting ties of mutual respect and deep friendship had been established between the youthful missionary, his wife and the people of Bukoba, ties which later led to the choice of him as their Bishop.

The prelude is well recorded in the first modern mission book written in the Nordic countries, *Ung Kyrka i Tanganyika*, (Young Church in Tanganyika). Although written in a few weeks in 1943, only a relatively short time after the writer and his wife Ingeborg had begun their new work, the book presented a perceptive and future-oriented view into the sociology, culture and religious scene in Bukoba. As such it deserves attention even in hindsight.

The book reflects also the close personal concern and care of the individual and the congregations that already then was characteristic of Bengt Sundkler's relationship to the Church of Buhaya, as it then was called. But at the same time, it was written with the insight of a scholar who had not lost any opportunity to jot down his own observations and, above all, little phrases and insights of the variety of people he communicated with. The little notebook, which has followed Bengt Sundkler wherever he has gone since, was in diligent use during the physically uncomfortable travels to every corner of the district and every group of Christians initially nurtured by the Bethel Mission from Germany.

In November 1955 in the First All Africa Lutheran Conference in Marangu the leader of the delegation from Bukoba, Matia Lutosha, spoke for the episco-
pate form of church organization as being well suited for the Lutheran Church in Africa. He was supported by Stephano Moshi, the President designate of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. Already then the churchleaders from Bukoba approached their wartime superintendent with the wish to have him as their first Bishop. Professor Sundkler had been invited to Marangu to deliver two important papers on "Strengthening the Ministry" and "Church and Environment". The Bukoba men were acutely aware of the respect in which their former missionary as a missiologist, a professor of Church history and an author of the then newly published book on the Church of South India, was held among the delegates to Marangu from many parts of Africa and the world. This became evident much later when in thanking the departing Bishop the same men gave expression to their pride of having had a man of such stature as their first episcopal leader.

The invitation to become the Bishop of the Evangelical Church in Northwestern Tanganyika was confirmed later when the time for the Church to become independent from the mission drew closer. A letter of call was sent in the beginning of the year 1960 with the hope that the bishop's consecration could have taken place at the time of the Church's 50-year Jubilee in August that year. The determination of the Church not to take "no" for an answer was reflected in the persistence of their calling. When the professor from Uppsala was invited to the Jubilee it was with the conviction that the old love for the Church in the Northwest would through participation in the festival be rekindled and the hesitation to accept the call would fade away. The expectation proved justified.

After the festival service, in the vestry, Andreas Kajerero, the oldest pastor and one of the first Christians to be baptized in the Church of Buhaya, made the appeal to the special guest. In his speech to the Jubilee congregation pastor Kajero had already referred to the teaching of the Scriptures they had received from their former missionary from the orphaned years. Did not the passage in the Scriptures about the servant who was told, "Go, and he goes and come and he comes" have a bearing on the situation in which they were? Should not 'Bwana Sindikila' now understand that so he, too, should respond when the call has come to him? "Bwana Sindikila" did indeed recall his prayer at the start of that year which had a special significance, "Let me serve you with all my heart and will".

An invitation to be a bishop did not come for the first time then. There had been a similar choice to make once before when in 1948 the Church of Sweden Mission Board had Bengt Sundkler as a candidate for being the Lutheran Bishop in Zululand. This time the decision was harder. On the one side there was the literary and scientific work and doc-
toral candidates to guide and help along, yes, a life’s full calling as such. But on the other side there was the living Haya Church — as it often was referred to — the warmth, the generosity, the friendship, personal family-like fellowship and the great task of guiding that Church into the historical tradition of the Church universal.

The personal challenge became overwhelming when "Bwana Sindikila" was taken in Matia Lutosha's jeep to Ruhija for a heart-to-heart talk with the principal of the Ruhija Bible School, Ernest Lutashobya. It was a remarkable discussion which convinced the visitor’s heart and mind that he could no more refuse the invitation of the Church. By the end of October the definitive positive answer was received by the church leaders.

Bishop Bengt of Bukoba had a thorough training for his task as the leader of a young church. Academic learning and living encounter with people had gone hand in hand also before. Mobile
and sensitive mind and heart could break through borders which for others were issues of only theoretical interest. When there arose the need for the ecumenics to be exercised in the banana-groves, to bring back into the fold "The Church of the Holy Spirit", a separatist fruit of a charismatic revival, there was readiness for meeting the situation. The Bishop reflected back to the experience in South Africa where he as a young scholar with a fresh doctor's thesis in his bag had been able to liberate himself from set models and stereotype sectarian ideas and meet the Bantu prophets and prophetesses on the personal level as members of common fellowship. It is no wonder that Bantu Prophets is still revered as the classic in its field.

The preparation for the episcopate had included a period as a Research Secretary in the International Missionary Council in London. During that period the most valuable experience had been the participation in 1953 in the Commission on Theological Education for so called Latin Africa, the parts of Africa that were administered under the French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial governments. Going from country to country to study the conditions for the training of the ministry in the African churches had laid a firm and broad foundation for building the one Church for which the responsibility was now to be shouldered.

The task of compiling a comprehensive volume on the Christian Ministry of Africa had further broadened the scope and given an understanding of the working of the Holy Spirit in the servants of the African churches, as these servants themselves interpreted it. There was to be a rich combination of formality as in rituals of African tradition, as well as renewal and revival to overcome the rigidities of formality. In the Haya Church — to use the then current term — these were both represented; the spirit of renewal was there to be fostered: hearty welcome to worship, joyous fellowship, meeting in homes, eating meals of common sharing on the silky grass spread for seating the congregation, even inside the churches.

Upon entering the office, the Bishop of Bukoba issued an episcopal letter, Ebarua y'Askafu, to his Diocese. There were three leading themes which he then was to repeat in a reverse order in a second episcopal letter issued upon his departure. These themes give key programme for Bengt Sundkler’s work as the ecclesiastical leader and the Shepherd of his sheep. They were:

1. Inheritance of the Church
2. Renewal of the Church
3. The Church as a home

A central historical significance of Bengt Sundkler’s contribution to the Lutheran Church in Tanzania was to bring the African Church into the awareness of the value of belonging to the historical and universal Church with a continuing structure, yet allowing free-
The Church to find for herself a form in which the Christians would feel at home. The Church had to find her own modes of expression, in music, in liturgy, in Word, in service.

Earlier in their history, the people of the Buhaya Church had made the decision to remain within the Lutheran fold and not to join either Anglican or Methodist church structures. Both had offered their services during the difficult war years. At the same time, the Church wanted to keep alive her ecumenical ties and give institutional expression to the spiritual links they had across the ecclesiastical borders. The Bishop's outlined programme built on the foundation that was already there.

The Ministry of the Church was to be Via crucis, via lucis, the way of the cross, the way of the light; the life of the Church as the three-fold cord, of worship and service and witness and a fellowship of people expressed in mutual care and sympathy. It meant accommodating a charismatic group with its spiritually gifted leader. It meant accepting the spiritual gifts into the Church through the revival movement with an alliance deviating from the traditional ecumenics. But it meant also the establishment of formal ties, first within the one Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania of which the Evangelical Church of Northwest became the first Diocese. It also led into taking the task of being a "bridge church" seriously and playing a part in the negotiations toward the unity of the Christian Church in East Africa.

The thoughtful combination of the spiritual and institutional formed the basis of the nurture given by the Bishop in his letters, messages, teachings, personal counselling and in the innumerable discussions "on the road".

There was the task of preserving the sense of historicity without offending the Lutheran sister churches which guarded against the possibility that the apostolic continuity through the laying on of the hands would slip into the Tanzanian Church as if through the back door. By the time the insignia of the Bishop were to be handed over to the first Tanzanian bishop in Bukoba, to Josiah Kibira, the leaders of the Diocese of Northwest made their own decision and invited to share in the consecration itself the Anglican brother bishops from the neighbouring Uganda with whom they had close spiritual fellowship but also ethnic affinity. This was also a time when the respect of the historical Church was given expression by the resigning bishop, "I have to call to your attention to that long and wide perspective of the Church of Christ. . . .It is a question of the nature of the Church of Christ; our intention or not to belong to the wide Catholic Church of Christ. . . .The participation of the Anglican bishops together with the Swedish bishops would emphasize that we place ourselves in that long 2000
years old tradition which was initiated by the Apostles of Jesus Himself.

At the time when Bishop Moshi as the leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania performed the consecration of Bishop Kibira, he also thanked Bengt Sundkler for their long time cooperation and contacts since 1942. The earlier tension about the differences in understanding of the episcopate had been solved. Of this Bishop Moshi's words gave evidence, "We thank Bishop Sundkler for having taught and laid the foundation of the episcopal ministry in our Church."

In giving thanks Bishop Moshi also addressed his words to Ma Ingeborg. "Amekuwa moyo wa uaskofu": She has been the heart of the episcopate. This had been true in more ways than one. She kept Bishop Thorpe going during long absences of the Bishop. On the travels around the Diocese Ingeborg sometimes followed along, and at times the two took some days of rest at St. Julian's near Nairobi or at a guest house in Entebbe or Kampala. But the longer travels to meetings around East and Central Africa the Bishop went alone. It meant keeping many practical things running, care of the guesthouse which Ma Ingeborg had fixed up, keeping the house-chapel going with its weekly communion services and taking care of much of the communication between the absent Bishop and people in Bukoba. With no fear or hesitation Ingeborg drove alone around the diocese and to and from Uganda.

In a Church in which there was consciousness of the significance of liturgy and ritual going side by side with the inner sense of walking in light the emphasis of Ma Ingeborg on the standard that needs to be kept and her personal contribution in making and taking care of vestments was part of being the heart of "uaskofu". She was always very grateful when women and men came to her for a talk and told her of their joys and sorrows.

There was a continuing communication between individuals and Ma Ingeborg, but she also had influence on the emphasis that was given to women's organizations, women's and girl's training and education. It was a great disappointment that the Diocese did not get the Girl's Secondary Schools as had been hoped. The pleas for outside help were more readily heard on the Catholic side and the school was opened under the name of Cardinal Rugambwa.

The attendance of the Protestant girls and having their own religious teaching there was one of the links that were formed with the Catholic Church.

Bengt Sundkler's service in Tanzania was carried out in the time of transition. The people of Tanzania became gradually aware of their right and their duty to decide about their own course. The change took place in the Church be-

*Successio apostolica*
fore it was fully carried through in the nation. The full story of the birth of the Diocese is vividly told in *Bara Bukoba* by Bengt Bukoba himself, a book published in Swedish and English. The few glimpses noted down here almost at random serve only as a small reminder of the large theme.

Great care was taken in the Diocese to build up Tanzanian leadership. With determination and careful planning Tanzanians were selected to key posts in education, medical work, biblical and parishwork training and administration. Pastors were sent abroad for further studies with the distinct aim of having several leaders from whom to select the successor. Josiah Kibira after studies in Germany was sent to Boston, USA, Ernest Lutashoby to Canterbury, England and Hezekiel Balira to Luther Seminary, St. Paul, USA.

Many of the pastors and leading laymen and women in the Church had come from among the teachers. The former principal of the Kigarama Teacher Training College from the war years—a post shared with Ingeborg who in the records was in charge—saw the importance in keeping close contact with the teachers in the area. In the process of nationbuilding tensions easily developed which could have marred the close relationship between the Church and Christian teachers. A seminar organized for them in 1964 brought two hundred teachers together and the Bishop took much time and trouble to present the Christian message to the new generation of teachers with a sensitive understanding of the new vistas a head. In the meeting the Christian Union of the teachers was revived. The significance of the seminar was reflected in the words of one of the participants who to a question how the seminar had gone simply answered, "Any teacher who was not there is not a real teacher".

The seminar was organized and well held together and carried through by perhaps the most influential teacher of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania—who did not become pastor—Joel Ngeiyamu who through all those years held the position of Education Secretary of the Church. He kept his post faithfully inspite of the many attractions which could have lured him to move to more visible posts within the Government system. To a man of his talent and energy there would no doubt have been many opportunities which he let forgo. Since then he was shouldered the important task of the General Secretary of the ELCT.

Building the capacity of the national language, Swahili, in a situation in which everyone would have preferred the use of the vernacular Luhaya was one of the many indications that the leadership of the Diocese had understood the needs of the national society. Barbro Johansson's political role as a missionary and her becoming the Member of Parliament for Mwanza was supported and encouraged. Many Christians of
Nortwestern Diocese have played an active role in political life and development. The Bishop gave his support to this. He also paid generous tribute to both Tanzanian and missionary women leaders in the Diocese.

Whether the question was of medical, educational, industrial or agricultural sector or the care of refugees over the borders of the neighbouring countries, the Church was there as a support to the emerging nation. However, cooperation did not release the Christians from voicing critique when it was due.

On the part of the Bishop, readiness to leave after the leadership had been built up in the Diocese was part of the wise planning. A leave of absence from the professorship and a periodic return to Uppsala to take care of some of the most pressing duties in guiding the students accommodated the sense of not fastening the tent pegs too tightly in the soil of Tanzania. Yet the Bishop's heart and energy was fully in his work and throughout he applied himself with deep devotion to the given task. He was grateful for the atmosphere of frankness that prevailed among the leaders and the Synodical Council, which reflected the spirit of "walking in light". He received correction and was happy about it, since it contributed to the mutual confidence which prevailed.

Most importantly, however, there had been constant mutual feeding with the Word, a profound sense of mutual trust of support. This was reflected in a speech at the time of taking leave. The Bishop referred to an observation from his first years in Bukoba, in the 1940s. In pastor Matia Lutosha's New Testament he had noticed a picture of an old German deaconess. The explanation was that she had opened to him as a young Christian the window of the Word. The Bishop continued, "In my own New Testament, the pictures of Joshiah, Matia, Richard, Lars, Nestor, Elia, Festo, Christian, Sebastian, Joel, Kezia, Leif, will always be windows through which I will understand the love and passion of Christ Jesus".

"Nakushukuru maana umetambua siku na saa". These were the words with which the great leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Bishop Stephano Moshi addressed the resigning Bishop of Bukoba, at the time of handing over to Bishop Josiah Kibira in December 1964. "I give credit to you that you have understood the day and the hour", was his message. The fear had been dispelled that this white man could have tried to hold on to his position and hinder Tanzanian leadership from coming forth. If anything, the fear was the reverse: the leaders of the Diocese wanted their own man first to serve as an Assistant Bishop. But Bengt Bukoba had judged the situation differently. The time had come for the Tanzanian to be fully in charge. When years later Bishop Kibira was elected the President of the Lutheran World Federation from the firm foundations built in the local Church buil-
ding blocks were carried over to the global Church.

Bengt Sundkler had the privilege of working in Tanzania at a time which gave his personality, his many gifts, his experience and his learning a wide scope to be utilized to the fullest. It was a time which required generous, open, communicative people who would support the Tanzanian leaders and ordinary women and men in their striving to have full share in the universal Church and society. There were few others if any who would have had at one and the same time the same deep sense of the local and the unique woven into equally deep sense of communion of saints in the universal historical Church.

Bengt Bukoba has used of his time as the Bishop of the Diocese of Northwest a phrase borrowed from Wordsworth via C.S. Lewis' "Surprised by joy". He was indeed surprised by the joyous task and people. His life was as if lifted to another higher level and dimension which gave himself and his wife Ingeborg personal richness, as it also for the Church he shepherded became a decisive period of laying the foundation.
BETWEEN THE SCYLLA OF SYNCRETISM AND THE CHARYBDIS OF A SELF-APPOINTED GHETTO

Bengt Sundkler in Svensk Missionstidskrift during 25 years

by Jonas Jonson

There was the span of almost 25 years between the inaugural lecture on an autumn’s day in 1949 and the fare­well lecture in May 1974. And a quarter of a century encompasses a lot for someone who lives, listens and shares with the intensity of Bengt Sundkler. During that quarter of a century he was the editor of Svensk Missionstidskrift, (the Swedish quarterly for missiology). He ran it on his own, one quarterly issue after the other, when he was not in Africa to examine conditions of pastoral education or to serve as a bishop.

Journals have a life of their own. They tend to be collages of contributions, which have — more or less by chance — landed on the editor’s desk. At irregular intervals the editors decide on a thematic issue, where they try to focus attention and analysis on some current topic, only to let their journal return once more to the marketplace of miscellaneous issues and opinions. SMT is no exception. Intended to reflect the debate on mission, in Sweden and abroad, in all its ecumenical breadth and with the ambitions of missionary science, this journal inevitably becomes a mosaic, where some pieces recur with greater frequency and luster than others.

There was a continuity from the very beginning, in 1913. But accents shifted. The warm evangelical zeal of Adolf Kolmodin for the conversion of the individual and the struggle against liberal theology and too much of this-worldly missionary optimism, characterized SMT until 1929. Then K B Westman took over. The debate of the 1930’s about “rethinking missions between Jerusalem and Tambaram” and about the intermediary position of Scandinavia between the missiological interpretations of Germans and Anglo-Saxons set the tune until it was interrupted by the war. It became the task of Bengt Sundkler to reopen the doors to the world around us, and to join the North to the International of Missions once more.

That was no easy task. He often spoke of the North as a region off the main
roads, huddling itself up under the 
North Pole. His own éspirit, quickened 
by Africans and continental Europeans, 
did not always correspond to the gravely 
serious self-understanding of Finnish or 
Norwegian pietists or Swedish miission 
administrators. But his all-embracing 
generosity and concern about everyone 
who wanted to serve Christ with their 
own gifts in this or that organization, 
carried him the love of many. Among 
the friends of mission there is a longing 
for crossing Frontiers, for empathy, for 
the daring take-off. Absorbed by the 
problems of independent churches, 
Bengt Sundkler was the Missionary. 
Within the Faculty of Theology that 
word could be ambiguous, but it evoked 
response among the SMT readership. 

Taken together the bulk of Sundkler's 
reports, reviews and short articles in 
SMT is considerable. There are few 
longer articles of principal importance, 
however. During the period in question 
he published the results of his research 
in several books. Here we shall recall a 
few articles, hint at certain lines and no­
te some shifts in perspective.

The inaugural lecture about theology 
and the younger churches was pro­
grammatic2). After the debate which 
had preceded his appointment to the 
professorship, Sundkler's lecture could 
by some people be heard as a defend­
dant's plea. Already at the outset the di­
rection was given. Referring to the WCC 
General Assembly in Amsterdam, 
Sundkler recalled to memory the indi-

spensable ecumenical dimension of 
mission; listing D T Niles, T C Chao and 
K Smart he pointed to the leading personal­
ities in his missionary history. They 
represented the young churches with in­
sight and authority. These young chur­
ches would now become “a renewing 
elixir in the old history of the church 
and in theological research.” In 1949 
some listeners may have found this a 
trifle exaggregated. As yet theological 
research did not feel it had much to learn 
from Africa and Asia. Only in the 1970s 
did theological influence from the Third 
world really become significant, fore­
most from Latin America. But as he 
went on, Sundkler's argument for the 
importance of theology in the young 
churches grew easier to follow, in the 
Sweden of a Nygren and an Aulén. It 
was about “watchmanship against syn­
cretism”, which was called ”the gnosti­
cism of our time”, but also about giving 
heed to the national heritages of the 
churches, in terms of colour, form, tone 
and thought, while — with the aid of 
theology — preserving the substance of 
the message.

In the 1950's the danger of syncretism 
was an important element of missiolo­
y. It was part and parcel of the question 
about the Gospel and the religions, and 
thus one argument for reinforcing the 
identity of the visible church and view­
ing baptism as a boundary river. In his 

In front of the former Institute of Missionary 
Research, Domkyrkoplan 1, Upsala
critique of Gustaf Wingren's "The sermon", Sundkler did for certain find it necessary to link the idea of Creation and the great commandment to mission, and he did maintain, that time was ripe for "formulating an evangelical missiology built precisely on the fundamentals of creation and new creation". But he could not follow Wingren in the latter's view of baptism. "What will happen to this open, boundless church in the Africas or Indias of syncretism?" Baptism and membership in the Church of Christ do belong together, inextricably, everywhere.

The criticism of what has been labelled "folk Church" may be scathing in this respect and has not lost its relevance:

"To make baptism the boundary of the Church is to make baptism a law, it is claimed from that side. Not the baptismal water, but the waters of the Baltic and North Atlantic seas will then be the boundaries of a church, which in this way embraces what is between the oceans.

Can we expect the same efficiency from the waters of the Indian ocean?
— I do not think so!"

The emphasis on baptism runs like a red thread from Sundkler's first published article in 1933. Baptism marks the frontier to religious syncretism. But after baptism — "the sacrament of the first generation" — must inevitably follow the founding of churches and the process of "churchification". This also finds its motivation in the relation to the surrounding world. An institutionalized church with defined social tasks can prevent the baptized from forming a ghetto. The church is mission, the church is there to serve. With her confession she stands up to syncretism. She is no "institute of bourgeoisie culture" but a "suffering church, swept in the red mantle of martyrdom".

Anton Fridrichsen, Sundkler's friend and guide, had groped his way between pietism and liberal theology and discovered the Church in the process. But in order to say yes to the visible church, and at the same time say no to the petrified State-Church of the bourgeoisie, missiology became absolutely requisite. It was the vision of the Church in her geographic, social but above all her eschatological outreach which saved solidarity and nourished vocation. It is also in the field of tension between the visible and the possible where Sundkler's interpretation of the church as a necessary instrument for Missio Dei is chiseled out. His understanding of the church is dealt with at greater length by Carl F Hallencreutz in this booklet. Here we shall focus only one theme.

The church is steering between the Scylla of syncretism and the Charybdis of the ghetto. Precisely this prase recurs again and again. But under the influence of the ecumenical debate of the 1960's
— not least Vatican II but also the dissertations by Hallencreutz and Sharpe on Kraemer and Farquhar, respectively — it was the ghetto which increasingly appeared as the greater danger. The first expression of a reorientation came in the article “Into dialogue” in 1966. There Sundkler refers to the sociologist Guy Hunter who talked about the positive impact of religions in contemporary Asia, and to Mircea Eliade and W. Cantwell Smith who had shown that every religion takes on a different form, if it is observed from inside rather than from outside. Only a person who is involved from the inside can understand what happens in the world of adoration and faith. The task, then, is to leave the ghetto of church and theology and dare into the unconditional encounter, where mutual respect is a prerequisite, but where risks are incumbent.

At the general assembly of the Church of Sweden in Malmö 1967 Sundkler gave a speech about this. At the eucharistic congress in Bombay 1964 Hans Küng had claimed that the church should live “not in passive co-existence but in active pro-existence” with the religions of Asia. From this position were now challenged the clear but insensitive distinctions drawn by Barth, Kraemer and Nygren between the christianity of revelation and the other religions. “Nygren thought he knew the real danger. Any concession to what he called the
'extra-Christian line' would lead to syncretism, to mixing of religions. Some of us say, today, that there are two dangers confronting the church, and that the one is no less threatening and inhibiting for the church, than the other, be it out there or back home: syncretism on the one hand, and on the other, the self-chosen isolation, the self-appointed ghetto. After a short Biblical exposé with an edge towards "merely theoretical theology" and an emphasis on "the enormous dynamics, the forces given in the name of Jesus", he continued:

"We must establish a true dialogue, where both parties take one another seriously and are ready to listen to each other, to listen, to learn and to expose themselves to the forces of attraction in the faith of the other person. We must be ready to go much further than before: to walk the other mile with our brother, with the person of faith. . . Here we are talking about personal togetherness, an encounter at deep level, which is conceivable only in Christ."

Sundkler pursued this line in his farewell lecture 1974.¹⁰ There he widened and defined the ideas from "Into dialogue" eight years before. He had already at that time taken pains to underline the difference between the ante and the post in relation to the conversion to Christ. Only when a person had entered into the sphere of Christ could he understand what conversion really implied. And this insight had to affect the Christian believer's attitude towards those outside that sphere.

In his farewell lecture Sundkler developed this idea in relation to Christ's presence in other religions and the dialogue situation. "Presence" should not here be understood in ontological terms. There is a before and an after in the conviction of His presence: it can only be seen and recognized by someone who had already made the jump of faith into a confession to Christ. This definition is of great consequence. It accepts the unreserved openness towards the other partner in dialogue, but simultaneously it states that the eyes of faith must be opened to the mystery of presence. Mission in this sense is not overtaker by the era of dialogue. The element of new sight, new interpretation of presence gives to dialogue its dynamics. But dialogue has to be mutual, a challenge to both sides, a call to both partners to leave the prison which is made of philosophies and theologies in order to discover Christ together, anew, with new eyes. Out of this encounter theology is born. Whereas its task — to mark the frontier to syncretism — was so strongly emphasised in the inaugural lecture, it has been replaced by a question shared by all humankind: "Lord, to whom should we go?" But the answer is as unambiguous as twentyfive year earlier: "You have the word of eternal life."
In meeting people of other faiths the ecumenical perspective is not only important, but inevitable. During his years as editor of SMT Bengt Sundkler followed the ecumenical debate on mission with great sensitivity and reported to his readers with completeness and insight. He never deserted his main line regarding the role of the visible church, but in his own phrasing and positions, the debates of Indian, African and Anglo-Saxon missiologists were reflected. For some time he was one of the secretaries to the International Missionary Council. He was appointed its vice president and at the WCC General Assembly in New Delhi 1961 he was the one who summed up 50 years of IMC work. In the continuous colloquium of the IMC executive committee much of his own theology ripened.

During these years the SMT readership made the acquaintance of many leading personalities in the life of the missions and the young churches. Bengt Sundkler's great interest in people inspired him to draw short portraits — but rich in nuances and full of personal data — in the context of reviews as well as in separate articles. The readers got to know K S Latourette (who was not without influence on Sundkler's own view of history), with Max Warren, "the prophet among English missionaries"; John A MacKay, W R Hogg, Lesslie Newbigin and Erik W Nielsen, friends in the work of the IMC, Walter Freytag, Hendrik Kraemer, John R Mott and many others. Of special interest in this context is the biographical issue of SMT about Sundkler's predecessor as professor, K B Westman. The world of mission, for Bengt Sundkler, is a world of people. The language and aspirations of mission are formulated by persons — indeed his interpretation of history is often surprisingly person-centered. The majority of his portraits depict English and American leaders, together with a new generation of church leaders from Africa and Asia. German theologians of the "folk church" are there more as a foliage and the Dutch — particularly J C Hoekendijk — mostly as counterpoints in the ecclesiological debate. The Roman Catholic theologians appear on a larger scale only in the 1960's, but their portraits are rather sketchy, although their influence on Sundkler is conspicuous.

The watchmanship of theology against syncretism was named as one task in the inaugural lecture. The other task had to do with problems of church union. He had begun to study the Church of South India and Sundkler brought to the fore the relation between national, denominational and universal as an important theological problem. Referring to A Toynbee he wanted to see what happens when a culture of a faith is transplanted in new soil as a main issue in church history. A confession which is transplanted in foreign soil will inevitably change. The task of research, therefore, is to uncover the
preconditions of this change and the formative forces in development. "The study of the young churches in Asia and Africa today provide in concentrated and vertico-sectional form much of that which is shown to be vital in the longitudinal section of church history."\[^{12}\] The notion that the study of the young churches and their comparatively brief history affords the opportunity to focus basic issues in the longer history of the old churches recurs often, as does the idea that local church history mirrors the universal. "In the part, the entirety is found. In each piece of history, the totality of history is encapsulated. In the church history of South India, we face the history of the church universal, vertically and horizontally, but inflected, changed, individualized."\[^{13}\]

At that time Sundkler wrote about South India. Today he writes about Africa. He continues to gather bits and pieces which each encapsulate history in its totality. His history has subjective agents, it takes place at this or that place, it is shaped by decisions and acts, it becomes visible in the border land between cultures, it is interpreted from the perspective of the interpreter. Time and again Sundkler returns to the visible, observable church. To the human beings who carry experiences and understandings, to real partners in dialogue with each other. During Sundkler's time SMT did not allow much space for esoteric theorectization and elevated principles. There was the scent of earth, the echo of a conversation on the clay floor of the church hut, the presence of critical companions, at least in most of his own writings. At times history came burning close, as in his uncompromising reports on the work of the Christian Institute in South Africa, something which developed into one of the most noteworthy of the political opinions expressed in the SMT during this period. It was not only to take stands in a specific issue, but also for an admired friend, Beyers Naudé.\[^{14}\]

The role played by Bengt Sundkler himself in the international mission debate during the 1950's was much greater than he made apparent in SMT. Only on one occasion — but one of great consequence — did he uncover his own influence. At the IMC congress in Willingen 1952 he was the secretary of the commissition which dealt with "local churches". There he forcefully launched his view on the importance and contents of church planting. The life and faith of a church, not its organization, was the decisive criterion. The particularity of the church was subordinate to her universality.\[^{15}\] The debate on church and mission which went on for almost two decades and culminated in Upsala 1968, was in part inspired by the Willingen report. But everyone did not share the dynamic and positive ecclesiology of Bengt Sundkler. At the WCC General Assembly in New Delhi, however, when Sundkler summarized the development of the IMC and the road...
which had led to the integration of the IMC with the WCC, he was able to state:

"Here there was the understanding of the Church — not as a self-sufficient, self-preserving ecclesiastic machinery, but as the new people of God, God’s people of pilgrims, sent to the world. This meant an interpretation of the Church as a process rather than as an institution, the Church as a function of the Apostolate, being herself both a sign and a prime of God’s Kingdom." 16)

Now, in the 1980’s, when the issues of baptism, eucharist and ministry and thus of the Church, once more are the central issues on the road to unity, the time has come to recall that theology of mission. Today, as in 1949, we are talking about identity as a prerequisite for identification. Not as a defense against syncretism or another faith, but as a precondition to openness in the encounter between people authentically expressing their faith.

Theologians have not changed much during those 25 years, but the world has. Encounter is inevitable today, not only in other continents, but also at home. As a consequence theological re-orientations have become necessary. All this time Bengt Sundkler has been asking questions to Christendom, also in Sweden. They still concern the visible signs of a church which is groping its way between shapeless syncretism and a self-appointed, often smug ghetto. More and more people have become aware that in responding to those challenges, there is help to get from elsewhere. SMT has been and is an important translator of the efforts of other churches to formulate their answers.

*Original text in Swedish. Rendered into English by Jan Henningsson for this Festschrift.*
Notes:
2) "Teologin och de unga kyrkorna" ("Theology and the young churches"), SMT 1950, pp. 1—10.
3) SMT 1950, p. 100 ff.
4) "Kyrkobildning på missionsfälten" ("Founding churches on the mission fields"), SMT 1950, pp. 176—196.
5) "Till frågan om dopets och barndopets uppkomsthistoire" ("The question of the origin of baptism and infant baptism") Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift 1933, pp. 38—44.
8) "In i dialogen" ("Into dialogue"), SMT 1966, pp. 210—216.
9) "En värld och den ende" ("One world and the One"), SMT 1967, pp. 65—79.
12) SMT 1950, p. 7.
13) "Den sydindiska kyrkunionen såsom kyrkohistoriskt problem", ("The South Indian Church Union as a problem of Church history"), SMT 1953, pp. 102—107.
Bengt G.M. Sundkler
Bibliography 1969—1983

By Kajsa Ahlstrand

Supplement to Bibliography in The Church Crossing Frontiers

1935
Gud väntar. — Varför vänta vi?
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning 6, 1935 no 21, 454—455)
Nya Missionsarbetare
(Bengt Sundkler introduced)
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1935 no 22, 471)

1936
Jésus et les Païens
(Révue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religi­euses, 1936, 462—499)

1943
Haya Safari
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1943 no 8, 174—177)

1944
Besök hos Augustanamissionen i Tan­ganjika
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1944 no 6, 91—94)
Utan våg, men med målet klart i sikte
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1944 no 11—12; 185—187, 196)
Själar som ge sig åt Gud
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1944 no 21, 343)

1945
Glimtar från Kigarama
(Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, 1945 no 1—2, 14—15)

1948
Liten missionsintervju
(Hjalmar Brundin interviews BS)

1954
Problem Sydafrika
(Review of Herbert Tingsten: Problemet Sydafrika)
(Dagens Nyheter 1954-04-10)
Anton Fridrichsen och missionen

Published since 1969

1969
Kristen världsmission nu
Några randanmärkningar
(SMT 57 1969, 76—82)
Två stormän i den internationella missionsrörelsen
K.S. Latourette and J. H. Oldham
(SMT, 57, 103—110)
Ernst Jaeschke (ed)
Zwischen Sansibar und Serengeti
(review)
(SMT 57, 1969, 113—116)
Jag är afrikan
(translation, author: G M Setiloane)
(SMT 57, 1969, 210—213)
Kongo som missionsfält
(in: I Kongo. Svensk Baptistmission under 50 år i ord och bild,

1970
Anna Söderblom 1870—1970
(Religion och Bibel 29, 1970, 25—40)
Knut B Westman 1881—1967
(SMT 58, 1970, 45—76)
**Missionens värld. Missionskunskap och missionshistoria.**

**Torben Christensen — Sven Göransson: Kyrkohistoria 1**
(review)
(Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift 70, 1970, 229—232)

**Torben Christensen — Sven Göransson: Kyrkohistoria 2**
(review)
(Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift 70, 1970, 232—234)

1971

**Unga kyrkor missionerar**
(SMT 59, 1971, 2—15) (also in: Kyrkor på gång i 70-talets Afrika & Asien. Falun 1971, 9—27)

**Erik W Nielsen 1917—1971**
(SMT 59, 1971, 89—96)

**Unga kyrkor växer**
(SMT 59, 1971, 100—108)

**Les Missions Protestantes et l’histoire**

1972

**I Öster stiger solen upp.**
(SMT 60, 1972, 1—3)

**Mission nu.**
(SMT 60, 1972, 49—52)

**Sudan och Kyrkornas Världsråd.**
(SMT 60, 1972, 99—100)

**Martin Kähler: Schriften zur Christologie und Mission**

**Hans-Werner Gensichen: Glaube für die Welt**

**Peter Beyerhaus: Allen Völkern zum Zeugnis**
(reviews)
(SMT 60, 1972, 166—169)

**Frälsningsförväntran i Afrika**
(Lecture given in Vienna, Oct 1972)
(SMT 60, 1972, 172—182)

---

**Inbjudning till teologie doktorspromotionen vid Uppsala universitet 1972.**

1973

**Mission i frälsningens tjänst**
(Review of Frälsning idag. Budskap från Bangkok)
(SMT 61 1973, 65—66)

**Afrikas historia tar form**
(SMT 61, 1973, 115—120)

**Nordiska Missionsrådet 50 år**
(SMT 61, 1973, 137—146)

**Kyrkligt självstyre på Kilimanjaro**
(Review of H. Smedjebacka: Lutheran Church Autonomy in Northern Tanzania 1940—1963)
(SMT 61, 1973, 173—181)

**Bangkok synas i sommarnas sömmarna**
(SMT 61, 1973, 182—183)

**Anne Luck: Charles Stokes in Africa**
(review)
(SMT 61, 1973, 183—184)

**Douglas V Steere: God’s Irregular: Arthur Shearly Cripps. A Rhodesian Epic.**
(review)
(SMT 61, 1973, 184—185)

**Ekumenisk U-vecka**
(SMT 61, 1973, 193—194)

**Till vem skulle vi gå?**
(Morgenandakt i Sveriges Radio 29 okt 1973)
(SMT 61, 1973, 201—203)

**Sydafrikabilden i Sverige 1949—1973**
(SMT 61, 1973, 229—232)

**Svarta kyrkor och profettrörelser**
(Rapport från SIDA 4, 1973, no. 5, 35—36)
Att bearbeta en tradition. Bengt Sundkler skriver om 20—30-talen (Kristet forum 1973, no 7, 7—10)
1974

Bara Bukoba. Kyrka och miljö i Tanzania (Stockholm 1974. Illustrated. With one map)

"Alla dessa kvinnor" Kvinnogårning genom SKM 1874—1974
(in: Mission 100, Svenska kyrkans missionsårsbok 1974, 71—118)

Nordic Missionary Council

1975

Nathan Söderblom och hans möten (Stockholm 1975. 190 p. Illustrated)

With H R H King Carl XVI Gustaf at the 100th anniversary of the Church of Sweden Mission; Uppsala 1974

Söderblom, Stockholm 1925 och världsekumeniken idag (Nordisk Ekumenisk Årsbok 4, 1975, 7—14)

Stockholm—Nairobi—Stockholm
(in: Tryckta handlingar rörande prästmöte i Stockholm 1975, 46—55)

Halva mänskligheten och mycket mer än halva kyrkan
(SMT 63, 1975, 1—4)

Sista kvartalet av tjugonde seklet
(SMT 63, 1975, 5)

Svart renässans i Sydafrika
(SMT 63, 1975, 46—48)

Johs. Aagaard: Kirkens mission for fremtiden
(review)
(SMT 63, 1975, 60—61)
Lars Thunberg: Mänskighetstanken i äldre och nyare teologi
(review)
(SMT 63, 1975, 61—62)

Max Warren: Crowded canvas
(review)
(SMT 63, 1975, 63—64)

1976
Mission och kultur
(SMT 64, 1976, 30—33)
Teman och tendenser i afrikansk kyrko­historia
(SMT 64, 1976, 139—142)
Internationella Afrikainstitutet femtio år
(SMT 64, 1976, 181—183)
Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists
(Studia missionalia Upsaliensia 29, Lund 1976, 337 p. Illustrated.)

1977
First steps in Bukoba

Svenska Institutet för Missionsforskning 25 år
(SMT 65, 1977, 73—74)

Laman, Karl Edvard
"Hellre en dålig karl än en bra kvinna" (quot. from a Swed. miss to S. India)
(Ying Toijer-Nilsson interviews BS)
(Hertha 64, 1977, no 2, 30—31)

1978
Norsk olsok gästas av svensk ärkebiskop
(in: De hundra kyrkornas ö. Visby 1978, p 36—44)

1980
Banta Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania
(English translation. London 1980, 229 p)

Brilioth, Yngve

1981
Nathan Söderblom — hälsingepojk och världsekumen

Lars Landgren i Delsbo

McGavrans budskap
(SMT 68, 1981, 19—22)

(review)
(SMT 68, 1981, 55—56)

Nathan Söderblom och Uppsala
(Upsala Nya Tidning, 11 Juli 1981)
Missionständer pensionär ger Afrika kyrko­historia
(Gösta Fridemar interviews BS)
(MED 1981, no 12, 8—9)

1982
Svart sång. Från Ntsikana till Shembe
(SMT 69, 1982, 6—11)

Bengt Sundkler, missionär
(Som missionär i Sydafrika. Intervju)
(Afrikabulletinen 19, 1982, no 6, 8—9)

1983
The Story of Bantu Prophets
an interview by Professor Robert Hill UC­LA, Dec 7, 1982
(African Studies Center Newsletter, Spring 1983, 7—17)
Fridtjof Birkeli in memoriam
(SMT 70, 1983 no 4, 49—50)
STUDIA MISSIONALIA UPPSALIENSIA

Editores:
I—XXVII Bengt G.M. Sundkler
XXVIII— Carl F. Hallencreutz

I. PETER BEYERHAUS, Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem. 1956.


V. ERIC J. SHARPE, Not do destroy but to Fulfil: The Contribution of J.N. Farquhar to Protestant Missionary Thought before 1914. 1965. 35:—.

VI. CARL-JOHAN HELLBERG, Mission on a Colonial Frontier West of Lake Victoria. 1965. 35:—.

VII. CARL F. HALLENCREUTZ, Kraemer Towards Tambaram, A Study in Hendrik Kraemer's Missionary Approach. 1966. 30:—.


IX. GUSTAV BERNANDER, Lutheran Wartime Assistance to Tanzanian Churches 1940—1945. 1968. 24:—

X. SIGFRID ESTBORN, Johannes Sandegren och hans insats i Indiens kristenhet. 1968. 20:—


XII. SIGVARD von SICARD, The Lutheran Church on the Cost of Tanzania 1887—1914 with special reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, Synod of Uzaramo-Uluguru. 1970. 40:—.


XIV. SIGBERT AXELSON, Culture Confrontation in the Lower Congo, From the Old Congo Kingdom to the Congo Independent State with special reference to the Swedish Missionaries in the 1880's and 1890's. 1970.


XVII. STIV JAKOBSSON, Am I not a Man and a Brother? 1972.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOSIAH KIBIRA, Church, Clan and the World.</td>
<td>1974. 20:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AXEL IVAR BERGLUND. Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism.</td>
<td>1975.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGVAR KALM. Mission i Linköpings stift. Biträdemissionsställskapets verksamhet 1841—1875.</td>
<td>1977. 20:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENGT SUNDKLER. Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists.</td>
<td>1976.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUSTAV ARÉN. Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia.</td>
<td>1978. 70:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIMOTHY YATES. Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad.</td>
<td>1978. 50:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN HULTVALL. Mission och Revolution i Centralasien.</td>
<td>1981. 90:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN LUNDMARK. Det splittrade gudsfolket och missionsuppdraget. En studie i relationen mellan kyrkan och judendomen.</td>
<td>1983. 75:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“DARING IN ORDER TO KNOW”; Studies in Bengt Sundklers contribution as Africanist and Missionary Scholar.</td>
<td>Ed. by Carl F. Hallencreutz et al. Uppsala 1984. 20:—.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60