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TRACING THE JERUSALEM CODE

VOLUME 3: THE PROMISED LAND
CHRISTIAN CULTURES IN MODERN SCANDINAVIA
(ca. 1750 – ca. 1920)

*Edited by Ragnhild J. Zorgati
and Anna Bohlin*



Tracing the Jerusalem Code 3

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Volume 3: The Promised Land
Christian Cultures in Modern Scandinavia
(ca. 1750–ca. 1920)

Edited by
Ragnhild J. Zorgati and Anna Bohlin

Illustrations edited by Therese Sjøvoll

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Editorial comments for all three volumes

The research behind this book and the two others making up this mini-series was funded by the Norwegian Research Council (RCN). The three books trace the reception of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in Scandinavia through a millenium. The geographical term Scandinavia originates from the classical Roman author Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, book IV), who applied it to an island beyond the Baltic, probably identifiable with the peninsula of Sweden and Norway. In modern usage, the term is conventionally understood as the three kingdoms Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; whereas the wider term *Norden* (the Nordic countries) also includes Finland, Iceland, the Faroes, Greenland, and the Baltic states. Historically, there are tight cultural connections between all these countries. Their borders and mutual political constellation have changed many times during the millennium that is covered by these three books. We therefore tend to have the horizon of *Norden* in mind, although most of the source material discussed is Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, and we have chosen to apply the term Scandinavia consistently. For the Middle Ages (vol. 1), we have also chosen to include Iceland and Orkney in Scandinavia because of the very tight administrative, ecclesiastical, and cultural connections with Norway.

The periodization of the three books is worth a comment. The first volume covers the medieval period from the Christianization in the tenth and eleventh centuries, until the Protestant Reformation in the early sixteenth century. In Scandinavian historiography, the reformation (1536–37 in Denmark-Norway and 1527–1600 in Sweden) marks the watershed between the medieval and early modern periods. We have chosen to stick to this conventional periodization, as the introduction of Lutheranism significantly affected the understanding of Jerusalem. The second volume, then, covers the early modern period from the Reformation until around 1750, when Enlightenment ideas became widespread among key figures. Although it is difficult to draw a sharp line between the early modern and modern periods, Enlightenment thought, and subsequently Romanticism, engendered a second transformation of Christian cultures in general and the understanding of Jerusalem in particular. This is investigated in the third volume, which covers the period from c. 1750 to c. 1920. These dates are approximations, and the delimitation is further explained in the introduction to volume 3.

For references to the spoken and written vernacular of Scandinavia in the medieval period, we have chosen the term Old Norse, regardless of the authors' land of origin. Old Norse names appear slightly modernized, except from in chapters written from a philological point of view.

A note about the Norwegian capital Oslo, which is referred to in all three volumes: The city was moved a little westwards and renamed in 1624 after a great fire, and for almost three centuries its name remained Christiania (or Kristiania) after the Danish king Christian IV (r. 1588–1648). In 1925 the city's medieval name Oslo was introduced again. To avoid anachronistic uses of the city's name, we refer to Christiania/Kristiania in the period between 1624 and 1925. The city of Trondheim is

variably referred to as Nidaros, the city's medieval name. Both these names, however, have been in continuous use since the Middle Ages.

The territory that covers today's Israel and Palestine has had multiple names through the centuries. The authors shift between Palestine, The Holy Land, etc, etc, dependant on the terms used in source material. Our aim has been to avoid anachronisms.

For the many illustrations, the editors have worked diligently to obtain necessary permissions to reproduce them (cf. List of Maps and Illustrations, XIII–XVIII). Should there still be concerns regarding image permissions, please contact the editors responsible for the respective volume.

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Prelude

Why Jerusalem in Scandinavia?

Jerusalem has been invested with thicker layers of meaning than most places in the world. In the history of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, Jerusalem is a significant place, a *topos* in the most fundamental sense of the word. For the Jews, it is ancient capital of Judea, where King Solomon had the first Temple erected for the God of Israel; for the Christians, it is the centre of Jesus of Nazareth's life, death, and resurrection; and for the Muslims, it is the site of the first *qibla* (praying direction), from which the Prophet Muhammad journeyed to the heavens. Within the Christian tradition, the city became a rhetorical and poetical *locus communis*, a commonplace, drawing on a cluster of biblical metaphors from which a whole set of ideas about human society, divine revelation, eschatological expectation, and the connection between these, could be drawn. In conflict with Jewish and Muslim traditions, the Christians have claimed to be the legitimate heir to, and interpreter of, Jerusalem.

In cultures influenced by Christianity, the idea of Jerusalem, earthly and celestial, has engendered a certain structure of literary and visual religious language, applied time and again throughout the last two millennia. In Scandinavia, however, the time span is only half the length, as the Christian faith arrived late to the Nordic shores. Still, a well of sources indicate that Jerusalem has been significant also to the inhabitants of this part of the world. Scandinavian sources are understudied in international scholarship on Jerusalem interpretations, so the current book series fills an important gap. We have investigated the image – or rather the imagination – of Jerusalem in religious, political, and artistic sources in a *longue durée* perspective, in order to describe the history of Christianity in Scandinavia through the lens of Jerusalem.

The impact of Jerusalem on Christian European culture has been extensively explored during the last decade, above all by scholars from the fields of art history,

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architecture, and liturgy.¹ These research efforts have concentrated on material from the medieval and early modern periods. The present three books on Jerusalem in Scandinavia have, however, a wider chronological scope, as they follow Jerusalem interpretations all the way up to the twentieth century.

Two historical processes have been of extraordinary significance for the reception of the idea of Jerusalem in the Scandinavian countries. The first one is the late conversion to Christianity (tenth to eleventh centuries) and the subsequent formation of church and state in the twelfth century, largely coinciding with the emergence of crusade ideology. When Scandinavians articulated and interpreted their own cosmographic position within the scheme of Christian salvation history, an urgent issue seems to be that of connecting to Jerusalem, the moral and eschatological centre of the world, by translations of Jerusalem's holiness and authority.

The second formative process is the Lutheran reformation in the first half of the sixteenth century and the following efforts to transform the Scandinavian monarchies into confessional, monocultural states. This process implied a reinterpretation of Jerusalem's significance. The early modern Protestant legitimations of God's chosen people were based on a paradigm of justification by faith, and no longer on physical transfer of holiness or authority. Nevertheless, the idea of Jerusalem continued to legitimate secular and religious authorities and to construct a Lutheran identity.

The understanding of Jerusalem founded in premodern Christianity was inherently paradoxical and transcendent. It remained intact, although transformed, in early modern Protestantism. To pursue its manifestations into the modern paradigm, dominated by science, nationalism, increased secularisation and individualization of religion has proved more complex and challenging. Still, Jerusalem remains a vital point of reference in nineteenth and twentieth century Scandinavian sources.

In this book series, we trace the impact of Jerusalem through a millennium of Scandinavian history. We argue that the models of understanding and the varied metaphorical repertoire connected to Jerusalem may be conceived as a *cultural code*. How this is done and what the implications of that have been are explained in the following introductory pages.

¹ See for instance the rich and varied material presented in the following collected volumes: Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Jerusalem as Narrative Space/ Erzählraum Jerusalem* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012); Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, eds., *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, eds., *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, CELAMA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Renata Bartal, Neta Bodner, and Bianca Kühnel, eds., *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500* (London – New York: Routledge, 2017).

Foundation: The Biblical Jerusalem Cluster

The foundation of the Christian idea of Jerusalem with its spectrum of connotations is obviously found in the Bible. In order to recognize the structure of literary and visual Jerusalem references in the sources we investigate, it is necessary to briefly recapture how biblical language describes Jerusalem.

In the Bible, Jerusalem functions within the framework of a special linguistic mode, according to the Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye (1912–1991). This linguistic mode is *poetic* in its essence, and it is constituted by metaphorical speech. It hence avoids precise linguistic specification and encourages productive multivalence.² Hence, biblical Jerusalem came to constitute a flexible, almost elastic linguistic framework for talking and thinking about human community and its relation to the Godhead. This is why biblical language is suited to verbalize the transcendent, Frye claims.³

Guidelines for metaphorical thinking are explicitly given in the Christian Bible itself. One of the fundamental premises is the distinction between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem, between the earthly and heavenly sanctuary. According to the Bible, God had dwelled in the Garden of Eden. After the Fall of Man and the expulsion from the garden, God dwelled in sanctuaries built on his command by his chosen people: first in the transportable tabernacle, carried by the children of Israel as they wandered in the wilderness, designed after divine instruction and considered to be a replica of God's heavenly abode (Exod 26–27). Later, God dwelled in the temple in Jerusalem, erected under King Solomon (1 Kgs 5–8) as a stable place for God to abide for ever (1 Kgs 8: 13). It was built on Mount Moriah, the place of Abraham's sacrifice, of Jacob's dream, and where God had shown himself to David (2 Chr 3:1). The Christian interpretation of the biblical temple(s) rests on the conviction that Christ is the new Temple, according to his own words (John 2: 19–22). Ultimately, the Christian salvation history ends with the vision of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21: 9–27), descending out of heaven from God. This eschatological city, the goal of history, has in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem no need for any temple, as "Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it" (Rev 21: 22).

In Galatians 4, Paul applies this multivalent Jerusalem interpretation when he comments on the two women who carried Abraham's children:

For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman. But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, the son of the free woman through promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing

² "It seems that the Bible belongs to an area of language in which metaphor is functional, and where we have to surrender precision for flexibility," Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York – London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982), 56.

³ Frye 1982, *The Great Code*: 56.

children for slavery; she is Hagar. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother. (Gal 4:22–26)

Paul construes Hagar and Sarah as specific sites: Hagar is the Mount Sinai in Arabia, where Moses received the law, and she also corresponds to Jerusalem of the Jews: Her children will forever be slaves under the law and have no right to inherit from the patriarch. The “free woman” Sarah, on her side, is Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of God, and her children will inherit his kingdom according to the promise God gave Abraham. Thus Heavenly Jerusalem is the foremother of God’s people. This connection between the city of Jerusalem, motherhood, God’s promise to the legitimate children of Abraham, and freedom from the Law represents a lasting metaphorical correlation of huge theological, cultural, and political consequence.

When Paul construed Heavenly Jerusalem as *mother*, he drew on a strong tradition in Jewish exegesis, included that of Jesus himself (Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34), which associated Jerusalem with female roles. Repeatedly, we hear about the *Daughter of Zion* (for instance Isaiah 62:11), and in the book of the Apocalypse, John sees “the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a *bride* adorned for her husband” (Rev 21:2). But Jerusalem is also “the city of the great king” (Matt 5:35), situated “on the high hill” (Matt 5:14). Hence, Jerusalem in her female roles as mother, daughter, and bride connects closely to the son, father and groom who resides in her: the living God. The expectations of God the groom’s joyous union with his bride Jerusalem connects another line of biblical metaphors to the same cluster: that of fertility and abundance. The metaphorical repertoire of lush gardens (Eden), sprouting green vegetation, fertile land, and trees abundant with fruit, is ubiquitous in biblical language. Linked to the Jerusalem *topos*, it is contrasted by the equally ubiquitous images of barrenness, wasteland, ruin, and desolation. In this network of metaphors, Jerusalem the bride is contrasted with Babylon the whore.

As mother and bride, housing the king, Jerusalem is distinguished from every other city built by human hands. The temple of Yahweh, abode of the one and true God, is situated within her walls. The sacred architectural structure of the Temple, often blurred with the city itself, becomes the node in this biblical cluster of metaphors, gaining significance because it is set in the midst of God’s chosen people. The biblical Jerusalem cluster involves a dynamic relationship between God and this people, served by a priestly hierarchy and ruled by a lineage of legitimate kings, anointed by God. In Old Testament narrative, however, Jerusalem the Bride does not meet the measures expected from her and hence is abandoned by her groom. The wickedness of the children of Israel causes her to be deserted and abandoned. *Jerusalem desolata* (Isaiah 64: 10) mourns her loss, longs for the reunion with her groom, and anticipates the consummation of their alliance.

This poetic narrative, with multiple archetypal features also found in folktales, has considerable potential for ideological interpretations. As such, it has permeated

the entire history of Christianity. Through the ages, there are repeated examples of how the biblical Jerusalem cluster is applied in struggles for legitimation of political and religious structures. A key question has been who represents the true Jerusalem and constitutes its legitimate heir, the chosen people of God. Different answers to this question have elicited schisms, reforms, revolutions, wars, and agonizing polemics, and they continue to do so.

The Insider Perspective: Jerusalem as Allegorical Structure in the History of Salvation

Political and cultural uses of the Biblical Jerusalem metaphors are conditioned by a certain perspective on human history, namely that of transcendent teleology: history has a direction, and mankind navigates towards its transcendent destination. The Christian Master Narrative about humankind is a kind of travelogue framed by the Bible. From man's creation, fall, and increasing alienation from the creator, he finds his long and winding way back to a state of bliss in the countenance of God with the help of his redeemer Jesus Christ. This journey begins in the Garden of Eden in the book of Genesis, and ends in the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Book of the Apocalypse. The narrative of salvation history thus unfolds between a rural and an urban vision of Paradise. At the end of history, God's abode is societal and civilizational: it is set in a city, in an architectural structure and a political entity. Through the centuries, the prophecy of the heavenly Jerusalem has not only articulated the Christian hope for eternal life, but also equipped Christians with a potent, poetic language suitable to describe the ideal political state or utopian community.

Early Christianity made Jerusalem the focal point of salvation history, as the point to which everything converges—like in the premodern *mappaemundi* (world maps), where Jerusalem was the physical, mental, and conceptual centre, “the navel of the world.” This designation originates from Jerome's commentary on the prophet Ezekiel.⁴ According to Ezekiel, God claims that “this is Jerusalem, I have set her in the midst of the nations, and the countries round about her” [Ista est Jerusalem, in medio gentium posui eam, et in circuitu eius terras] (Ezek 5:5). This understanding of Jerusalem as the focal point for salvation history was systematically codified in the epistemological model of the *quadriga*, the fourfold interpretation of Scripture.⁵ This scheme of interpretation first appeared in John Cassian (360–435), and came to have

⁴ Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: The British Library, 2006), 145.

⁵ See Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale, les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. ([Paris]: Aubier, 1959–1964).

paramount impact on medieval exegesis. In a comment to Psalm 147, in which Jerusalem is called to praise her Lord, John Cassian states:

One and the same Jerusalem can be taken in four senses: historically as the city of the Jews, allegorically as the Church of Christ, anagogically as the heavenly city of God “which is the mother of us all,” tropologically, as the soul of man, which is frequently subject to praise or blame from the Lord under this title.⁶

To medieval theologians, this functioned as a holistic and dynamic model of understanding. On the *historical* level, Jerusalem denotes the physical city, capital of David’s kingdom and the Children of Israel, the place where Solomon erected his temple and Christ suffered death on the cross. Because of the transcendent implications of these events, this denotation also contained other layers of meaning. *Allegorically*, Jerusalem signified the Christian Church, *eschatologically* (“anagogically” in John Cassian’s terminology) it pointed to the heavenly city for which humanity was bound, and *morally* (“tropologically”) it represented the individual Christian soul. This model thus facilitated an understanding that combined past, present, and future, time and eternity, the singular and the universal, and the human and divine into one single rhetorical figure – and onto one single spot: Jerusalem.

This hermeneutical model, further developed and applied in the medieval Christian world, was Christianity’s take on society. In post-medieval Christian cultures, it has undergone transformation and even fragmentation according to shifting religious paradigms. However, its fundamental components – the biblical metaphors – have remained stable and interconnected, and continue to inform Christianity’s conceptions about itself and the world.

The Outsider Perspective: The Jerusalem Code Operating in Christian Storyworlds

Our object of research is the historical application of the biblical Jerusalem cluster, the structuring principle derived from its interconnected metaphors, and its potential for cultural production and meaning-making. To describe these phenomena through shifting historical periods, we needed analytical terms that capture the pervasiveness and complexity of the Jerusalem connotations, their recurrent and manifold applications, and the shifting preconditions for their impact. Our attempt is to consider Jerusalem a cultural *code*.

The term “code” has a range of applications in different fields, from genetics and biochemistry (“genetic code”) to information technology (“programming code”) and

⁶ John Cassian, *Conferences*, translated by Edgar C. S. Gibson, CCEL 438.

popular culture (Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*). In everyday usage, "code" may also refer to a selected arrangement of digits, like pin codes, bar codes, and QR codes. Diverse as these usages indeed are, they still have certain features in common. All of them concern transmission of messages communicated in languages enigmatic to other than the addressees, and they thus require decoding or translation in order to be understood. So, in all these cases, the term "code" is conceived of as a communicative key: it is a (hidden) script or formula that is applied to make things happen.

All these usages of "code" have a common root in the early stages of telegraphy during the Napoleonic wars, which necessitated military communication across long distances. In the process of developing new signal systems, the commander Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852) required what he called "a code of signals for the army".⁷ This usage of "code", designating a set of symbols agreed upon by a specific group, was in common use with the Morse code at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century, especially in the 1960s, the practically applied concept of "code" was adopted as a descriptive, analytical term in several scholarly fields. It became a key term in structuralist linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, but first and foremost it proved fertile in modern semiotics and communication theory. Here, "code" came to be understood as a framework of conventions within which singular signs make sense in a certain way. Although the repertory of signs may change over time, the communicative potential of such codes presupposes a certain semantic stability. The spoken language, as well as the body language, religious rituals, and cultural preferences belonging to a given social group, are obvious examples of semiotic codes. Such codes are means by which meaning is produced, hence they shape the world of their practitioners.

According to this understanding, Jerusalem is the organizing principle of a semiotic "code" because it connotes with a set of signs (established metaphors, see above) that stand in relation to each other and thereby enable meaning production. In Christian cultures, Jerusalem brings together a host of poetically potent images, applicable to express ideas of the sacred and of the relationships between God, man, and society. This code has proven to have a remarkable power to structure a variety of Christian outlooks on the world, and to articulate them in different media. To investigate the applications of Jerusalem-related metaphors in texts, images, buildings, and rituals, and to explore how they interconnect and produce meaning is, then, to trace *the Jerusalem Code*.

The Jerusalem Code operates both within time and space, and hence in what we define as a *storyworld*. This concept, borrowed from narrative theory and applied in

⁷ Quoted after Eric Ziolkowski, "Great Gode or Great Codex? Northrop Frye, William Blake, and Construals of the Bible," *Journal of the Bible and its Reception* 1, no. 1 (2014): 18.

the design of computer games, may elucidate how the Jerusalem Code works. The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* defines storyworld this way:

Storyworlds can be defined as the class of discourse models used for understanding narratively organized discourse [. . .] Storyworlds are mentally and emotionally projected environments in which interpreters are called upon to live out complex blends of cognitive and imaginative response.⁸

The storyworld thus defines the limits of individual agency within the storyline. Individuals (historical or fictitious) may move freely around in its universe, but beyond it there is a void. Their horizon is defined by the master narrative, and they perceive everyone they meet and everything that happens to them in light of it, just like in a computer game: the master narrative shapes the world.

A series of binary categories serves as navigation marks for movements in the Christian storyworld and informs all efforts to answer the question of who has the heavenly legitimation as true heirs to Jerusalem. The good city or state always has its wicked opponent: Jerusalem opposed to Babylon. This is a recurrent theme in biblical exegesis, famously systematized in St Augustine's vast narrative of the two contrasting cities. Legitimate authority is contrasted with illegitimate rule, and true devotion with idolatry or false religion. Hence, Jews and Muslims, for example, are part of the Christian storyworld on the premises of that world. If they inhabit competing storyworlds framed by their own master narratives, this is beyond the boundaries of the game. The Christian storyworld is also regulated by moral guidelines: virtue is the opposite of vice – hence every injustice has to be atoned for. Protagonists are either the children of God or the children of the world. Love of God is contrasted with love of self, and ultimately life is contrasted with death.

A Continued Jerusalem Code?

In 1827 the English poet, artist, and eccentric mythographer William Blake (1757–1827) made an engraving of the famous Hellenistic sculpture group *Laocoön*, surrounded by a swarm of graffiti-like aphorisms, most of them about the nature of art. Among them is a statement that “The Old & the New Testament are the great code of art.” Scholars have discussed how this statement is to be interpreted. Blake, who made this engraving a few months before his death, had for a lifetime constantly reflected, interpreted and reinterpreted biblical history, or biblical myth, in his literary and artistic works, shaping his own peculiar mythological universe. As cryptic or esoteric this universe may be, Blake still draws on the storyworld of salvation history in which Jerusalem is

⁸ David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan, eds., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (London – New York: Routledge, 2005).

the eschatological centre.⁹ The literary scholar Eric Ziolkowski suggests in his study on William Blake's aphorism on "the great code of art" that the code is the productive poetical language "float(ing) in a multivalent sea of biblical and classical reception."¹⁰ If this is an operative understanding of the concept, we could add that this code, productive not only in the field of art but also in religion and politics, is working as long as that sea has not dried up. The cluster of metaphors informs the Jerusalem code is productive in a culture as long as the framework of salvation history is regarded as a relevant scheme of understanding. In contemporary Western culture – and perhaps most significantly in Scandinavia – this is probably not the case anymore.¹¹ The storyworld is scattered, and competing storyworlds that also gravitate around Jerusalem are readily available in our neighbourhoods, or in the media. Perhaps Jerusalem is about to be a forgotten code, increasingly hidden and inaccessible, to the given interpretative space. Ironically enough this happens in a world in which Jerusalem, the material Middle Eastern city, continues to represent a pivotal point of tension and conflict. In contemporary society, we claim that the Jerusalem Code still lingers underneath cultural, religious, and political discourses.

⁹ As is well known, Blake's literary works abound with "mythological," nationalist Jerusalem references, the hymn "O did those feet in ancient times" and his tale of Jerusalem being the daughter of the giant Albion being the most famous examples. See Morris Eaves, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Ziolkowski, 2014, "Great Gode or Great Codex?:" 4.

¹¹ This is probably the case for Scandinavia more than any other parts of the globe. See Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Uneven Secularization in the United States and Western Europe," in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas Banchoff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

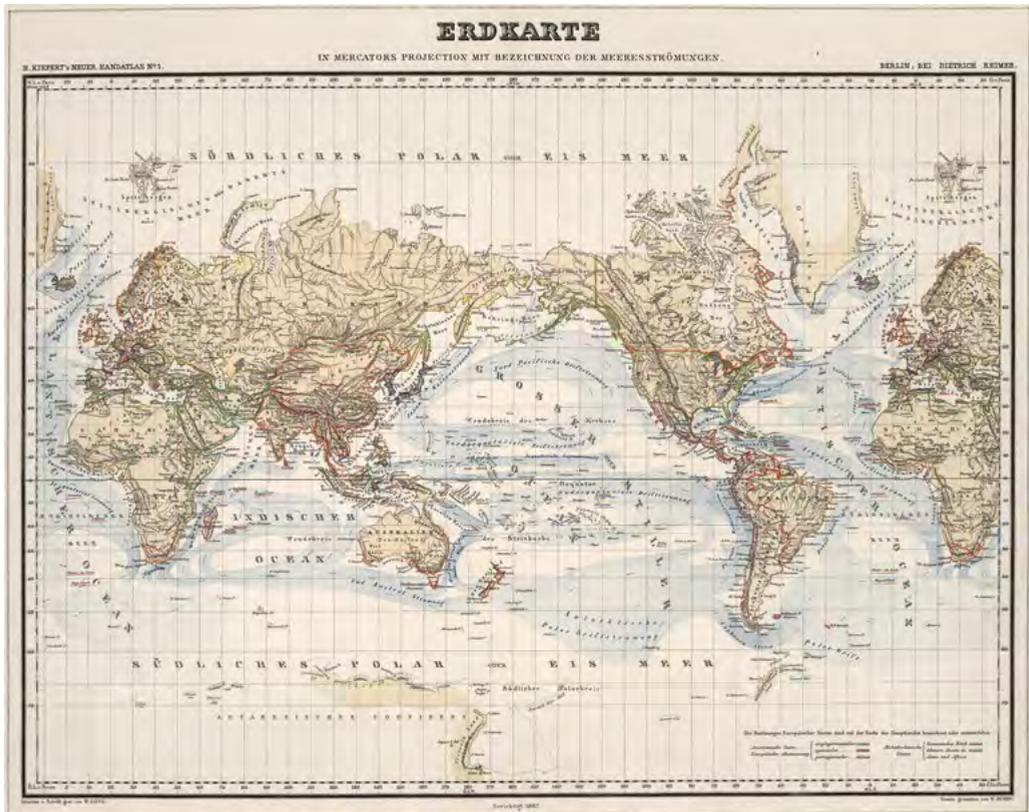


Fig. 1.0: World Map in Mercator's Projection with Distinctive Features and Ocean Currents [Erdkarte in Mercators Projection mit Bezeichnung der Meeresströmungen], 1867, Heinrich Kiepert. Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection.



Introduction: Jerusalem in Modern Scandinavia



Fig. 1.1: Orientalist Congress' Party at Bygdøy, Kristiania (Oslo), September 9, 1889, with Oscarshall in the background, by Olaf Krohn. © Oslo Museum. Photo: Rune Aakvik.

Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati

Chapter 1

Tracing the Jerusalem Code *c.1750–c.1920*: The Christian Storyworld Expanded and Fragmented

In this volume, we follow the trajectories of the Jerusalem code from *c.1750–c.1920*. During this timespan, often referred to as the long nineteenth century, the Jerusalem code operates in a storyworld that we metaphorically conceive of as a world exhibit. In a certain sense, the world exhibits of nineteenth-century Europe puts the Christian storyworld on display. We ask what conceptualisation of time and space characterises this storyworld, and what regimes of representation structure it. We also posit that during the nineteenth century, the Christian storyworld expanded while fragmenting. We connect the idea of expansion to the colonial endeavours of Europe all over the world, including in the Levant where the symbolic value of Jerusalem gained increased political importance. The idea of fragmentation, on the other hand, is understood in connection with theories of modernity and secularization. The current introduction therefore departs from the idea of a Christian storyworld on display, and ends with a discussion about the effects that processes of modernization had on the Jerusalem code that structured this storyworld.

The Christian Storyworld on Display

The Orientalist Congress in Stockholm and Kristiania (Oslo)

In early September 1889, a motley crowd gathered at the burial mounds in Uppsala. There were Swedish gentlemen, European scholars, Ottoman dignitaries, Arab sheikhs, Persian princes, and some scattered ladies in afternoon gowns. At one point, a golden horn was presented to the public. Offered by the Swedish and Norwegian King Oscar II to the Orientalist Congress, it was a gift intended to symbolize an inner bond and a continuity that would bind this congress to

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future congresses.¹ At each orientalist congress, the President, drinking from the horn, should propose a toast for the fraternization between East and West by means of science.² Carter Vaughn Findley – who bases his account of the events on the reports of the Ottoman Sultan’s envoy, Midhat Effendi – presents a slightly different version:

The social program included . . . an outing to Old Uppsala. There, at the legendary burial mounds of the Norse gods Thor, Odin, and Freya – in a uniquely Scandinavian confounding of the spatially and temporally remote – the scholars were given horns of mead to toast for the future of Oriental Studies.³

The current volume mainly covers the period c.1750 – c.1920. Inspired by the expression “the long nineteenth century,”⁴ we also follow Hannu Salmi in that “writing a history of the nineteenth century becomes meaningful only when the period is seen as an open-ended process of change, rather than a closed entity; a process with roots extending far into the past and effects felt to our present day.”⁵ Accordingly, the delimitations do not constitute closed boundaries, but rather indicate permeable openings and closures. The year of 1920 is certainly not the end of the Jerusalem code in Scandinavian cultures, and some of the contributions will thus glance ahead beyond this date. However, the League of Nations mandate for Palestine, assigned to Britain in 1920, did mark a fundamental change in the political situation, which also affected Scandinavian relations to and involvement with Jerusalem. As a result of World War One, the many centuries of Ottoman rule over the territory were over. The preconditions for the knowledge production on Jerusalem were once more displaced.

By the late nineteenth century, Oriental studies had gained status and was perceived as a fashionably modern science. Oriental studies represented one way of relativizing the Bible as the only source of Truth, as it was rooted in eighteenth-century

1 “In order to create a continuity between the orientalist congresses – an idea, that King Oscar does not cease to emphasise – he has created a symbol for this inner relationship.” [*För att möjliggöra kontinuitet mellan orientalistkongresserna, en idé, som konung Oskar icke upphör att betona, har han skapat en symbol för detta inre sammanhang.*] (Translation by the authors.) Ignatius Goldziher, “Från orientalistkongressen i Stockholm,” in *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania. Några skildringar från utlandet*, ed. K. U. Nylander (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1890), 49.

2 Goldziher, “Från orientalistkongressen,” 49.

3 Carter Vaughn Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental in Europe: Ahmad Midhat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889,” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (1998): 34.

4 Since Eric Hobsbawm published his trilogy on “the long nineteenth century,” this expression has been widely used by historians to denote the period between the French Revolution and the First World War. Some even extend the period to the mid-twentieth century. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1865* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

5 Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2008).

comparative studies of different religious myths, and later in philologists' discovery of Sanskrit (rather than Hebrew) as the *Ursprache*. Knowledge of the Bible and of Jerusalem was incorporated into a new epistemic regime; a modern knowledge production that contributed to transforming the Jerusalem code. In Protestant Scandinavian countries of the late nineteenth century, showing off Old Norse mythology and juxtaposing Norse myths with different Oriental religious myths was by no means considered sacrilegious or inappropriate. On the contrary, it was considered an important contribution to science and an issue of national interest, which was supported by the highest ranks of society.

In the nineteenth century, the storyworld of Christian salvation materialized in new forms of media, which made sense in accordance to new ideas of representation in a growing public sphere, and which involved new groups of people; among these women. Theologians slowly lost the monopoly of Bible exegetics. Still, the Jerusalem code remained a hermeneutical key to the understanding of Scandinavian cultures: it continued to generate social meaning and to form a basis for identity constructions and societal power. We argue, however, that during the course of the long nineteenth century the Jerusalem code was split. One catalyst that triggered this split came from within theology itself. In the eighteenth century, German exegetes started to question, among other things, the dating and the authorship of the Gospels; drawing the conclusion that the Bible had many different authors, writing from different standpoints. The Bible could no longer be considered an infallible text, and should be studied accordingly from a historicist perspective.⁶ This conclusion created a rift in the study of theology, and the field became divided between a critical-historicist line of inquiry on the one hand, and a literalist, inspirational reading of the Bible on the other. During the nineteenth century, the gap between the two approaches would widen and the conflict would spread well beyond the limits of theological debate; this resulted in an increased secularization and individualization of faith. The code was split in concert with an increasingly fragmented (story)world, but the split occurred gradually.

In the nineteenth century, the Jerusalem code unfolded in tandem with the Enlightenment idea of progress. Arguably, millenarianism constitutes the grounding trope for the nineteenth-century Christian storyworld.⁷ The New Jerusalem was near – the question was how to promote its realization. Different kinds of millenarian movements expected the Second Advent of Christ in the near future and prepared for his coming either by promoting the conversion of Jews, or by establishing utopian communities, settled in Palestine or America, as the chapters by Vidar L. Haanes, Jenny Bergenmar, and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati demonstrate.

⁶ Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movements, 1831–51* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1995), 17; Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3–26.

⁷ Chapter 2 (Walter Sporn), 55–73.

The expectation of the Second Advent of Christ also informs the more symbolic configurations of the New Jerusalem in Hans Nielsen Hauge⁸ and Paul Peter Waldenström.⁹

The nineteenth-century religious awakening had a complex history in the Scandinavian countries. At the beginning of the century, the law sanctioned participation in the two sacraments of the Lutheran church: Baptism and the Eucharist. The transmission of the one true faith was strictly regulated and effected by the head of households and the parish clerks or school-teachers, but ultimately it was controlled by the priest who, as an officer of the crown, represented the state. Since the early eighteenth century, both Danish-Norwegian (1741) and Swedish law (1726) had contained a so-called *konventikelplakat*, which were paragraphs that forbade religious meetings in private homes. This system remained firmly in place during the first half of the century. The whole idea was, in historian Hanne Sanders' words, "that religion was the founding law for everything and should encompass everyone."¹⁰ The Church Laws, however, underwent rapid changes in the second half of the eighteenth century, which paved the way for the establishment of Protestant free churches.¹¹

Preparations for the realization of God's Kingdom was certainly not restricted to millenarian movements in the narrow sense, but had more far-reaching consequences for Scandinavian societies. Christian Liberals, informed by a Christian idea of evolution, argued that the Kingdom of God should be enacted on earth as a welfare project – a line of thought throughout the nineteenth century that would ultimately provide one tenet leading into the secularized Scandinavian welfare states.¹² In the nineteenth-century Christian storyworld, progress would lead to the New Jerusalem, which was close at hand, although it would be reached in different ways.

The various Christian groups shared the idea of progress, yet parted ways with regard to biblical interpretation. Christian Liberals relied on the critical-historicist reading of the Bible, while most awakening movements took the opposite stance and stressed a literal understanding of Scripture. Controversies over the interpretation of

8 Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

9 Chapter 21 (Magnus Bremmer), 430–45.

10 Hanne Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering. En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark og Sverige 1820–1850* (Stockholm: Historiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 1995), 31–58, quotation on p. 56.

11 Freedom of religion was established as a principle in the Danish constitution of 1849, and the subsequent lifting of the prohibition against religious meetings in the Swedish law from 1858 went in the same direction. In Norway, the infamous Jewish paragraph of the 1814 Constitution was abolished in 1851, but monastic orders were first legalized in 1897 and Jesuits in 1956. In Finland, the head of state after the peace treaty at Fredrikshamn in 1809 was the Orthodox Russian tsar, but the Finnish Lutheran church was granted privileges in the treaty. It withheld its strong position after Finland's independence in 1917. Both the Lutheran church and the Finnish Orthodox church (since 1923 under the Patriarchate of Constantinople) are regarded as national churches of Finland.

12 Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–49.

the Bible contributed to the splitting of the Jerusalem code, as argued above, and this fragmentation was further fuelled by scientific developments in all areas; not least in the natural sciences and geography. At the Orientalist Congress in 1889, scientific progress was celebrated on a grand scale, as King Oscar II did not miss the chance to commemorate Scandinavian scientific endeavours, present and past, including those related to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem at the Orientalist Congress

During a gift exchange ceremony at the congress,¹³ Dr. Karl Uno Nylander (1852–1901), Docent from the University of Uppsala, presented the first edition of the Swedish researcher Michael Eneman's (1676–1714) travelogue¹⁴ from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, including Jerusalem. Commissioned by King Oscar II the edition celebrated the early eighteenth-century expedition ordered by the legendary King Charles XII (1682–1719). According to Ignatius Goldziher, the Hungarian Orientalist reporting from the congress, King Oscar's personal engagement in the publication of Eneman's travelogue testified to the scientific disposition of the king: "King Oskar, who shows as much reverence towards his country's scientific exploration of older times as he cherishes the burgeoning sciences of the present and the future, has tasked . . . the Docent at Uppsala with publishing Eneman's work."¹⁵ Through his involvement with this edition, the King also linked his own rule to that of his famous predecessor, King Charles XII; he underscored the historic role played by his country with regard to the exploration of Palestine and Jerusalem; and finally, the King demonstrated the importance of several levels of the past to the present.

¹³ The golden horn given by King Oscar to the congress was not the only exchange of gifts taking place there; congress members also demonstrated their gratitude towards the king. Before the event, they had sent important book collections to the court that were later distributed to libraries in Stockholm and Kristiania. It ensued that the Nordic capitals housed an almost complete collection of contemporary orientalist science at the end of the nineteenth century. Goldziher, "Från orientalistkongressen," 57. Nylander suggests that the book gifts exceeded 3500 volumes of which 500 were given to Kristiania. K. U. Nylander, "Inledning," in *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania. Några skildringar från utlandet*, ed. K. U. Nylander (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1890), vii–viii.

¹⁴ Michael Eneman, *Resa i orienten 1711–1712*, I–II, ed. K. U. Nylander (Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1889). Eneman (1676–1714) was a Swedish Orientalist and Professor at Uppsala who visited Egypt and the Levant between 1711 and 1712.

¹⁵ "Konung Oskar, som hyser lika stor pietet för sitt lands vetenskapliga forskningar i äldre tider som hänförelse för vetenskapernas uppblomstring i närvarande och kommande tid, har uppdragit åt . . . Uppsaladocenten att utgifva Enemans kvarlåtenskap." Goldziher, "Från orientalistkongressen," 58.

Many of the participants at the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm and Kristiania continued their journey to the World Exhibition in Paris, which took place the same year. Findley notes the similarity of the two events: “To the public, meanwhile, the congress provided almost as much of a display as a world exhibition.”¹⁶ The World Exhibition in Paris was organized a hundred years after the French Revolution with the intention of showing the state of the world anno 1889. Exhibited objects ranged from minor artefacts, such as matches or furs from Norway,¹⁷ to major presentations such as the duplication of a street in old Cairo, or the replica of an oriental palace with living oriental figures *in situ*.

In the context of this study, the Orientalist Congress stands alongside the World Exhibit as a token of the nineteenth century. Both events testify to the rise of nationalism and the competition between nation states in order to present the most advanced findings in science and technology; both are evidence of the globalization of the economy and of European imperial expansion.¹⁸ In addition, the outing at Uppsala in 1889 involving scholars and a golden horn represents a certain outlook on history. From the vantage point of the twenty-first century, it stands out as a playful scene from those days when the term “orientalist” was used with pride, when the issue of the power of representation was not yet formulated in (Edward) Saidian terms, and when a golden horn of mead presented at a Norse burial mound might symbolize the continuity of a series of Orientalist congresses. The whole prospect suggested that Viking graves could recall an oriental past, or that a mythical bygone era was still present in a draught of mead.¹⁹ Indeed, the outing at Uppsala represented an attempt to bridge the temporal and geographical distance that separated Scandinavia, the location of the congress, from the geographic and historic era that was under scrutiny in the academic exchanges taking place there. The outing at Uppsala reminded the international participants at the congress of the fact that Scandinavia, the periphery of the civilized world, also had a bright past, although not as glorious as that of the Middle East.

Finally, the Congress and the World Exhibit stand as tokens of a certain aesthetic, namely the *goût* for tableaux and display (Fig. 1.1). This aesthetic is linked to a particular regime of representation: “Still, he [Midhat Effendi] presented his trip

¹⁶ Findley, “An Ottoman Occidentalist,” 35.

¹⁷ Brita Brenna, *Verden som ting og forestilling. Verdensutstillinger og den norske deltagelsen 1851–1900 Acta Humaniora* (Oslo: Unipub, 2002), 395.

¹⁸ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). First edition: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

¹⁹ Still, could we be so sure? Do we know whether the scholars emptied their horns with irony or seriousness? According to Eberhard Nestle, one of the scholars who reported from the congress, not all the delegates took the excursion to Uppsala seriously. During the speeches, one lit his cigarette while chatting with his neighbour and many found the toasting with mead rather comic. Eberhard Nestle, “Orientalistkongressen i norden,” in *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania. Några skildringar från utlandet*, ed. K. U. Nylander (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1890), 17.

as a research project, in which he sought to proceed as disinterestedly as if he had come to earth from another planet. His positivistic faith in impartiality expresses the confidence of the era that believed a photograph captured reality or that an exhibition displayed the world.”²⁰ At the world fair in Vienna in 1873, Conrad Schick’s model of the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount in Jerusalem was exposed at the Ottoman pavilion (Fig. 1.2, see also Fig. 1.3).²¹ Later, in 1900, Norway sent two tapestries to the World Exhibit in Paris that depicted the medieval king Sigurd the Crusader (*Jórsalafari*) on his way to the Holy Land (Fig. 28.1 and 28.2).²² References to Jerusalem at the most advanced and fashionable events of the century – the world fairs were the epitomes of modernity – inform us about what role Jerusalem may have played in the nineteenth century. More broadly, we may ask what narratives one may tell in a time and space that allows for the tableau of scholars with the golden horn at Uppsala. What storyworld is connected to such a display?

The Storyworld of the Uppsala Tableau

The current volume focuses on narratives from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries that are intertwined with the Christian salvation history. These narratives may be in written or pictorial form and they represent inner or outer sceneries varying from structured cityscapes to unruly landscapes. They may take us through spiritual journeys or to the physical hardship of traveling through the dusty Holy Land. They may know a large or small distribution and thus concern a majority or a minority of the Scandinavian population. Still, they all contribute to weaving a fine-meshed weave that linked Scandinavia to the Promised Land, either understood as a physical location in the Levant or as a haven in the hereafter. Each minor narrative knits time and space together in its own way; all partake in the overall storyworld of salvation history. In the nineteenth century, the Christian storyworld continued to structure how Christian nations viewed the world, and increasingly came to affect non-Christian parts of the globe as well. Moreover, we may posit that

²⁰ Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental,” 23. Brenna underlines that the Paris Exhibition followed the logic that “everything could be represented and that everything could be represented meaningfully” [*Logikken var at alt kunne representeres, og at alt kunne representeres meningsfullt*]. Brenna, *Verden som ting*, 368.

²¹ Nazmi al-Jubei, “Conrad Schick: Pioneering Architect, Archaeologist, and Historian of Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 67 (2016): 9. After the exhibit, the model was stored in Basel in Switzerland for 130 years before it was bought by Christ Church and brought back to Jerusalem in 2012. See Matti Friedman, “After 130 years, a tiny Temple Mount comes home,” *The Times of Israel*, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-130-years-a-tiny-temple-mount-comes-home/>.

²² Chapter 28 (Torild Gjesvik), 550–77.



Fig. 1.2: Conrad Schick's model of the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount. Ordered by the Ottoman authorities for display at the Ottoman Pavilion, World Exhibit Vienna, 1873. Current location: Christ Church, Jerusalem. Photo: Ulf Petersson.

during this period, the storyworld of salvation history was characterized by a compression of space and time.

Space: Territory and Nationalism

Geographical Triangle

The material presented in the chapters of the current volume is dominated by a geographical triangle, which spans from Jerusalem in the east to Utah in the west, with Scandinavia in the upper northern corner. The triangle is composed of what our sources refer to as the Old World (Europe and the even older Levant), and the New World (America). We argue that this triangle is constitutive of the nineteenth-century Christian storyworld of Scandinavia. Many of the characters we encounter in this volume moved between the three corner points of the triangle: some visited all of them,

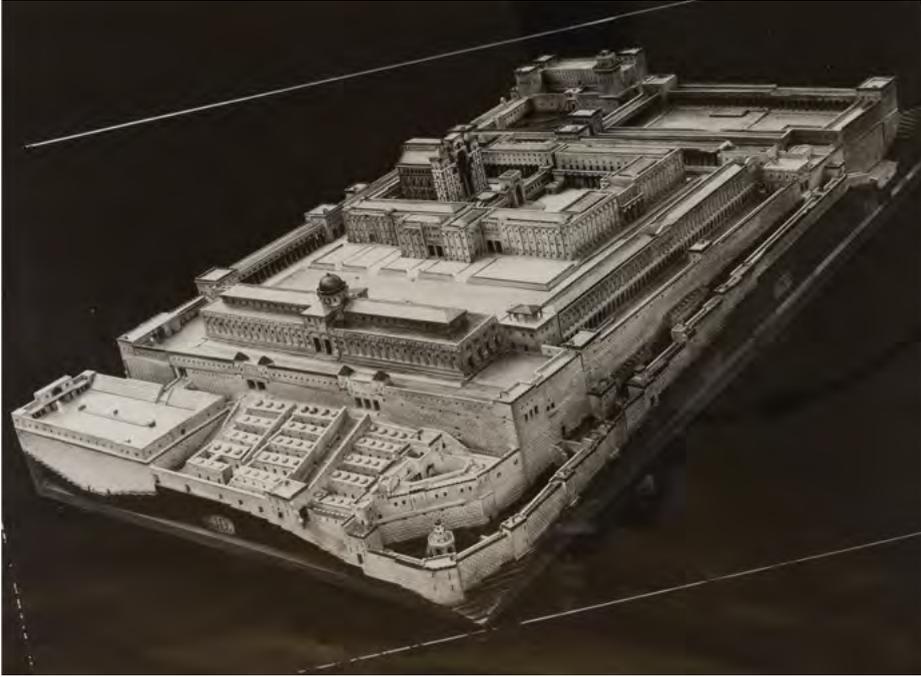


Fig. 1.3: Another of Conrad Schick's models: Herod's Temple, 1898–1916. American Colony Photo-Dept. Photographic print, hand-drawing. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

such as Fredrika Bremer²³ or Anna Spafford;²⁴ others were familiar with two corner points, such as Scandinavian pilgrims, scientists, and bible scholars who visited the Holy Land,²⁵ missionaries who dwelled there for longer periods of time, or emigrants such as the farmers from Nås in Dalarna who joined the American colony in Jerusalem and settled there.²⁶ Others moved from, or via, Scandinavia to America. This was the case for a group of German Pietists who were shipwrecked at Stavanger and later continued to Utah where they built their utopian community; a new Zion.²⁷ Similarly, some of the followers of the Norwegian lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge, formed

²³ Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

²⁴ Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65; Chapter 23 (Dana Caspi), 466–91.

²⁵ Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29; Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

²⁶ Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65; Chapter 23 (Dana Caspi), 466–91.

²⁷ Chapter 10 (Vidar L. Haanes), 189–211.

emigrant communities in America.²⁸ Others dwelled primarily within a more restrained geographical location, such as the Moravian women in Christiansfeld in Denmark;²⁹ although the Moravians also had a culture of movement and established missionary settlements, for example in Greenland.³⁰ The followers of Hans Nielsen Hauge who choose to remain in Norway found a sense of community in local congregations, and this yearning for community was not so different from that of the prayer house movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, which resulted in local prayer houses all over the Norwegian countryside.³¹ The Haugeans and the prayer house movement both created communal spaces that were rooted in Scandinavian geography, but through prayers, psalms, decorations of the interior, or the names they gave to their prayer houses,³² they also engaged with the distant Jerusalem; be it the physical location in Palestine or its heavenly counterpart. Engagement for Jerusalem was also felt in milieus within the national churches³³ where Grundtvig's sermons,³⁴ Johann Georg Herzog's church music,³⁵ or Bertel Thorvaldsen's sculpture of the welcoming Christ³⁶ reminded the believer of the Jerusalem to come. Among these various Scandinavian groups, some supported missionary activities in the Levant through active involvement in their local communities.³⁷ Almost all Scandinavians during this period (1750–1920) became familiar with the Holy Land through the schooling system, via maps exposed in their classrooms and lectures in bible history.³⁸

Centre – Periphery

The triangular nineteenth-century storyworld that we address in this volume was still structured with a centre and a periphery. Scandinavia, the *ultima Thule* or end of the world of the Medieval Ages still constituted an outpost,³⁹ although Stockholm approached the centre when it hosted the international Orientalist Congress that welcomed delegates from more than twenty countries worldwide. In the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sweden had been an important Protestant European power and

28 Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

29 Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107.

30 Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15.

31 Chapter 9 (Kristin Norseth), 163–87.

32 Chapter 9 (Kristin Norseth), 163–87.

33 Chapter 13 (Line M. Bonde), 244–64.

34 Chapter 11 (Joar Haga), 214–23.

35 Chapter 14 (Svein Erik Tandberg), 265–77.

36 Chapter 12 (David Burmeister), 224–43.

37 Chapter 26 (Inger Marie Okkenhaug), 518–39.

38 Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409; Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

39 For the inclusion of Scandinavia into the Christian orbit, see Volume 1 of this book series, *The Holy City: Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia (c.1100–1536)*.

it still retained some of its former glory at the end of the nineteenth. Copenhagen also played a certain role, although its eminence in the early modern period as a focal point for the Protestant world (together with Wittenberg) was no longer as significant.⁴⁰

The Nordic countries' peripheral position in respect to central Western Europe caused some ambivalence in Scandinavia's relationship to Imperialism and Orientalism. In Dan Landmark's study of Orientalism in late nineteenth-century Swedish literature, he argues that continental Orientalism was simultaneously adopted and dismissed in the Scandinavian countries; Scandinavians claimed a specific Nordic approach that was less arrogant towards non-European cultures.⁴¹ Elisabeth Oxfeldt's *Nordic Orientalism* stresses the Scandinavian countries' indirect relation to Orientalism; the Oriental imagery was imported second-handedly from imperial powers (primarily from France).⁴² She claims that the Danish people embraced the Orient in their own construction of national identity, using as her main example the amusement park Tivoli, which from its foundation in 1843 "forever Orientalized Copenhagen."⁴³ Our material nuances Oxfeldt's analysis, and adds further layers of complexity to the issue of Nordic Orientalism. The current volume uncovers Scandinavians' first-hand contact with the Orient in general and with Jerusalem in particular. Scandinavian travellers, scientists, and authors contributed to the international knowledge production conducted under the aegis of Orientalism, forming a modern, European identity in opposition to an Oriental Other. Even though the idea of a Nordic, less culpable Orientalism was central to the national self-images of Scandinavian countries in the late nineteenth century, as Landmark contends, Scandinavians took part in the construction of the Orientalist "archive of knowledge."⁴⁴

40 For a thorough discussion of the workings of the Jerusalem code in the early modern period, see Volume 2 of this book series, *The Chosen People: Christian Cultures in Early Modern Scandinavia (1536–c.1750)*.

41 Dan Landmark, "Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare" – orientalistiska mönster i det sena 1800-talets svenska litteratur och kultur, *Örebro studies* 23 (Örebro: Universitetsbiblioteket, 2003), 16, 30–3, 136–41; Dan Landmark, "Pilgrimsresan berättad. Om svenska resenärer i det Heliga Landet," in *Svenska överord. En bok om gränslöshet och begränsningar*, ed. Raoul Granqvist (Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1999), 167–180.

42 Elisabeth Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism: Paris and the Cosmopolitan Imagination 1800–1900* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005). Beginning with the Danish national poet Adam Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* (1805), a rewritten version from a French translation of *The Arabian Nights [Mille et Une Nuits]*, Oxfeldt shows through several examples how Danish national identity formation was infused with Oriental imagery.

43 Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 28. The Tivoli in Copenhagen featured "onion shaped domes, roofs decorated with crescent moons, a Turkish-style concert hall and a Chinese looking bazaar building." Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 29.

44 Landmark, "Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare," 30–3. On Orientalism in nineteenth-century Scandinavian cultures, see also for example Cristine Sarrimo, *Heidenstams harem* (Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2008); Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman*

The Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1867 put the Scandinavian national identities on display as commodities – next to Oriental nations. Brita Brenna discusses the overall plan of the exposition and its consequences: the main exhibition hall was reserved for national products, whereas nations too poor to show off their industries – such as the Scandinavian and the Oriental nations – were referred to exposing their national folk-cultures in a peripheral area of the park.⁴⁵ This caused considerable unease for the many Scandinavian journalists covering the fair, and triggered a need to separate Scandinavia from the Orient; the correspondent for the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* repeatedly positioned Norwegians and Orientals as opposite peoples, and expressed discomfort at seeing the Bible next to the Quran.⁴⁶ Arguably, the splendid Scandinavian Orientalist Congress in 1889 constituted an answer to the Paris exposition of 1867, by turning earlier conflations between Scandinavians and Orientals into a positive connection: both peoples had great pasts.⁴⁷ The analogy between the Orient and Scandinavia was reinforced during the entire nineteenth century, moreover, by the reactivation of Snorri Sturluson's (1179–1241) exposition of the Old Norse, pre-Christian pantheon in *Edda*. In a Christian vein, Snorri explained the Old Norse gods in terms of etymology: the Æsir gods were so named because they were in fact superior men, coming from Asia. This “immigration myth” was actually used by the French officer Jean Baptist Bernadotte (1763–1844) to legitimize his kingship over Sweden and Norway in an era of growing nationalism; the King may have been an immigrant, but so was the Asian Odin – the ancient leader and founder of Scandinavian national characteristics.⁴⁸

The marginalized position of Scandinavia at the Paris exposition in 1867 is a reminder of the poverty of the Scandinavian nations; poverty being a factor that determines centres and peripheries. The Northern outskirts of Europe had scattered populations, and only a handful of small cities.⁴⁹ Poverty was an instigator for movements within the geographical triangle. From the 1840s up to the First World War, large groups of people emigrated from the Nordic countries to America, especially from Sweden and Norway. In addition to the well-known history of Scandinavian emigration to America, the Nordic countries also have a colonial history.

and *Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007). See also Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

⁴⁵ Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 99–103; Brenna, *Verden som ting*, 270.

⁴⁶ Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 109–18.

⁴⁷ Both the king and the organizer Carlo Landberg held speeches that gave prominence to a special analogy between the Orient and Sweden. Landmark, “Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare,” 26.

⁴⁸ Johan Almer, *Variation på götiskt tema. En studie i C.J.L. Almqvists Sviavigamal* (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 2000), 64–5.

⁴⁹ In 1850, for example, the newly established Norwegian capital, Kristiania (Oslo), had 28,000 inhabitants compared to Copenhagen's 129,000 residents, which was still tiny in comparison with the population of Paris estimated to 1,053,000 people. Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 180.

The colonial enterprises of Denmark and Sweden were fairly limited in scope, admittedly: Sweden ruled over the small island of Saint Barthélemy in the West Indies 1784–1878, whereas the Danish settlements in The West Indies and in India had a longer history; Greenland remains an autonomous constituent country within Denmark.⁵⁰ As Oxfeldt rightly notes, centres and peripheries are relative notions that vary according to the geographical point of view,⁵¹ and, we may add, according to social standing. The learned elite of the Nordic countries indeed exposed a colonial attitude to the peasantry of their own countries, even at a time when the nationalist imagination relocated the peasant from the margins of society to the centre of the nationalist myth.⁵² In her contribution to this volume, Rana Issa points out how Biblical scholars “excavated [biblical names] from the lips of the natives.”⁵³ At approximately the same time, Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius, a Swedish collector of folktales, held a similar view of his informants: the nationalist enterprise consists of “saving . . . the last traces of heathen faith and Medieval poetry” from the mouth of a dying generation.⁵⁴ Likewise, the collectors of Norwegian folktales, Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, discussed in detail the importance of studying the character of the peasantry in order to make

50 Sweden also had a colony in North America for a short period of time: New Sweden 1638–1655. Saint Barthélemy was awarded Sweden by France and sold back after a referendum. Trading in slaves was prohibited in Denmark in 1792 and in Sweden in 1813, but the slave population was not emancipated until 1848 in the Danish case, and 1846–1847 in the Swedish case. Rolf Sjöström, “‘En nödvändig omständighet.’ Om svensk slavhandel i Karibien,” in *Svenska överord. En bok om gränslöshet och begränsningar*, ed. Raoul Granqvist (Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1999); Holger Weiss, *Slavhandel och slaveri under svensk flagg. Koloniala drömmar och verklighet i Afrika och Karibien 1770–1847* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland and Stockholm, Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2016). On Swedenborgians forming a Swedish Abolitionist Society and their plans for a utopian colony in Africa, see Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85; Weiss, *Slavhandel och slaveri*, 31–4, 42–6.

51 Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 13.

52 Scenes from the countryside populated with peasants in national costumes was a favoured theme in National Romantic paintings. See for example Adolph Tidemann and Hans Gude, “Bridal Procession on the Hardangerfjord [Brudeferden i Hardanger],” *Nasjonalmuseet*, <http://samling.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/object/NG.M.00467>.

53 Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27.

54 “And then I tasked myself with saving everything that still could be saved, before the dying generation of 70- and 80-year-olds took the last traces of heathen faith and Medieval poetry with them to the grave. From the lips of the people I wanted to gather the material for yet another *Edda*, which would preserve for the future the Swedish people’s mythic-poetic conceptions of nature and human life.” [*Också föresatte jag mig klart att rädda allt hvad ännu räddas kunde, innan det utdöende släktet af 70- och 80-åringar toge de sista spåren af hednatro och medeltidsdiktning med sig i grafven. Jag ville från folkets läppar samla materialerna till ännu en Edda, som skulle åt framtiden bevara svenska folkets mytisk-poetiska föreställningar om naturen och menniskolifvet.*] (Translation by the authors.) Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius quoted in Per Gustavsson and Ulf Palmfelt, *Insamlarna 1. Folksagan i Sverige* (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2017), 75.

them “unlock their mouths” [*tage Laaset fra Munden*] and share their ancient knowledge, hidden from the progress of time in the minds of people living on the margins.⁵⁵

Nineteenth-century nationalist ethnography was indeed marked by Orientalist positions. Alternatively, we may say that nationalist and colonial ethnographies shared a common view of their informants as backward and unmodern, in comparison to the scientific expert who drew ancestral knowledge from their mouths. Such observations question the binary opposition established by Edward Said between a progressive Occident and a backward Orient since they demonstrate that within the Occident itself division lines according to geographic location, class, and education might be as important as the ones opposing East and West. Similar separations characterized the Ottoman Empire. We should not forget that Midhat Effendi, the Ottoman envoy to the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm and Kristiania, was among those who aimed at demonstrating Ottoman modernity as a foil to Arab backwardness.⁵⁶ Like the Norwegian journalists who covered the 1867 Paris exhibit, he was annoyed by the representation of his homeland as underdeveloped and folkloristic at the Paris exhibit in 1889 – why belly dancers and female singers, he wondered.⁵⁷

The Orientalist Congress in Stockholm and Kristiania established strange connections between Oriental and Scandinavian pasts and presents, thereby joining two peripheries in an increasingly interconnected world, which was dominated by the great powers of Europe. In addition to strengthening the importance of (peripheral) Scandinavia on the international scene, by placing Sweden and Norway on the map of international science, the hosting of the congress probably also aimed to nurture Swedish-Norwegian relations, as well as patriotism and popular support for the royal family. At the end of a century, the opposition to the union between the two peoples increased. One example, which indirectly illustrates Norwegian resistance to the union, is a quote from an extra edition of the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*. It was distributed to the orientalist scholars on the train when they crossed the border between Sweden and Norway. The newspaper greets the delegates in French with the following words: “Chez nous aussi brille la flamme sacrée de la science, et, nous saurons vous le prouver,

55 Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, “Fortale,” in *Norske Folkeeventyr*, 2nd ed. (Christiania: Johans Dahls Forlag, 1852), v.

56 Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental,” 38–40. For more on Ottoman imperialism, see Ussama Makdisi, “Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform,” in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag 2002). Makdisi argues that in order to demonstrate their own modernity in the face of European progress and prejudice the Ottomans constructed their own backward periphery, populated by Arabs, Armenians, and other less developed people.

57 Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental,” 46; Börte Sagaster, “Beobachtungen eines ‘Okzidentalisten’. Ahmed Midhat Efendis Wahrnehmung der Europäer Anlässlich seiner Reise zum Orientalistenkongress in Stockholm 1889,” *Asien Afrika Lateinamerika* 25 (1997): 29–40, 33–4.

l'hiver ne glace pas nos cœurs . . . Des montagnes, des fiords, des vallées, la voix de tout un peuple vous acclame. Soyez le biens venus en Norvège!"⁵⁸

Scandinavian Nationalisms

In the wake of the Napoleonic wars, the map of Scandinavia was redrawn.⁵⁹ The former great powers, Sweden and Denmark, lost one third and two thirds respectively of their territories, which, as it turned out, defined the boundaries of what was to become two new nation-states: Finland and Norway.⁶⁰ These losses and gains triggered nationalist movements, all of which identified the Lutheran faith as a core element of national belonging. At one point or another during the long nineteenth century, Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish nationalist leaders claimed their own respective nations to be the chosen people of God. This idea was by no means a novelty to the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Still, vocational nationalism – the claim that the nation had a special calling, modelled on the Old Testament Hebrew nation – became a far more widely used trope. In the case of Scandinavia, it featured the Nordic nations as

58 “In our country, the sacred flame of knowledge also shines, and we know how to prove it to you, the winter does not freeze our hearts . . . Mountains, fjords, valleys, the voice of an entire nation salutes you: Welcome to Norway!” (Translation by the authors.) Goldziher, “Från Orientalistkongressen,” 61.

59 For a discussion on maps in Norwegian and Swedish geography textbooks used in schools, and different ideologically charged uses of the notion of “Scandinavia,” see Ruth Hemstad, “Skandinavismens’ tilkomst som samtidig og omstridt begrep,” in *Skandinavismen. Vision og virkning*, eds. Ruth Hemstad, Jes Fabricius Møller, and Dag Thorkildsen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018), 21–43.

60 In 1809, Sweden had to cede the Eastern part of its realm to Russia after a century of repeated wars. In the peace-treaty of Fredrikshamn, the Grand Duchy of Finland became part of the Russian Empire, but was granted privileges, such as free peasantry, the Lutheran faith, and most notably, Swedish law, even though its constitutional status was debated throughout the nineteenth century. Finland finally declared its independence in 1917. Denmark, on the other hand, ended up on the losing side of the Napoleonic wars, which above all resulted in the loss of Norway to Sweden in 1814. In 1814, the Norwegians acted quickly and elected representatives who proclaimed a Constitution, but Sweden used military force to make Norway enter into a personal union. Still, the Norwegians successfully defended the Constitution against Swedish attempts to tighten the union, and Norway remained an independent nation with a Constitution and a Parliament, but shared the king and foreign policy with Sweden. The Norwegian opposition to the union never abated during the nineteenth century, but grew more aggressive toward the end of the century. Norway and Sweden were in fact on the verge of war, but finally the union was resolved without bloodshed in 1905. The year of 1814 marked the end of many centuries of repeated wars between the Scandinavian countries.

61 See volume 2 of this book series, *The Chosen People: Christian Cultures in Early Modern Scandinavia (1536–c.1750)*. See also Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

entrusted by God to constitute a Protestant bulwark against the Catholic South and the Orthodox East.⁶²

Anthony D. Smith has analysed how the Hebrew Bible contributed to the political ideals of modern nationhood, as the Pentateuchal narratives of the history of the Jewish nation were used as a paradigm for the formation of any nation. The Christian interpretations of the Covenant; the Torah (the law); the Election (the chosen people); the Exodus from slavery to freedom; and the Promised Land (the idea of a homeland); were fundamental for the “pro-active, dynamic and goal-oriented” modern form of nationalism.⁶³ Smith draws the conclusion that “biblical narratives were structured around the vision of sacred journeys . . . that closely paralleled the secular trajectory of the nation in nationalist mythology.”⁶⁴ The Scandinavian nationalist movements of the nineteenth century were no exceptions, regardless of their different political origins.

European Expansion in Ottoman Lands – Storyworlds in Competition

The world exhibits of the nineteenth century spelled out a rivalry in terms of scientific progress and innovation, which engaged the European nation states as well as the Ottoman Empire, and this rivalry became more pronounced and aggressive when it came to territorial expansion. England, France, Russia, and Germany fought over dominance in the Mediterranean region, from Algeria in the West to Greece in the

⁶² Jes Fabricius Møller, “Grundtvig, Danmark og Norden,” in *Skandinavismen. Vision og virkning*, eds. Ruth Hemstad, Jes Fabricius Møller and Dag Thorkildsen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018), 99–120; Dag Thorkildsen, “‘For Norge, kjempers fødeland’ – norsk nasjonalisme, skandinavisme og demokrati i det 19. århundre,” in *Kyrka och nationalism i Norden. Nationalism och Skandinavism i de nordiska folkkyrkorna under 1800-talet*, ed. Ingemar Brohed (Lund: Lund University Press, 1989), 129–55; Pertti Anttonen, “Oral Traditions and the Making of the Finnish Nation,” in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 338–40; Matti Klinge, *Idyll och hot. Zacharias Topelius – hans politik och idéer*, transl. Nils Erik Forsgård (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlantis and Helsinki: Söderström & Co., 2000), 28, 256; Johan Wrede, *Världen enligt Runeberg. En biografisk och idéhistorisk studie* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2005), 190; Alf Tergel, “Ungkyrkorörelsen och nationalismen,” in *Kyrka och nationalism i Norden. Nationalism och skandinavism i de nordiska folkkyrkorna under 1800-talet*, ed. Ingemar Brohed (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998); Urban Claesson, *Folkhemmets kyrka. Harald Hallén och folkkyrkans genombrott. En studie av socialdemokrati, kyrka och nationsbygge med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1905–1933* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2005), 105–6.

⁶³ Anthony Smith, “Biblical beliefs in the shaping of modern nations,” *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 3 (2015): 403–22, 404. See also Smith, *Chosen Peoples*.

⁶⁴ Smith, “Biblical beliefs in the shaping of modern nations,” 419.

East, in competition with the Ottoman Empire. Jerusalem became a pawn in this competition. This is at least what Simon Sebag Montefiore argues in his biography of the city.⁶⁵ Perhaps the Jerusalem model at the Ottoman pavilion of the 1873 world exhibition illustrates a similar point, namely the importance of signalling who was in ultimate charge of the holy places. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, every great European nation sought influence in the Levant by taking a Christian group as its protégé. While Russia catered for the Orthodox Church, France saw to the interests of the Catholic and Maronite Churches, and Germany and Britain (more recent actors on the Levantine scene) took care of the Protestants.⁶⁶ Their protection soon extended to the Jews as the idea of millenarianism, and the Jews' return to Jerusalem as a condition for the Second Coming of Christ, became popular among British, American, and Scandinavian Evangelicals; some of them influential in the foreign policy of the British Empire and the United States.⁶⁷

Christians in the Ottoman Empire

The capacity of the European powers to increase their influence over Christian communities in the Levant must be seen in light of internal developments in the Ottoman Empire. One significant year was 1839 when Ibrahim Pasha (1789–1848), the son of Mehmet Ali (1769–1849) – the mighty ruler of Egypt and direct challenger to the Sultan in Istanbul – took control over Syria and Palestine and allowed European consuls to establish their residences in Jerusalem.⁶⁸ Two years later, the Sultan chased Mehmet Ali from Syria with the aid of British forces, which further increased the European influence in the region. Another important year was that of 1856 when the Ottoman Sultan issued a reform decree, which introduced equality between all citizens of his Empire, responding to “the Anglo-French demand to remove all legal discrimination against non-Muslims.”⁶⁹ The decree came as a result of the peace negotiations in Paris after the Crimean war (1853–1856) where the

⁶⁵ Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (New York: Knopf, 2011), 391–456.

⁶⁶ Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 380, 413–416. For more on European competition in Ottoman lands, see Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 101. For more on the Christian communities in Jerusalem, see Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, “Patterns of Christian Activity and Dispersion in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 2, no. 1 (1976): 49–69.

⁶⁷ Jill Hamilton, *God, Guns and Israel: Britain, The First World War and the Jews in the Holy City* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), vii–xx, 1–27.

⁶⁸ Maggy Hary, “The Holy Land in British Eyes: Sacred Geography and the ‘Rediscovery’ of Palestine 1839–1917,” in *Encountering Otherness: Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Guido Abbattista (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2011), 339–349, 342.

⁶⁹ Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation*, 94.

Ottomans yielded to the pressure from their allies, Britain and France, to guarantee equal rights to the non-Muslim citizens of the Empire. In turn, the Ottoman state became part of the Concert of Europe: the Ottoman state was given guarantees of territorial integrity and obtained “the promise of equality with Christian powers under (Europe’s) international law.”⁷⁰ The decree of 1856 was one in a series of reforms, the *Tanzimat*, which aimed at modernizing the Ottoman state.⁷¹

The 1856 decree implied an important shift in Ottoman policies towards religious minorities as it sidestepped the Islamic principle of *dhimma* or pact. This principle, which had regulated Muslim dealings with religious diversity throughout the centuries, gave protection to religious minorities in return for a poll tax, the acceptance of Muslim authority, and the social display of reverence towards Muslims. The reform decree put an end to Christian subordination, and it was regarded with suspicion by many Ottomans. They saw it as a form of prostrating in front of European powers and as a weakening of the Islamic identity of the Ottoman state. Some even feared Christianization: “No act did more damage to the reputation of the sultan and his ministers among Muslims than the Reform Decree of that year.”⁷²

In short, one may argue that the traditional order or ranking, guaranteeing Muslim supremacy in the Empire was dependent on Ottoman hegemony within its borders and in neighbouring areas. When Ottoman authority in the Eastern Parts of Europe, the Balkans, and the Southern Mediterranean region was threatened by national liberation movements, starting with the Greek war of independence in 1821–1830, in tandem with outer pressure from European powers, this affected Ottoman policies towards internal religious minorities; also in the heartland of the Empire. Hence, these tensions influenced the prospect of Christian presence and visibility in Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Protestants in Palestine

In 1841, Britain and Prussia established the first Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem; an event that reverberated all over the Protestant world, including in *Nordlyset* [*The Northern Light*], a local newspaper in the Norwegian town of Trondheim. On July 3, 1843, *Nordlyset* reprinted an article from a Danish mission journal, which emphasized that King Fredrick Wilhelm IV of Prussia (1795–1861) had initiated the

⁷⁰ Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation*, 94.

⁷¹ The *Tanzimat* reforms started out in 1839 with the *Gülhane* decree where the Sultan guaranteed all his subjects the rule of law “particularly in matters concerning the life, honor, and property of the sultan’s subjects,” in addition to a “predictable, orderly, and sustainable” organization of tax collection, and reforms in the regime of conscription to the army. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation*, 87–9.

⁷² Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation*, 105.

establishment of the bishopric.⁷³ According to *Nordlyset*, he found it untenable that the Eastern and Latin Churches had formal presence in the Holy City while the Protestant congregations had none – they were ruled from distant Malta. He therefore proposed, via diplomatic intermediaries to the British Parliament and Queen Victoria of England (1837–1901), that the two nations in a conjoint effort should send a bishop to Jerusalem. The mission of the bishop would be to cater for the Protestants in the Holy Land and lead the efforts of the Church to convert the Jews. The article then goes on to give a detailed description of the life trajectory of the first bishop, Dr. Michael Salomon Alexander (1799–1841), a convert from Judaism who after having been a Rabbi, embraced the Protestant faith, studied theology, and became a professor of theology at Kings College, London, before he was ordained bishop of Jerusalem.

This event was the harbinger of a new era marked by a firm Protestant presence in Palestine. Since the Reformation, Protestant denominations had argued against pilgrimage – for Swedish Protestants pilgrimage was even forbidden – in explicit opposition to the Roman-Catholic church. This changed fundamentally, as Protestant missionary societies grew in the nineteenth century. The Protestant churches, however, tried to define a specific Protestant pilgrimage, contradicting the Roman-Catholic tradition. Charles Lock has coined the concept of a “Protestant optic” – characterized by distance, restraint, and a disdain for religious practices of other Christian denominations – for the British Protestant pilgrims’ peculiar way of perceiving the Holy Land. Above all, kissing should definitely be avoided.⁷⁴ In this respect, Scandinavian Protestant pilgrims were no different, as Birger Løvlie, Magnus Bremmer, and Anna Bohlin’s contributions to the current volume demonstrate. According to the anthropologist Glenn Bowman, Roman-Catholics perceive churches and shrines as monuments representing a tradition of adoration, whereas Protestants tend to value landscapes over buildings, imagining Christ walking by their side.⁷⁵ The nineteenth-century aesthetics, ascribing divinity to the sublime in nature, fostered a special relation to the landscape of the Holy Land, which Lock calls “aesthetic idolatry.”⁷⁶ This Protestant “idolatry,” as Lock termed it, was directed towards the aesthetics of landscape rather than towards images and objects. Since the Bible could no longer be trusted to convey absolute truth, the Holy Land was reconfigured

73 “Den evangeliske Bispestol i Jerusalem,” *Nordlyset*, Mandag den 3dje Juli 1843, no. 53, 1ste Aargang.

74 Charles Lock, “Bowing Down to Wood and Stone: One Way to be a Pilgrim,” in *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. Simon Coleman and John Elsner (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 110–32.

75 Glenn Bowman, “Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities,” in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 115–6.

76 Lock, “Bowing Down to Wood and Stone.”



Fig. 1.4: Panoramic View of Jerusalem, 1900–1920, Hand-tinted photographic print. American Colony Photo-Department photographers. Boaz Collection of Israeli Photography, Jerusalem.

as a searching-ground for revelation: a Bibleland.⁷⁷ In this Protestant view the landscape may be considered a giant, unmovable relic according to Lock, while Ruth and Thomas Hummel conceive of nineteenth-century British Protestant apprehensions of the landscape as “a channel of grace – a sacrament.”⁷⁸

When the Swedish author Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) travelled through the biblical landscapes in the winter and spring of 1859, she met a small, but active Protestant congregation in Jerusalem. It included Bishop Gobat, the second Protestant bishop of Jerusalem, and his family; the British consul Mr. Finn and his wife; the Prussian consul and his wife; the missionaries Pastor Hefter and Dr. Atkinson; as well Meschullam, a Jew converted to the Lutheran faith who had established an agricultural colony in the valley of Artas. Bremer also visited the missionary Mr. Robinson at Mount Carmel as well as the British consul in Beirut. Scandinavian networks in Jerusalem were, however, scant at the time Bremer travelled through Palestine. She refers only to the Norwegian diplomat and later prime minister of Norway in Stockholm, Georg Sibbern (1816–1901),⁷⁹ who was in transit in Jerusalem while she resided there. True, other travellers from Scandinavia had preceded her visit, such as the botanist Fredrik Hasselquist⁸⁰ or the traveller Jacob Berggren, and others would follow suit.⁸¹ Fifty to seventy years after Bremer’s stay, the Scandinavian permanent presence in Jerusalem was more significant: there were the Swedes at the American Colony whose photo department was run by Lars Larsson from Nås (1881–1958) (Fig. 1.4).⁸² Larsson also held the position of Swedish consul in Jerusalem. Later, a Swedish hospital and a school were built.⁸³ After the Second World War, Norway established close contact with the Israeli workers organization through the general secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party, Haakon Lie (1905–2009), and later, in the 1990s, Norway was the mediator in a failed peace-building process leading up to the now infamous Oslo accord, but that is part of another story.⁸⁴

77 See Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; Ruth Hummel and Thomas Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred: English Protestant and Russian Orthodox Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995); Lock, “Bowing Down to Wood and Stone”; Anna Bohlin, “Att kyssa olivträd. Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet,” in *Fiktion och verklighet. Mångvetenskapliga möten*, eds. Anna Bohlin and Lena Gemzöe (Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2016), 147–69.

78 Lock, “Bowing Down to Wood and Stone,” 121–2; Hummel and Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred*, 28. See also Bohlin, “Att kyssa olivträd.”

79 Bremer does not spell out his name, only referring to him as S.

80 Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

81 Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29; Chapter 21 (Magnus Bremmer), 430–45.

82 Chapter 24 (Rachel Lev), 492–511.

83 Chapter 26 (Inger Marie Okkenhaug), 518–39.

84 Hilde Henriksen Waage, “Explaining the Oslo Backchannel: Norway’s Political Past in the Middle East,” *Middle East Journal* 56, no. 4 (2002): 596–615.

Entangled Storyworlds

During the long nineteenth century, Christians who travelled or worked in Jerusalem represented the Others within a still mighty Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans opened Jerusalem up for an increased and more active Christian presence in the city. This was to impact the possible narratives that could be told about Jerusalem and the Holy Land; thus the Ottomans indirectly contributed to shaping the Christian storyworld. Indeed, storyworlds interact with the domain of *Realpolitik*; they are shaped by developments in the “real world,” but at the same time they contribute to shaping that world. In fact, the concept of storyworld, as we understand it, downplays or challenges the distinction between real history (*Realhistorie*) and narrative. In taking a moderate constructivist position, we posit that history cannot be grasped independently of the narratives that people tell about their world; in short, there is no meaningful world independently of the storyworld.

Just as the Christian storyworld was changed by Ottoman policies, Ottoman narratives were altered by the increased European presence in the Levant. Our overall project does not focus primarily on such *histoires croisées* or entangled histories,⁸⁵ as we dwell on Scandinavia – an outpost of Christianity – but we cannot ignore that the physical presence of Protestantism within the walls of Jerusalem contributed to transforming the Christian storyworld, also in the Scandinavian periphery. Thus, the Christian storyworld of Scandinavia cannot be grasped without referring to its intertwinement with competing storyworlds; in this case, the Ottoman-Muslim one. In the Prelude to our book series, we claim that “the storyworld of the others” lies beyond the limits of the game, or that the others within the Christian storyworld figure there “on the premises of that world.” Do these affirmations hold true for the nineteenth century? Or does the complexity of modernity imply that the idea of separate storyworlds becomes more difficult to maintain?

Although similarities in political development occur across the areas of what we have called the geographical triangle of the nineteenth-century storyworld, the uncontested centres of that world were London and Paris. They were the metropolis of Empire that constituted the naval of a Eurocentric world, signified triumphantly through their hosting of the world exhibitions that put the entire globe and its civilizations on display. Jerusalem, which had taken centre stage in the medieval *mappa mundi*, was relegated to the status of model at the Ottoman pavilion at the Vienna world exhibit or to the eastern periphery of Europe-centred modern maps.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409. For more on Jerusalem’s geo-political position in the nineteenth century, see Haim Goren, “Sacred, but not Surveyed: Nineteenth-Century Surveys of Palestine,” *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 87–110.

Mapping the Holy Land

With scientific progress, cartography was revolutionized (Fig. 1.0). Since the late eighteenth century, considerable changes had occurred in the ways the Holy Land was measured and depicted, and these changed approaches may, in fact, be regarded as an epicentre of the fragmentation of the Jerusalem code: different kinds of maps visualize the displacement of Jerusalem according to new epistemic regimes. While an early nineteenth-century map drawn by a learned woman in the Norwegian countryside reproduced a stylized version of Jerusalem⁸⁷ not so unlike the medieval *mappaemundi*, later maps testify to different epistemological and ontological regimes. Erling Sandmo focuses in the present volume on the shift from the medieval *mappaemundi*, which was a “meeting-ground for different times” and centred on Jerusalem, to late nineteenth-century maps where the Holy Land was oriented towards the North, and characterized by “pure, universal space.”⁸⁸ Yet the explanations of the earth and its constituent parts, developed by the new discipline of geography, were initially based on a Christian concept of history.

The founding of geography as an independent discipline would prove to have a fundamental influence on the perception of Jerusalem. In this respect, Carl Ritter (1779–1859) is an interesting figure: as a leading geographer of his day, he established geography as an academic discipline together with Alexander von Humboldt, and he still adhered to Christian salvation history. Ritter’s lectures exercised a great influence on scholars and writers of many different nationalities – among them Scandinavians.⁸⁹ The very long title of his enormous work, consisting of 19 volumes (several more were planned, but not completed), suggests his line of argument: *A Study of the Earth in its Relationships with Nature and the History of Man, or General Comparative Geography as Sound Foundations for the Study and Teaching of Physical and Historical Sciences*, (1817–1859).⁹⁰ Ritter maintained that history does not simply act *on* nature, but lies *within* it: The earth crust – with its highlands and lowlands, its plateaux, river systems, deltas, coastlines, peninsulas, and the connections between continents – was the object of study, and gathering data concerning these earthbodies and limbs, in Ritter’s words, contributed to the formation of a new and modern scientific field of knowledge. According to Ritter, all relationships between Earth and Man interact – be it topography and history, or physics and ethics – and all fields

⁸⁷ Chapter 15 (Kristina Skåden), 280–308.

⁸⁸ Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 399, 393.

⁸⁹ Hanno Beck, *Carl Ritter. Genius der Geographie. Zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1979), 5. See also Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 334, 356–57; and Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

⁹⁰ Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen der allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Reimer, 1817–1859).

concerning man and earth must be regarded as one, big organism.⁹¹ In Ritter's view, the globe was a house of learning, *ein Erziehungshaus*, for humankind.⁹² Ritter considered the surface of the Earth as God's plan for humankind, and thus understood the geographical position of Palestine as a God-willed spot to perfect the chances of spreading the Gospel over the world.

History would not be comprehensible without geography, nor would geography be comprehensible without history. Ritter claimed that the new independent discipline of geography needed a theory, and his theory for explaining topography was a Christian notion of evolution.⁹³ He discussed the sources for geographical knowledge in detail; apart from contemporary observations and maps, they included passages from travel literature, and other written documents of all times. Therefore, the extensive list of sources of geographical knowledge on Palestine obviously contains the Bible and pilgrimage literature, but also the Jewish first-century historian Flavius Josephus, as well as Ancient Greek and Roman writers, and Arabic accounts.⁹⁴ Ritter's theory made a strong impact in the scholarly circles of his day. The famous American Bible Scholar Edward Robinson (1794–1863) drew on Ritter's library in Berlin, while working on his *Biblical Researches of Palestine* (1841).⁹⁵ Later, the Norwegian writer of Bible history, Volrath Vogt (1817–1889) refers extensively to Robinson and includes many of the sources mentioned by Ritter in his *magnus opus*, *Det Hellige Land [The Holy Land]* (1879).⁹⁶

If the nineteenth-century discipline of geography changed the notion of the Holy Land as a geographical space, other nineteenth-century developments would lead to new conceptions of time. As the world grew increasingly smaller and interconnected, synchronization became a pertinent issue. Together with the Enlightenment idea of progress, new ways of measuring and apprehending time both challenged and reinforced Christian salvation history. The time frame of the Christian storyworld was indeed reinterpreted.

91 Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde: Theil XV. Palästina und Syrien I* (Berlin: Reimer, 1850), 6–7.

92 Beck, *Carl Ritter*, 91.

93 Andreas Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859): Naturphilosophie und Geographie. Erkenntnistheoretische Überlegungen, Reform der Geographie und mögliche heutige Implikationen* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 27.

94 Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XV, 23–81.

95 Edward Robinson and Elie Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petræa* (Boston: Published by Crocker and Brewster, 1841). For more on Robinson's work, see Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; and Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

96 Volrath Vogt, *Det Hellige Land* (Kristiania: P. T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1879). For more on Vogt's work, see Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati) 328–59; Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 392, 394–98; Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

Time: Progress, Synchronization, and Secularization

Progress

In the nineteenth century, Enlightenment ideas of progress, Romantic historicism, and eventually the concept of evolution situated contemporary society in a new, linear time frame, which promised a future of increased material progress. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson famously claimed that the time of the new nation states was characterized by a new sense of simultaneity, as opposed to an older “Messianic time;” a concept borrowed from Walter Benjamin, defined as “a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present.”⁹⁷ Anderson specifies what he had in mind by quoting Erich Auerbach: “the here and now is no longer a mere link in an earthly chain of events, it is simultaneously something which has always been, and will be fulfilled in the future.”⁹⁸ The modern concept of simultaneity, on the other hand, is devoid of prefiguration and fulfilment; it is based on “an idea of ‘homogenous, empty time’,” connecting events happening at different locations at the same chronological, calendar time.⁹⁹ The empty time, established in newspapers and realistic novels, Anderson argues, is the time of the nineteenth-century nation state, as it brings together different places and experiences to a common moment rather than bringing eternity to the present.¹⁰⁰

The synchronization of time and the compression of space in the nineteenth century was paralleled by technological innovations that permitted for faster movement through time and space. New means of transport, such as steamers and railroads, ensured an efficient exchange of goods and people; timetables were created and time zones introduced. Eventually, time was synchronized around the globe as European clock time entered new territories through European colonial expansion.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 24. Anderson draws the conclusion: “The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is precisely analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history.” Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 26.

⁹⁸ Auerbach quoted by Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.

⁹⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 22–36.

¹⁰¹ We have borrowed the idea of synchronization from the research project *Synchronizing the World: Globalization and Multiple Times*, carried out at the University of Oslo under the direction of Helge Jordheim. University of Oslo, “Synchronizing the World: Globalization and Multiple Times (completed),” accessed November 9, 2018, <https://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/english/research/projects/synchronizing-the-world-globalization-and-multipl/>. See also Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 2–7. Wishnitzer demonstrates that in the Ottoman Empire several temporalities coexisted during the nineteenth century. European clock-time, so called modern time was one of them. Hence, his study is part of recent trend in research on time that “question the supposed contrast

In addition, the biblical horizon of time, which had framed the Christian storyworld of earlier epochs, was challenged by scientific discovery. Archaeology revealed cultures whose past went beyond the era of the Old Testament. For example, at the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm one of the papers, entitled “The expedition of Pharaoh Shishak against Palestine, and especially against Jerusalem,”¹⁰² aimed to match biblical time with the periodization proposed by a newly discovered stele of hieroglyphics. Hence, the paper represents an example of how new insights in Egyptology and archaeology confronted the timeline of the Bible, although the speaker at the congress aimed at synchronizing the two. Overall, geology had demonstrated that the earth was much older than what biblical creation supposed, whereas philology had revealed that Hebrew was not the first language of humankind. In biology, new methods and paradigms gradually altered conceptions of creation and how change in nature could be understood.

Still, the material in the present volume shows that the Messianic time – the time of salvation history – only slowly gave way to the empty time of modernity. In fact, at the heart of the nationalist project, the Jerusalem code and Messianic time were still active well into the nineteenth century. After all, the idea of prefiguration and fulfilment is exactly the logic governing the tripartite temporal structure of modern nationalism: an imagined past is believed to determine the present moment and promise a prosperous future. Obviously, the Christian interpretation of the Bible – featuring the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the New Testament, thus forming a promise of everlasting peace – is the temporal model for the three-dimensional temporality of modern nationalism.¹⁰³

Secularization

The idea of an empty modern time is often associated with the process of secularization. In her study of Danish and Swedish awakening movements, Hanne Sanders discusses the many different definitions of the concept, underscoring that it does not make sense to understand secularization as vanishing faith; that simply did not

between preindustrial and industrial, Western and non-Western mode of time organization.” Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks*, 4. In underlining the perseverance of Messianic time in the nineteenth century, this volume contributes to that trend.

102 Alexander Dedekind, “The Expedition of Pharaoh Shishak against Palestine, and especially against Jerusalem,” in *Actes du huitième Congrès international des orientalistes: tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*, section II: Aryenne, 1^{er} Fascicule (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892), 194–9. <https://archive.org/details/actesduhuitemec01unkngoog/page/n441>.

103 See Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–49. For a discussion on Messianic time in relation to nationalism and esotericism in a Catholic context, see religious historian Marco Pasi’s ongoing research project, Universität Erfurt, “Dr. Marco Pasi,” accessed January 12, 2019, <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/max-weber-kolleg/alumni/ehemalige-mitglieder-2010-2017/marco-pasi/>.

happen.¹⁰⁴ Christian beliefs and the Christian church did survive. What did change, however, was that the pre-secularized world-view – conceptualizing Christianity as society’s culture and learning – was replaced by a world-view conceptualizing religion as a personal and existential phenomenon, as faith. When religion was considered a private matter and a matter of choice, the possibility presented itself for discarding religion altogether.¹⁰⁵ According to Sanders, in order to understand the process of secularization, the individualization of faith is the key. Still, the individualization of faith did not happen overnight. Although studies of revivalist movements often contend that stress on the personal experience of salvation and the individual’s emotional response opened up for the individualism of modern democracy, a new political organization, and a public sphere, these were long and complex processes. Sanders draws the conclusion that “the awakening was an expression for secularization in a pre-secularized language.”¹⁰⁶

In short, secularization implied a new conception of time; an empty time, devoid of typological models of predicted fulfilment; but the process of secularization originated in the tension between traditional forms of religious authority and a Christian concept of progress, which both invested in a Messianic time. The time of nationalism was thus structured by the Jerusalem code and was emptied of chiliasm only slowly and unevenly during the long nineteenth century.

Another model, from the sociology of religion and closer to structuralism, would explain the trajectory of the Jerusalem code into modernity in slightly different terms. According to Peter Beyer, the modern concept of religion was born because of functional differentiation and globalization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From constituting an all-embracing source of knowledge to human existence, religion was split into competing subsystems – law, economy, science, and politics – in addition to forming a distinct discipline in itself.¹⁰⁷ In a similar vein, Dietrich Young argues that when functional differentiation relegated religion to the status of a subsystem, this triggered a process of self-consciousness on behalf of religions. Religion became aware of itself as something specific. Hence, in modernity it became necessary for religion to claim back lost space, and to present a holistic take on the world.¹⁰⁸ This would explain the growth of fundamentalisms in the nineteenth and

104 Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 16, 254–8. Sanders finds support for her conception of secularization in historian C. John Sommerville, who defines secularization as “the change of a religious culture into religious beliefs” or “a distinct part of culture.” Sommerville quoted in Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 256.

105 Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 17.

106 Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 316–21, quotation on p. 319. (Translation by Anna Bohlin).

107 Peter Beyer, *Religion in Global Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 34–49.

108 Dietrich Jung, *Orientalists, Islamists and the Global Public Sphere: A Genealogy of the Modern Essentialist Image of Islam* (Sheffield, Oakville: Equinox, 2011), 39–94.

twentieth centuries, for which the Evangelical program for Palestine explored in this volume,¹⁰⁹ might represent an early example. Reclaiming wholeness and totality, such movements may be viewed as a reaction to modernity's fragmentation. Going in the opposite direction, late nineteenth-century liberal (Protestant) theology, which aimed at the realization of God's realm on earth,¹¹⁰ may be viewed as the accommodation of religion to fit better with trends in the other subsystem such as socialism within the subsystem of politics, for example.

Following this model from the sociology of religion, we may say that during the period covered by this book, the Jerusalem code suffered a dual deterioration: While the code was undergoing internal fragmentation (the Reformation, the rise of several puritan and utopian movements such as the Moravians,¹¹¹ the Zionites,¹¹² the Haugian movement,¹¹³ the Spaffords' colony in Jerusalem, etc.), it was also relegated to the position of a subsystem challenged by other subsystems. Although we could claim that religion spilled over into other subsystems and that parts of the Jerusalem code are still traceable in the Scandinavian welfare state, for example, the relevance of the Jerusalem code to overall society decreased at the end of the period covered in this book.

That said, our material also testifies to a hermeneutics of time, a personal time, as spelled out in the day-to-day rendering of events, impressions, and feelings in travelogues from the Holy Land,¹¹⁴ or in the *lebenslauf* [life history] of the Moravian women, stationed in Christiansfeld.¹¹⁵ This personal time is not only a consequence of the secularization process, in Sanders' understanding of the term, but also an effect of changing ideas of representation. The Jerusalem Code opened for, and was fragmented by, materializations governed by new aesthetic regimes.

Representation

Epistemic Regimes of the Storyworld

The process of secularization and the individualization of religion is the issue of an epistemic shift. Michel Foucault has stated that Man did not exist before the end of the eighteenth century. The epistemic regime of the classicist period, Foucault

109 Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

110 Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–49.

111 Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15; Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammersøy), 117–25.

112 Chapter 7 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 127–37.

113 Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

114 Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89; Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

115 Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107.

argued, was replaced by new epistemic regimes, featuring the human body in an ambiguous position as the object of knowledge and simultaneously as the knowing subject.¹¹⁶ According to Foucault, prior to the late eighteenth century the human did not constitute a self-contained category, as the analysis of living bodies, of desire, and of words, referred to the metaphysics of representation, and thus ultimately to infinity.¹¹⁷ In terms of the Jerusalem Code and the *quadriga* model of interpretation (see Prelude), the anagogical level was always the final goal, granting meaning to all other kinds of understanding. In the nineteenth century, however, “the entire field of Western thought was inverted,” Foucault writes.¹¹⁸ Finitude and the human existence were introduced as goals in themselves. A countermovement related to this “*analytic* of finitude and human existence” created what Foucault called a “a perpetual tendency to constitute a *metaphysics* of life, labour, and language.”¹¹⁹ In view of the premodern *quadriga* model, and its transformed successors in early modernity, the nineteenth century saw a redistribution of emphasis from the anagogical to the historical level of interpretation, to matter and bodies.

We have already seen that Enlightenment rationality put the Jerusalem code under pressure, which led theologians such as the influential Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) to dislocate revelation from the letter of the Bible and redistribute it to interpretation; to an inner, spiritual space. The stress on interpretation seems to have entailed a focus on bodies as communicative vessels, and ultimately on materiality. With regard to the material presented in this book, the *quadriga* model is still operating in the Moravians’ apprehension of life as liturgy, and the *quadriga* is certainly present in Swedenborg’s typological understanding of history.¹²⁰ Yet, the Moravians picturing themselves sleeping in Christ’s wound, on the one hand, and Swedenborg’s visions of a very physical afterlife, moving between hierarchically ordered regions of heaven, on the other, suggest an intensified tactility of spiritual experience and a heightened adherence to bodily matters, while the ultimate meaning of the body still rested safely within an anagogical perspective. In Elisabeth Engell Jessen’s chapter, she highlights the “immense spiritual value [Moravian piety placed] on the incarnation,” affirming that “Christ’s body thus came to represent the New Jerusalem.”¹²¹ In David Burmeister’s

116 Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966), 319–23.

117 Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 320–8.

118 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 317.

119 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 317.

120 See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85. For a discussion on different typological models of history in the eighteenth century, and in particular Ludvig Holberg’s “implicit typological model,” legitimizing the Oldenburg dynasty, see Inga Henriette Undheim, “Historie og komedie. Litterære strukturer og strategier i Holbergs rikshistoriografi” (PhD diss., University of Bergen, 2019).

121 Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 106.

chapter on Danish altar painting of the mid-nineteenth century, the spiritual value of the incarnation and the body as the site for holiness is even more heightened. Popular motifs engaged the spectator in an emotional interaction with a historical, human Jesus.¹²² In the 1840s, the Swedish writer Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866) accommodated Swedenborgian typological Bible exegesis to evolution, resulting in a peculiar form of evolutionary chiliasm. Even more remarkably: the body of the beloved has taken the place of the resurrected Christ.¹²³

In addition to an interpretational practice, this embodiment of faith pertained to Christian pedagogy. The true teachings of Jesus could, supposedly, be revealed by exposing your body to the same sensuous experiences as Jesus had by going to the Holy Land. This understanding of the Gospels, informed by travels in the biblical landscape, was conveyed to others by recounting sense impressions to simulate a bodily presence in the Holy Land.¹²⁴ The storyworld of Christian salvation had slowly descended down to earth and into the human body. Even though the goal was still the heavenly Jerusalem, salvation and heavenly bliss would preferably be enacted within the finitude of time. Thus, regimes of aesthetic representation were affected by and opened up for this epistemic shift. In volume 2 of the Jerusalem-code trilogy, the Protestant Reformation's emphasis on the New Jerusalem as the Word transformed the Jerusalem code and altered the premises for the *translatio* of the Temple (see Introduction to vol. 2). In the present volume, the causality is switched: the premises for the New Jerusalem were altered by the Enlightenment idea of progress and evolution, relocating revelation to inner spirituality, expressed and conveyed by bodies.

The Other within the Protestant Storyworld

Muslims, Roman Catholics, and Eastern Christians

We opened this introduction with reference to the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm and Kristiania and the presence of delegates from all over the world, including Ottoman, Persian, and Indian envoys, whose different tongues and outfits gave an

¹²² Chapter 12 (David Burmeister), 224–43.

¹²³ Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

¹²⁴ See Chapter 12 (David Burmeister), 224–43; Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89. See also Anna Bohlin, “Jerusalem in Every Soul: Temporalities of Faith in Fredrika Bremer’s and Harriet Martineau’s Travel Narratives of Palestine,” in *Time and Temporalities in European Travel Writing*, eds. Paula Henrikson and Christina Kullberg (London and New York: Routledge, 2021). One example of how the embodiment of faith as Christian pedagogy was deployed in literature for children is Fredrika Bremer’s story about “Little Pilgrim,” who is invited to accompany the narrator to the Holy Land on a goose-feather. Fredrika Bremer, *Liten pilgrims resa i det Heliga Landet* (Stockholm: A.L. Norman, 1865).

“authentic flair” to the event.¹²⁵ Orientals, and particularly Muslims, constituted prominent others of the nineteenth-century Christian storyworld. Islamic doctrine had figured as the counter thesis to Christian teachings since Muslim and Christian scholars had opposed each other in public disputes in the thirteenth century.¹²⁶ The Prophet Mohammed had been depicted as a usurper and an Antichrist from the early medieval period onwards; Luther coining him as the main antagonist to his theses alongside the Pope.¹²⁷ In the nineteenth century, the Turk, depicted both as despotic and lazy, coloured European ideas about Islam and Muslims. The circle of others, however, included more than just Muslims: There were the Roman Catholics, the Eastern Orthodox Christians, the Coptic and the Assyrian Christians, in addition to the Jews. All these communities were present in Jerusalem. Personal contact with such intimate others colour many travel descriptions from the Holy Land. As demonstrated above, the physically and emotionally charged expressions of Latin and Orthodox forms of devotion, particularly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, dis-comforted most Scandinavian Protestants.¹²⁸

Orthodox and Latin Christians, not the Muslims, constituted the primary goals of British and American Protestant mission in the nineteenth century according to Laura C. Robson.¹²⁹ Although the minimal mission directed towards Muslims may also be explained in terms of Ottoman prohibition of proselytizing among Muslims,¹³⁰ Robson affirms that the main impetus to Protestant missionary efforts was intra-Christian competition. The Roman Catholic mission (fortified in the nineteenth century after the reinstatement of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem in 1847), represented the main competitor. Moreover, the Jews constituted a group of interest for Evangelicals, motivated as they were by millenarian and eschatological concerns. In short, Robson

125 While some scholars emphasize that the “Orientals” were the real cause for the popular interest that surrounded the congress, contemporary commentators, such as Professor M. J. de Goeje from Leiden, underscore that the crowds were attracted first and foremost by the presence of the academics. M. J. de Goeje, “Orientalistkongressen,” in *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania. Några skildringar från utlandet*, ed. K. U. Nylander (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1890), 83.

126 Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

127 John Tolan, “Islam in the Mirror of Our Phantasms,” in *Islam and Public Controversy in Europe*, ed. Nilüfer Göle (New York: Routledge, 2016); John Tolan, *Mahomet l’Européen: Histoire des représentations du Prophète en Occident* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2018).

128 Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

129 Laura C. Robson, “Archeology and Mission: The British Presence in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 40 (2009): 5–17.

130 Robson, “Archeology and Mission,” 11.

argues that “Islam was essentially absent from the evangelical Protestant conception of the significance of the ‘Holy Land’.”¹³¹

Material explored in this volume substantiates Robson’s claim. Scandinavians who visited the Holy Land often had expectations of what they were going to encounter based on their readings of the Bible, their singing of hymns in their congregations back home, or their familiarity with pictorial representations of biblical scenes.¹³² The storyworld of salvation history had offered them a cluster of entangled narratives and images of the physical landscape as well as the inhabitants of the land of the Bible, which coloured what they saw once they were there.¹³³ This paradigm was altered, however, when the Finnish ethnographer Hilma Granqvist discovered the contemporaneity of the Palestinian women in the village of Artas in the 1930s, and no longer saw them as biblical figures.¹³⁴ Real encounters with non-Christian peoples put the image of the others produced by the narratives of the Christian storyworld to the test. The image was either affirmed as the majority of travelogues explored in this book confirms, or rejected as in Granqvist’s case, when the eye of the beholder was transformed.

Heathens

As the imaginings of the heathen past were retranslated as the roots of the modern nations, the heathens, formerly the Others of the Christian storyworld,¹³⁵ had to be included accordingly in a historicist account of the nation’s progress. Many nationalist thinkers, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, apprehended progress in relation to a Christian concept of evolution, thus the harmonization of the nation’s heathen roots to God’s plan for humankind called for negotiations. One prominent example would be the Danish priest, poet, mythologist, and politician Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), who had a great impact on Scandinavian identity-formation.

Grundtvig’s construction of the relation between the heathen past and God’s plan for Denmark – in his words “History’s Palestine” – varied over time: he started out regarding Old Norse myths and Christianity as equal sons to a common father,

131 Robson, “Archeology and Mission,” 12. For Protestant mission to the Jews, see also Paul M. Blowers, “Living in the Land of Prophets”: James T. Barclay and an Early Disciples of Christ Mission to Jews in the Holy Land,” *Church History* 62, no. 4 (1993): 494–513.

132 Chapter 12 (David Burmeister), 224–43.

133 Several chapters address this issue, see Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59; Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29; Chapter 21 (Magnus Bremmer), 430–45; Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65; Chapter 23 (Dana Caspi), 466–91.

134 Chapter 25 (Toufoul Abou-Hodeib), 512–7.

135 See volume 1 of this book series, *The Holy City: Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia (c.1100–1536)*.

but later on dissociated himself from that view to stress a strict hierarchy, attributing religious value only to Christianity.¹³⁶ In his major work, however, entitled *Nordens Mytologi [Northern Mythology]* (1832), he presented a historical relation: the pagan is not yet a Christian.¹³⁷ According to Grundtvig, the possibility of salvation remained open even after death.¹³⁸ Another example is Fredrika Bremer, who had a slightly different take on how to reconcile the heathen past with Christian salvation history. To her, Old Norse myth expressed the voices of the eternal nature, awaiting the redemption of the Christian light. All pagan beliefs carried forebodings of eternal truths, finally revealed and conceptualized in the Christian teachings; a Hegelian notion of the progress of faith that she shared with many contemporary thinkers.¹³⁹ In both cases, the Heathen Other was reclaimed for Christian Salvation History.

Jews

The situation of the Jews in Scandinavia was indirectly affected by the insertion of knowledge of the Holy Land into the growing field of Oriental studies, as the old hatred of Jews that had been fostered by Christian cultures for centuries was redefined as anti-Semitism. The Jews, formerly perceived as non-Christian whites, turned into Oriental Semites in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ This opened up new and ambivalent possibilities for identification, and caused new anxieties for Scandinavian Jews, such as the Swedish late nineteenth-century writers Oscar Levertin and Sophie Elkan, and the Danish writer Meïr Aron Goldschmidt; especially as Grundtvig's definition of nationalism was firmly anchored in Christianity and explicitly excluded the Danish Jews.¹⁴¹ The emancipation of Jews and Catholics in the Scandinavian countries took uneven courses during the nineteenth century. Despite the overall progress of civil

136 Grundtvig, *Nyaars-Morgen*, fortalen XIX, quoted by Møller, "Grundtvig, Danmark og Norden," 100–7, quotation on p. 105.

137 Møller, "Grundtvig, Danmark og Norden", 106.

138 Møller, "Grundtvig, Danmark og Norden", 99–120; see also Ole Vind, "Grundtvig og det danske – med sideblik til Sverige," in *Grundtvig – nyckeln till det danska?*, eds. Hanne Sanders and Ole Vind, Centrum för Danmarksstudier, Lunds universitet (Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2003), 13–37.

139 See Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89; Anna Bohlin, "Magi och nation. Häxor i finländsk och svensk 1800-talslitteratur," *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 93 (2018): 47–78.

140 Morten Thing, "Jøden og orientaleren. Et essay," *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 3 (2000): 21–38; Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 61.

141 On Levertin and Elkan, see Landmark, "Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare," 87–102, 103–114; Eva Helen Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan. Hennes liv och vänskapen med Selma Lagerlöf* (Lund: Historiska media, 2001). On Goldschmidt, see Thing, "Jøden og orientaleren," 24; Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 58–67.

rights, Jews were exposed to violence, for example in Denmark in 1819 in the “Jewish Feud” [*Jødefejden*], and in Stockholm in 1838.¹⁴²

Denmark and Sweden granted privileges to foreigners of other confessions, among them Jews, whereas the Norwegian constitution of 1814 had included an old paragraph prohibiting Jesuits and Jews access to the realm.¹⁴³ The Norwegian national poet Henrik Wergeland conducted a campaign in the 1840s in favour of Jewish rights, which included publishing two volumes of poetry: *Jøden* [*The Jew*] (1842) and *Jødinden* [*The Jewess*] (1844). Still, he compared the beauty of a Jewess to an Oriental landscape and her radiant eyes to “the Oriental Sun,” which testifies to the fact that Jewishness was perceived within an Oriental paradigm.¹⁴⁴ Wergeland’s campaign to change the law was not successful; it would take another nine years before the law was abolished in 1851.

The emancipation of Jews in Sweden was a slow process during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, Jews were only allowed to settle in five places: on the island of Marstrand outside of Gothenburg, and in the towns of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Norrköping, and Karlskrona.¹⁴⁵ Civil rights were also restricted for Catholics as well as for other religious communities right up to 1951, when a law of freedom of religion was finally passed by the Swedish *Riksdag* (Parliament), whereas the Danish constitution of 1849 (§ 84) stated that no one should lose civil rights due to faith.¹⁴⁶ As noted above, similar developments towards notions of citizenship and equality between citizens regardless of religious affiliation occurred in the Ottoman Empire at approximately the same time.

Indeed, in the nineteenth century, competing worlds were drawn closer together as time accelerated and space was compressed. In this world, the physical city in Palestine was endowed with renewed political and religious importance. European powers extended their interests in Ottoman lands while millenarian Protestant groups emphasized the eschatological significance of Jerusalem. Scandinavian Christians wrote about this changing world as they navigated the geographical triangle that

142 In Denmark the Jewish population was blamed for a financial crisis in 1819 and King Frederik VI had to intervene to stop the riots. Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism*, 55. In Sweden, the “Jew regulations” [*Judereglementet*] of 1782, which permitted Jewish immigration on very strict terms, were abolished in 1838. This occasioned an uprising, turning against the Jewish population of Stockholm. Still, the new law only marked the beginning of the emancipation of Jews, who did not obtain civil rights until 1870. Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan*, 26–9.

143 Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 43. Vibeke Moe and Øivind Kopperud, eds., *Forestillinger om jøder – aspekter ved konstruksjonen av en minoritet 1814–1940* (Oslo: Unipub, 2011); Frode Ulvund, *Nasjonens antiborgere. Forestillinger om religiøse minoriteter som samfunnsfiender i Norge, ca. 1814–1964* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk, 2017).

144 Henrik Wergeland, *Jøden. Ni blomstrende Torneqviste* (Kristiania: Lehmannske Bogtrykkeri, 1842), 35.

145 Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan*, 26–27.

146 Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering*, 35.

connected together the Scandinavian North, the American West, and the Levantine East. Their narratives constitute what we have called the Christian storyworld of salvation history. Through this storyworld, the Jerusalem code runs as a golden twine that loops and meanders; at times it fades, losing its brilliance; eventually it splits, but small strands of this twine continue to glow into our present (story)world.

The Outline of the Book

Together the chapters of the current volume form a pluridisciplinary canvas about the Christian story world of the long nineteenth century. Through perspectives from literary studies, the study of religion, history, cultural history, theology, art history, and musicology, and through different authorial voices, the chapters complement one another. They come in two forms: as brief, illustrative cases or as more comprehensive studies. The variation in length of the chapters allows for a greater flexibility in highlighting specific issues that need special attention, either in the form of broad overviews or as in-depth analyses of the many different enactments of the Jerusalem code.

We have divided the volume into four main parts according to the main patterns of Scandinavian Christianity that emerged in the long nineteenth century. In organising the chapters, we have also turned to chronology, although not slavishly.

We start out with a section called *The Promised Land: Awakenings* where the focus is on developments in theological thinking, with a particular emphasis on pietism and millenarianism. The transition from apocalyptic to chiliastic or millenarian thought within German and Scandinavian Protestantism entailed the idea that the realization of the New Jerusalem could start in the here and now. While *Chapter 2* by Walter Sparrn examines the overall trends of this theological transition, *Chapter 3* by Devin Zuber focuses on one concrete example of redefining The New Jerusalem, namely the *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Teachings* (1758) by the Swedish natural scientist and theosophist Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772).

In the subsequent chapters of Part One, we encounter separatist Protestant movements that have played substantial roles in the history of Scandinavian Christianity. Chapters 4 to 6 examine the Jerusalem code as it unfolded among Moravians in Christiansfeld, Denmark, and Neuherrnhut, Greenland. In emphasizing women's strong position among the Moravians, Elisabeth Engell Jessen's *Chapter 4* demonstrates how different art works, hymns, and liturgy represented the New Jerusalem as the living body of Christ. *Chapter 5*, by Christina Petterson, questions the assumption that Moravian settlements were configurations of the New Jerusalem, and argues that direct references to the New Jerusalem are scarce in the diaries and correspondence relating to the town planning and architecture of the mission station Neuherrnhut. In contrast, *Chapter 6*, by Birgitte Hammersø,

favours the idea that the heavenly city constituted a model for the town plan of Christiansfeld, emphasising that Christiansfeld was included on UNESCO's World Heritage List as an example of a Protestant ideal city.

Chapters 7 to 9 further demonstrate how Protestants built strong communities by drawing on the biblical cluster of Jerusalem metaphors. In *Chapter 7*, Arne Bugge Amundsen examines the Zionites, an early separatist group, located in Drammen, Norway, as a possible precursor of later Pietistic communities, such as the followers of Hauge. The work of the Norwegian lay preacher and entrepreneur Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) is the object of Jostein Garcia de Presno's *Chapter 8*. Demonstrating the ambivalent use of "Jerusalem" in Hauge's text, it underlines that Hauge frequently referred to the adherents of the movement as being on their way to the new or spiritual Jerusalem while currently living in the old Jerusalem. *Chapter 9*, by Kristin Norseth, pursues the issue of Pietism and Revivalism in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Norway. By focusing on the biblical names given to lay "prayer houses [*bedehus*]," it demonstrates how the Jerusalem cluster of meaning was inscribed into the Norwegian countryside. In contrast to this emphasis on local expressions of late Scandinavian pietism, *Chapter 10*, by Vidar L. Haanes, explores the earlier migration of millenarian ideas to the other side of the Atlantic as Rappist, Haugean, and Quaker migrants built their New Zion in America. This chapter thus highlights an important aspect of the overall book, namely how the circulation of people and ideas intensified within what we have defined as the geographical triangle of the nineteenth-century Christian storyworld.

Part 2: The Promised Land: Renewal of the National Church dwells on the Scandinavian corner of the geographical triangle, emphasising that the Jerusalem cluster of meaning did not only inspire separatist groups, but also had resonances in milieus closer to the national churches. In *Chapter 11*, Joar Haga focuses on how the Jerusalem cluster of meaning constituted theological resources for N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), Vilhelm Beck (1829–1901), and Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884) in their projects of social and religious renewal; a renewal that should take place within the church. Renewal could also be triggered by the believers' contemplation of art. *Chapter 12*, by David Burmeister, claims that new tendencies in religious art, such as Bertel Thorvaldsen's representation of Christ addressing the believer, encouraged meditation on one's personal relationship with Christ. In *Chapter 13*, Line M. Bonde also draws attention to the material framework of religious worship. She analyses the standardisation of Danish church interiors in the second part of the nineteenth century, where explicit depiction of Jerusalem appears to have "left the building." If visual representations of Jerusalem become more implicit in this period, *Chapter 14*, by Svein Erik Tandberg, argues on the other hand that auditive references to the Holy City and its ancient temple cult constituted a topic in restoration projects concerning church music.

Part 3: The Promised Land: Science and Travel zooms in on the third angle of the geographical triangle: The Promised Land in Palestine. It starts out with

Kristina Skåden's *Chapter 15*, which examines a stylised Jerusalem map drawn by Catharina Hermine Kølle (1788–1859), a learned woman living in the remote Norwegian countryside. In *Chapter 16*, Rana Issa takes the topic of knowledge production about the Holy Land a step further, arguing that the deployment of philological and cartographic discourses among nineteenth-century scientists scrutinizing Palestine facilitated the construction of the territory as Bibleland. By tracing the green line of the Jerusalem code, Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati, in *Chapter 17*, identifies a shift in scientific approaches to Palestine between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and establishes that in the nineteenth century the Bible framed scientific works to a larger extent than it had in the previous century. In *Chapter 18*, Anna Bohlin pursues the question of knowledge production in the works of Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) and C. J. L. Almqvist (1793–1866), demonstrating how a pre-Darwinist Christian notion of evolution could accommodate to modern science. Erling Sandmo, in *Chapter 19*, focuses on maps of the Holy Land, which found their way into Norwegian schoolbooks and classrooms in the late nineteenth century. They were part of an imaginary cluster of meaning that could clash with first-hand experience of the holy places, as demonstrated in *Chapter 20*, where Birger Løvlie examines three different travel expeditions from Norway to the Holy Land undertaken mainly by clergymen. Jerusalem representations also constitute the object of *Chapter 21* by Magnus Bremmer, which analyses the extensive use of photographic illustrations in the Swedish revivalist minister Paul Peter Waldenström's travelogue *Till Österland [To the East]* (1896). The new medium of photography was immediately applied to represent the Holy Land in line with Protestant aesthetics and pedagogic traditions.

Part 4: The Promised Land: Realization and Secularization follows the trajectory of the Jerusalem code from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century. The first two chapters are readings of Selma Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem* (1901–1902). While *Chapter 22*, by Jenny Bergenmar, underlines how the city of Jerusalem and the utopian community at the American Colony served as an exotic place that could be juxtaposed with an idea of Swedishness in order to define a national Swedish ethos, *Chapter 23*, by Dana Caspi, analyses Lagerlöf's novel as an example of emigrant literature, arguing that it shares aspects with novels about Scandinavian emigration to America. Moreover, Caspi explores the experience of reading fiction about Jerusalem while living in Jerusalem. The relationship between Lagerlöf's fictional universe and practical life in the city also forms the backdrop of *Chapter 24* where Rachel Lev examines the practices and techniques employed by the American Colony Photo Department. The Photo Department's depictions of Palestine, its monuments, landscapes, and human characters informed conceptions about the Holy Land. At a time when such conceptions still dominated perceptions of Palestine in various European countries, the Swedish-Finnish scholar Hilma Granqvist (1890–1972) travelled to Jerusalem in search of living evidence of biblical times in the everyday lives of Palestinians. In *Chapter 25*, Toufoul Abou-Hodeib explores how Granqvist's meeting with realities on

the ground dramatically changed her vision and henceforth her academic approach. *Chapter 26*, by Inger Marie Okkenhaug, also focuses on social realities by examining the activities of the Swedish Jerusalem Society.¹⁴⁷ Adopting the welfare model developed by liberal Christians in Sweden, the Society departed from its initial goal of mission to the Jews, to providing modern welfare for the inhabitants of Jerusalem irrespective of their religious affiliation. In *Chapter 27*, Anna Bohlin returns to Sweden, asking whether the Christian liberals' interpretations of God's Kingdom on earth may be viewed as one of several paths leading up to the Scandinavian welfare state: a secularized Promised Land.

The final chapter, *Chapter 28*, by Torild Gjesvik literally weaves several aspects of the overall Jerusalem project together. The Norwegian National Tapestries, *Riksteppene*, conceived at the end of the nineteenth century in a context of national independence and nation building, depict the medieval king Sigurd the Crusader (c.1090–1130) riding up to Jerusalem. When exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1900, the tapestries sent a powerful political message to the international audience and stood as an emblem of how the Jerusalem code still was operational in a globalising world anno 1900. In the summer of 2018, the tapestries were again presented to the wider public at an exhibition in Queen Sonja's gallery in Oslo: The Jerusalem code continues its trajectory into the twenty-first century, though in a fragmented and different form.

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Fig. 2.0: Adolph Tidemand, *Haugianerne* [*Low Church Devotion*], 1848. Oil on canvas, 98,8 x 123,3 cm. © The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Foto: Jacques Lathion.



Part I: The Promised Land: Awakenings

Walter Sparn

Chapter 2

Apocalypticism, Chiliasm, and Cultural Progress: Jerusalem in Early Modern Storyworlds

This chapter deals with the early modern transformation of the Jerusalem code in the Christian storyworld of “salvation history,” and the consequences it had in configuring human behavior on the pilgrimage towards the heavenly Jerusalem. The transformation became visible primarily in the outlook on the future, i.e. on the time span between the (respective) Now and the Second Advent of Christ. It implied a change from traditional apocalypticism to chiliasm (Greek root) or millenarianism, respectively millennialism (Latin root). The inner logic of salvation history inferred that this change deeply influenced the understanding of the present situation and its fatalities or potentialities. Moreover, it modified the view of the past as a basis of what happens now and will happen in the future.

The new chiliastic interpretation of biblical apocalypticism, developing in sixteenth- and, on a new level, in seventeenth-century early modern Europe, is a groundbreaking change in the Christian worldview and in the socio-political activities asked for or allowed in it. This change was a pivotal aspect of “modernization,” for two reasons. First, traditional apocalypticism assumed a spatially finite world, and a finite order of time, i.e. that is a “near” catastrophic end. Early modern chiliasm still referred to a Second Advent, but prolonged the time span from now to that end more and more. Modern chiliasm is reached, when the link between the view of the future and an end of time either becomes vague or non-existent. The presumption of an *open future* of the world was after all successful in the Enlightenment, also in its Christian strand. Second, chiliasm, which at the outset referred to the Second Advent, was open to “secularization” and able to move from the Christian storyworld over to a civil, religious or secular storyworld (or a “philosophical” paradigm) proclaiming the religious, moral, and cultural *progress* in “world history.”¹

¹ “Modernization” and “secularization” I do not use in an essentialist fashion, rather as heuristic indicators for complex historical processes that cannot be homogenised by the assumption of a linear teleology. Cf. Friedrich Jaeger, “Moderne,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* VIII, eds. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2008), 651–54; Friedrich Jaeger, “Neuzeit,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* IX, eds. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 158–81; Friedrich Wilhelm

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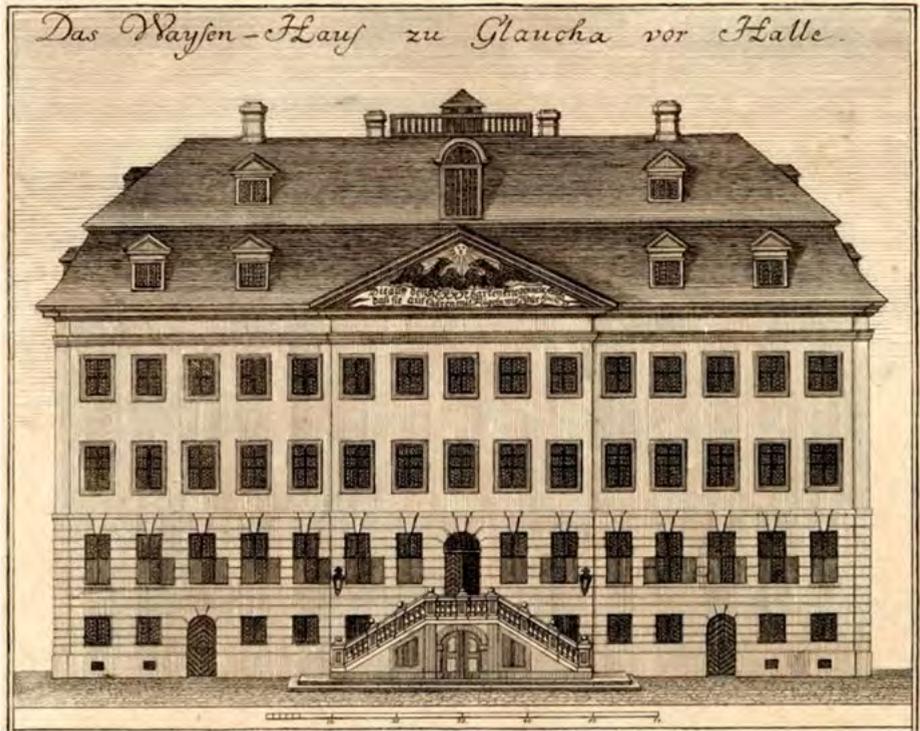


Fig. 2.1: The Main Building of the Waisenhaus in Halle, 1749. Engraving by Gottfried August Gründler.

“Jerusalem”: Normative Icon in the Apocalyptic Storyworld

Since the biblical “Jerusalem cluster” of meaning had its original and canonical seat in the Old Testament including apocalypticism (mainly in the books of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Fourth Ezra), the Christian concept of salvation history necessarily had to adapt the Jewish narratives and the role of Jerusalem in its own apocalyptic scheme.² The earthly place of Jesus Christ’s activity, passion, death, and

Graf, “Säkularisierung,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* XI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 525–72. In this essay I will refer preferably to *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, the result of an interdisciplinary cooperation and an integration of church- and religious history (responsible Albrecht Beutel, Walter Sparn) in a non-essentialist web of cultural memories.

² Introduction to all apocalyptic schemes in David Hellholm, “Apokalyptik,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4th ed., ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 590–600.

resurrection was now crucial in a new sense: Jesus Christ fulfilled the prophetic promises for salvation centered on Mount Zion; not only for Israel but also for all humankind and the whole creation. Therefore, the Christian understanding of “Jerusalem” (and of the Old Testament in general) from the very beginning developed a hermeneutical tool connecting a plurality of meanings with the biblical texts. This was the metaphorical or allegorical interpretation of biblical words or concepts.

Hermeneutical Setting

Concerning Jerusalem – the city in Palestine which was destroyed several times – we find a metaphorical understanding already in the Old Testament; even more in the New, where the relation of continuity and break with the first Covenant are explained by a typological or allegorical interpretation of persons, events, and prophetic predictions. Allegorisation of biblical texts became inevitable when the Christian community emigrated from the Synagogue, and when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed in 70 C.E. Very early, too, the hermeneutics of allegory was successfully systematized, and the “fourfold sense of the Scripture” became a common hermeneutical rule for many centuries. The four senses connected (or presumed to connect) three allegorical meanings with the literal meaning; namely, an allegorical (in a narrower use), a tropic or moral, and an anagogic sense. “Jerusalem” was good for all four senses and was often used as an illustration for the well-known distich “Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas [quid speres] anagogia.” The three allegorical uses clearly expressed normative intentions; to a certain extent, the literal use had a normative meaning, too.

Here, the Reformation took a position different from the mainstream tradition. All reformers claimed that the literal or “historical” sense of a biblical concept is the most important and, what is more, in matters of justifying faith, it is sufficient and the only basis of religious conviction. The “historical” sense, however, was not everywhere historical in the modern understanding, because biblical hermeneutics was based on the belief that Jesus Christ is the actual content of all Scripture. Therefore, the exegesis of the Bible in the *analogia fidei Christi* (following the distinction of Law and Gospel, respectively) degraded allegorical interpretations (if not indicated by Scripture itself as such) as not necessary for salvation. Nevertheless, this did not at all exclude allegorisation from theological practice, but restricted it to the application of Scriptural testimonies to the practice of faith, morals, and hopes. Scriptural proof of theological positions, however, was restricted to the literal sense and the explication of biblical texts, and did not rely on any allegorical interpretation or on non-biblical tradition. Nota bene, this *Sola Scriptura*

necessitated the innovation of a general philosophical hermeneutics in seventeenth-century Lutheranism.³

“Jerusalem” (often named “Zion”) demonstrates the varieties of allegorical interpretation also in Protestantism: in the practical dimensions of theology, in religious literature (flourishing in Early Modern times), in poetry, and in the visual arts; in particular within religious iconography. Corresponding to the fourfold sense of Scripture there were four dimensions of the use of “Jerusalem” expressing normative standards. First, it was the spatial structure of the earth with Jerusalem in the middle position; second, it named the self-interpretation of the faith and that of the church; third, the moral practice in society, in particular education and *diakonia*; fourth, the temporal order of the world including the imminent appearance of New Jerusalem. This fourfold understanding of “Jerusalem” was quite common throughout the centuries; until the Reformation introduced varieties. One of them arose in the second sense of “Jerusalem” (in the self-interpretation of the faith and of the Church): In Roman Catholic theology this sense was primarily the Church, who perceived itself as the anticipation of the Kingdom of God. Since Augustin, Revelation 20:1–7 had mostly been understood as fulfilled in the spiritual reign of the *una sancta catholica et apostolica ecclesia* [one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church]. In addition, monastic communities and church buildings counted among the terrene prefigurations of the New Jerusalem. Aptly, the Papal bull announcing the Council of Trent, November 30, 1544, began with *Laetare Jerusalem!* [Rejoice Jerusalem!] Protestant theologies did not deny the ecclesial sense, but developed much more emphatically the culture of an “inner” New Jerusalem, *i.e.* the pious soul, in which Christ resides even now, in the worldly life. In particular, Lutherans explicitly characterized and praised faith as *unio mystica cum Christo* [a mystical union with Christ].⁴

The Eschatological Role of “Jerusalem”

More important than the soteriological use of “Jerusalem,” in connection with individual salvation, is the broad eschatological use in connection with the future and the end of this world. Early modern Protestant theologians invented – like other

³ Walter Sparn, “Subtilitas intelligendi, explicandi, applicandi. Protestantische Bibelhermeneutik zwischen 1618 und 1717 im Zeichen des Sola Scriptura,” in *Sola Scriptura. Rekonstruktionen, Kritiken, Transformationen, Inszenierungen reformatorischer Schrifthermeneutik*, ed. Stefan Alkier (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 163–89.

⁴ First re-discovered by Werner Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums* I (Munich: Beck, 1965), § 13, 135–54; important again in the context of Finnish Luther interpretations, cf. Matti Repo and Rainer Vinke, eds., *Unio. Gott und Mensch in der nachreformatorischen Theologie* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Teologinen Kirjallisuusseura/Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 1996).

technical terms in theology had been invented – also a term comprising the (temporal) *novissima*, Eschatologia. These “last things” were: Individual Death; Second Advent; Resurrection of the Dead; Last Judgment; End of this World; Eternal Death, respectively Life. Again, Lutherans were most eager to elaborate these topics in correspondence with the apocalyptic texts in the Bible and in the *analogia fidei Christi*; therefore, quite a number of commentaries on the Revelation of St. John were published,⁵ and “positive” (later called “systematic,” or “dogmatic”) theology was intensely preoccupied with apocalypticism.⁶ Johann Gerhard, the most influential theologian in the first half of the seventeenth century, known also in Scandinavia, published *Loci theologici* (multiple editions: 1610–1625, ²1657, ³1776); here eschatology fills two (of nine) volumes in folio and consists of six tracts, two explaining also the “New Jerusalem from above.” Of course, Gerhard discusses carefully traditional exegeses and current exegeses of Protestant and Tridentine theologians. A main issue for him is the relation between the “New Jerusalem” in Revelation 21f. and the allegorical “Jerusalem”; respectively its equivalents now, *i.e.* before the Second Advent. In addition, he raises the question how the description in Revelation 21:10–14, of the descending Celestial Jerusalem, is to be harmonized with Revelation 21:1; or 2 Peter 3:11–13, “new heavens and a new earth”.⁷

Surprisingly, the eschatological allegorization of “Jerusalem” refers also to the first, literal sense in order to stress the negative aspect of Christian expectation for the time to come.

Gerhard recognizes in the complete destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. an image and a prophecy of what the created world would experience soon: complete destruction. This radical interpretation was new. In loc. XXIX *De consummatione saeculi* Gerhard takes the description of *Hierosolyma caelestis* [the heavenly Jerusalem] in Isaiah 60:19; Revelation 21:22, 22:5; James 1:17; 1 Corinthians 15:28; as a good reason to justify the assumption that the future consummation of this world will not only be an alteration of its qualities, but a destruction of its substance, *totalis annihilationis* [total annihilation]; only human souls will be carried through the catastrophe. Confessedly hereby he opposes the Church fathers, also Martin Luther and fellow Lutherans, and he deviates from other Lutherans who leave the question open. Surely, he would not establish a regular article of faith, but he is convinced that his thesis meshes best with the emphatic biblical sayings about the end of the old, tired

5 Best list of commentaries and of sources in arts, liturgy, theatre, and sermons in Klaus Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 2017), 5–42; secondary literature, Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes*, 42–50.

6 Cf. Walter Sparr, “Apokalyptik,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* I, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2005), 491–7.

7 Last edition (started 1864), vol. 8, Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz 1870; vol. 9, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1885; here loc. XXXI *De vita aeterna*, in particular cap. II, § 23–26.

world, and with the promise of a new heaven and new earth.⁸ After all, not many Lutherans accepted Gerhard's idea; nevertheless, it was a specific articulation of an apocalyptic feature common to most Lutherans: a sharp contrast between the present world and the world to come. Correspondingly, they held that Christians, in these last days, cannot and need not structurally reshape the old world antedating the promised new one; they may only contribute to its conservation in order to save as many humans as possible for eternal life in a substantially new world. Gerhard unfolds this "conservatism" of orthodox-Lutheran individual and sociopolitical ethics in loc. XVII *De bonis operibus*, XXIII *De ministerio ecclesiastico*, XXIV *De magistratu politico*, and XXV *De conjugio*.

The negative attitude toward the present world was justified by the apocalyptic doctrine of the "world" corrupted by "sin," "death," and "devil"; it was restrained, however, by the doctrine of creation which according to Genesis 1:31 underlines that all is and remains very good which has been created by God. Nevertheless, it allowed people to feel and to express the desire for, and to enthusiastically praise the new world, in particular the New Jerusalem. Popular religious literature of that period was very successful in articulating that affect. Name only Philipp Nicolai's *Freudenspiegel des ewigen Lebens* [*The Joyful Mirror of Eternal Life*] (1599) with the hymn "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme / der Wächter sehr hoch auf der Zinne, / wach auf, du Stadt Jerusalem," a text paraphrasing Matthew 25 and Revelation 21; written in times of struggle and plague. Another example, sung still today in several languages, is Johann Matthäus Meyfart's poetic paraphrase of Revelation 21: "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt / wollt Gott, ich wär' in dir! / Mein sehrend Herz so groß Verlangen hat / und ist nicht mehr bei mir. / Weit über Berg und Tale, / weit über Flur und Feld / schwingt es sich über alle und eilt aus dieser Welt" (1626).⁹ The desire of the pilgrim, however, did not eliminate, not even marginalize the experience of God's blessings in the magnificent beauty and friendliness of the creation in the here and now. This experience motivated Lutherans to look at nature as a parable for the heavenly garden. Paul Gerhardt's hymns – several of them are still in use in many Christian denominations – are poetry in praise of God based on a theology of nature (later called: physicotheology).

"Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud / in dieser schönen Sommerzeit / an deines Gottes Gaben" (1653), abundantly praises nature as a garden and as the typos for the heavenly garden of Christ. Gerhard here employs the rural imagery in accordance to "paradise", though he does not forget the cultural imagery, evoking the "golden palace" in Christ's garden.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid. Loc. XXIX, § 37; § 45,4; §§ 38–44.

⁹ Theological and musicological analysis in Ansgar Franz, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," in *Geistliches Wunderhorn. Große deutsche Kirchenlieder*, eds. Hansjakob Becker, Ansgar Franz, Jürgen Henkys, Hermann Kurzke, Christa Reich, Alex Stock and Markus Rathey (Munich: Beck, 2001), 154–66.

¹⁰ Cf. Christa Reich, "Geh aus, mein Hertz, und suche Freud," in *Geistliches Wunderhorn. Große deutsche Kirchenlieder*, eds. Hansjakob Becker, Ansgar Franz, Jürgen Henkys, Hermann Kurzke,

J. Gerhard praises the heavenly paradise as well as the New Jerusalem, in prose. Loc. XXXI *De coelo ac vita aeterna sive piorum glorificatione* enumerates among twelve biblical synonyms for the site, and the condition of the glorified believers, and New Jerusalem is one of them. Here it functions as the *antitypos* of the earthly Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, site of the Temple, Mother of the Church [!]. According to Gerhard, it is called “new” because of the eternally perfect condition of humans, who are elected by God – not because of the new architecture. In addition, he exposes not only the *bona animae* [goods of the soul] but also the *bona corporis* [goods of the body]; the discussion on glorified bodies was vivid among Lutherans, as opposed to Calvinists and Spiritualists whom were not much interested in the material aspects of the heavenly life. One of the authors, Daniel Cramer, gave voice to the complaints of the suppressed peasants; Balthasar Meisner contributed philosophical arguments.¹¹ Gerhard stresses the political aspect too; the vision of peace and best society of God’s *sympolitoi* under the best, *i.e.* Christ’s laws. In order to demonstrate that there *is* an eternal life, Gerhard employs the two, main biblical *typoi* and parables, the transfiguration of Christ and the prefiguration of the celestial Jerusalem. The “picture” of the latter gives an account of Revelation 21f., including the form, the site, and the inhabitants of the city.¹² Although Gerhard deals *in extenso* with the social life of the glorified with God, Christ, Angels, and with their fellow glorified, he never touches human life and work in the past, between creation and consummation [*consummatio mundi*]; it is nature as distinct from society, which serves as a *typos*. In apocalyptic Lutheranism, “New Jerusalem” does not provide a paradigm of social activity in our days that exceeds beyond the love of neighbor in given political and religious institutions. This aspect is missing also in the explicitly practical *usus hujus articuli* (§§ 173–176).¹³

Christa Reich, Alex Stock and Markus Rathey (Munich: Beck, 2001), 262–74. An analysis contextualized in terms of politics, religion, and poetry is provided by Hans-Georg Kemper, *Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit. Band 2: Konfessionalismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), 266–90.

¹¹ Johann Gerhard (fn. 7), loc. XXI, §§ 80–102; Daniel Cramer, *Tractatus de sublimi corporis beatorum spiritualis mysterio* (Mühlhausen, 1615); Areteugina. *Fabula ficta et comice descripta* (Leipzig, 1602); Balthasar Meisner: *Philosophia sobria I*, Gießen 1611, ²1615, sectio III (Quaestiones physicae), cap. II: De natura et affectionibus corporis gloriosi (365–495).

¹² Johann Gerhard (fn. 7), loc. XXXI, § 11, §§ 23f: Gerhard also refers to secondary parables like the creation of heaven and earth in seven days, the Sabbath, paradise, the tree of life, etc. §§ 25–27.

¹³ *Ibid.* §§ 103–113; §§ 173–176.

The Chiliastic Storyworld: Building New Jerusalem

New Orders of Space and Time

The shift of early modern thought and life from the traditional apocalyptic storyworld to that of modern chiliasm/millennialism did not occur suddenly or incidentally, and nobody planned or produced a comprehensive new storyworld. Ex post, we can say that in the eighteenth century the basically passive relation of Christian apocalypticism to Christ's Second Advent was left behind in favor of an active relation, by many, though not continual steps. Theologians and lay people ascribing themselves to Pietism and Enlightenment were main propagators of that change to the assumption of an open future; the field of serious hope and labor for the moral and religious progress of humankind. It was a radically new shape of the Christian obligation to perform "good works," honoring Christ and helping the neighbor, and it implied the firm will to transform the aims and structures of religious and social improvement.

Some of these steps had little to do with the order of time and history; rather, they had more to do with the spatial structure of the world. For centuries Jerusalem was believed to be *umbilicus mundi* [the navel of the world], *i.e.* the scene of decisive events of salvation history. Therefore, the Christian worldview in terms of space was oriented, materialized *e.g.* in church buildings or in maps centering the *imago mundi* [the image of the world] explicitly around the ascension of Christ in Jerusalem.¹⁴ Since the fifteenth century this has changed – as portolan maps and nautical globes show – and has turned to "occidentation" as it were. This became visible (a bit paradoxically) in the expeditions to the East going West and finding a "New World." Even more telling is the emblematic device of Emperor Charles V: it shows ships sailing through the Columns of Hercules (Gibraltar), and the motto *plus ultra* which expressed the intent: *further beyond*. Furthermore, heliocentric cosmology and the discovery of an infinite universe¹⁵ implied the loss of absolute spatial positions, both horizontally and vertically, *e.g.* the site of Gehenna (the Hell) beneath the Valley Josaphat in Jerusalem. The (soon Middle) East was overshadowed by the Ottoman threat between 1529 and 1683, and by 1700 the geographical and cosmological uniqueness of Jerusalem was dissolved. Only the religious or

¹⁴ An example is the Ebstorf wheel map of 3.50 m diameter: Hartmut Kugler, Sonja Glauch, Antje Willing and Thomas Zapf, eds., *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Kommentierte Neuausgabe in zwei Bänden* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2007).

¹⁵ It is still worth reading Alexandre Koyré, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1957); present discussion *e.g.* Jürgen Hübner, Ion-Olimpiu Stamatescu and Dieter Weber, eds., *Theologie und Kosmologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2004).

cultural metaphor *ex oriente lux* [out of the east, light] remained (and was later orientalized again).¹⁶

Other steps had to do directly with the orientation in time on the basis of a time order (*ordo temporum*). Some of them, however, had been thought of since long, by Origen in the third century and by radical Franciscans in the thirteenth century, following the modified salvation history of Joachim of Fiore.¹⁷ Anyway, the separation of chiliasm from accepted forms of apocalypticism never was perfect – simply because Revelation 20:1–6 – the resurrection of the Christian martyrs and their reign for 1.000 years together with Christ – was part of the canonical apocalyptic narrative.¹⁸ However, this was heretic, because since Constantine’s turn to Christianity the Church had rejected the hope of a thousand years’ reign of the pious on earth; perceiving it as “Jewish,” *i.e.* as a negation of the Church’s own claim to anticipate the Kingdom of God through “one thousand years”; meaning allegorically the whole time of the church. In this respect, all Protestant Churches followed this doctrine formulated explicitly by St. Augustin. In addition, the Protestant churches felt warned by the failure of attempts to realize such a third kingdom: such as the collapse of Savonarola’s Florence (c.1490). The Church was vexed by spiritualists’ critique of the ecclesial institution as such, and also by the Protestant churches evolving as legalistic state-churches. Threatened by Thomas Müntzer’s fatal commitment in the Peasant’s War (1525), and by the terror-regime in Anabaptist Münster (1534/5), the Church damned chiliasm as heretic as testified by the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) art. 17; the Anglican *42 Articles* (1552) art. 41; and the *Confessio Helvetica* (1566) ch. 11.¹⁹ Nevertheless, chiliastic motives and hopes continued to be attractive in pro and contra. The turbulence caused by the Reformation gave more occasions to academic commentaries and public debates on the Revelation of St. John than ever before, including chapter 20. In addition, two elements of traditional apocalypticism could also be used in chiliastic understanding: the hope for the conversion of the Jews “before” Christ’s coming, founded in Romans 11:25f., and the final call of the Antichrist after a period of the worst tribulation, founded in Revelation 18f. Protestants since Martin Luther felt threatened by a double Antichrist, the Turks and the Papal “Babylon” (the opposite of “Jerusalem”).

¹⁶ Cf. Hans-Joachim König, “Orientalismus,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit IX*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 494–508.

¹⁷ Joachim of Fiore, a visionary Italian abbot (d.1202) was the first to imagine a third age within salvation history, the kingdom of the Holy Spirit (after the first age of the Father, *i.e.* of the law, and the second age of the Son, *i.e.* of grace and of the Church). The third empire, which has already begun secretly, will bring about full freedom and full knowledge, *i.e.* real progress of mankind in history.

¹⁸ Klaus Berger (fn. 5), 1299–1344, parallels and types of Christian reception, *e.g.* premillennialism and postmillennialism: Abhandlung 79: Millenarismus (1306–1334).

¹⁹ Overview in Hans-Peter Großhans, “Chiliasmus,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit II*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2005), 681–87.

Small surviving spiritualist groups, and also pastors of the state church disappointed by merely institutional piety, secretly spread the hope for religious betterment by moving from flesh, from letter respectively, to spirit; e.g. Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), a Lutheran pastor, whose clandestine spiritualism, critical against the Church as an institution, was adopted by reform-oriented Lutherans after 1600. Increasing religious-political frictions in the new century intensified the widespread apocalyptic disposition; in particular chiliastic speculations of all sort. Chiliastic sources, like the apocryphal 3 Esdras and 4 Esdras, were published even in Daniel Cramer's edition of the Luther-Bible (Straßburg 1620), which already included the canonical book of Daniel; the apocalypticism which was now interpreted in terms of chiliasm. Cramer himself applied this to the "Evangelisches Reich" since the Reformation.²⁰ At that time, none of the chiliastic ideas were put into official effect under established church government; only nonconformist, informal groups of intellectuals at the fringe of church and academy nurtured ideas and proposals that were more concrete and aimed at a new society. Such groups and conventicles, not visible in the *cultus publicus* were, however a spiritualist threat for officials, and these groups and conventicles faced suspicion, investigation, and even suppression. Therefore, a first step toward chiliasm focused on the individual prerequisite of a New Jerusalem; i.e. individual agents who embodied and personified it in themselves.

The Will to Change: Inner Jerusalem

The Reformation was concerned primarily with religious reform, but nevertheless, the reformers strove for social, economic, and political improvements in the Christian society according to Christ's example and commandments. The successes of a better Christian practice were evident in many societal fields already in the sixteenth century (even if "better" was controversial). The Protestants, however, were in principle confined to a stable and deliberately static ethical and political framework, accepted by the state-churches that had been established since 1555. According to Luther's doctrine of God's two regiments, moral concerns had to be realized within the possibilities either of individual motivation and betterment, or of the respective ecclesial and political institutions; there was no intermediate agency. Social betterment was a task for all Christians within the institutional framework provided by the respective government and by the territorial church; e.g. schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc. Both institutions participated in the societal paradigm of the three states, *status politicus*, *status ecclesiasticus*, and *status oeconomicus*. The Reformers, in particular Martin Luther, gave this (traditional) paradigm a basic function, which was allegedly founded already by God's

²⁰ An analysis of Cramer's fifty *Emblemata sacra* (German 1622, Latin 1624) and eighty *Emblemata moralia nova* (1630) could also be useful here.

creation; *i.e.* before salvation history began.²¹ Consequently, in the first period after the Reformation the regulation of contemporary socio-political practice, even of devote Christians, did not sufficiently receive motivation and orientation from the normative concept of the “New Jerusalem.”

The stabilization of early modern states and state-churches in the decades around 1600 intensified religious consciousness and social discipline, on one hand; on the other hand, the process of religious, political, and cultural “confessionalization” produced Christians only in name. Lutherans focusing on serious and successful pious practices developed the idea of the extension of the Reformation of *faith* to a Reformation of *life*, and hoped for a thoroughly Christian society.²² In Germany, in particular within the Palatinate, the Reformed (Calvinist) Churches had since 1563 claimed to bring the Reformation to perfection in terms of cult and of church discipline. To exercise effective church discipline also became an objective for Lutherans. However, the Lutherans did not rely on public in preaching and catechizing alone. Their will to morally change the society took the way of renovating the inner affects, *i.e.* the emotions of the individual soul, and to minimize the bad; respectively optimize the constructive affects. The presence of God in the soul (according to Rev. 21:3, and of Luke 17:21, Luther’s translation) would enable Christians to build the Kingdom of God inwardly, receiving help from other Christians and reversely reinforcing others; the result of such communication would be an informal but nearly-perfect Christian society. The most influential attempt to build an “Inner Jerusalem” was Johann Arndt’s *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, first published 1605–1610, followed by more than one hundred editions in the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries which also included translations into Scandinavian languages.²³

Although Johann Arndt (1555–1621) was a member of Church Government, officials in Church and Academy did not easily accept his book. First, his theology was consciously a programmatic spiritualist and paracelsian hermeticism; he was, like Jakob Böhme, influenced by V. Weigel. Second, his methodology was not scientific in the sense of the new Neo-Aristotelianism taken over by mainstream Concordist Lutheranism since 1600; it was sapiential, merging experienced faith and rational knowledge of nature in divine, non-scholastic wisdom; originally donated to Adam and lost for centuries. Christians whose divine image has been restored (Book of the Scripture), are able in faith and prayer (Book of Life, Christ), to build God’s

21 The best interpretation of this structure is in Oswald Bayer, *Martin Luther’s theology: a contemporary interpretation* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2008), chapter XIV. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2003, 2007.)

22 The former interpretation of the situation as a “crisis of piety,” respectively as a “second reformation,” has been corrected by the paradigm of an analogous “confessionalization” of all three confessions and their political and cultural contexts, cf. Thomas Kaufmann, “Konfessionalisierung,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* VI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2007), 1053–70.

23 See Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 148–49.

Kingdom inwardly (Book of Conscience), to restore insight and optimize the use of nature (Book of nature).²⁴

Arndt held on to orthodox apocalypticism, but his theology was open to chiliastic ideas: the will for effective change, the theosophic turn, the vision of Christian agents of change, and the inclusion of Non-Christians into the change; in particular Jews, whose conversion, for theologians like Arndt or Philipp Nicolai, became a task of pacifist Christian example and wisdom. These features also characterized a group of young intellectuals in Tübingen around 1610, who supported Arndt, criticized state-churches and absolutist politics, discussed the failures of Florence and Münster, and developed alternative reform-concepts based on theosophical-mystic piety and chiliastic assumptions; some of them even expected the Last Judgment and a following age of the spirit (Joachim of Fiore's third empire) already by 1620. Out of a deep "contempt of the world," a member of this semi-clandestine group, Johann Valentin Andreae,²⁵ projected a general reform toward a perfect society. From 1614 he anonymously published (fictive) news of a Rosicrucian Brotherhood; a secret order building such a society apart from given societies. The addressees were all scholars and politicians in Europe; indeed, Andreae triggered a positive debate nurtured by almost 1,000 publications.²⁶ Soon Andreae himself, however, dispraised the project as arrogantly omniscient and useless for societal reform. He wrote an "Invitation to a Christian Society" (1617) followed by, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (1619), the model of a possibly real "elected society."²⁷ This political utopia (the term does not occur in the text itself) is not a chiliastic project in the sense of shaping a longer future; Andreae rejected political-religious prophecies and mocked an allegedly revealed "Fifth Monarchy" after the four monarchies of world-history envisioned in the Book of Daniel. *Christianopolis* is an alternative to floating chiliastic interpretations of the religio-political situation. It stages a Christian elite on its "pilgrimage to Heaven"; their society is the present place or "prelude" of Jerusalem to come. The narrative "I" stands for every true Christian pilgrim striving for the Kingdom of God.

The dedication declares that the new society of the book is a "colony" deduced from the "great Jerusalem" constructed by J. Arndt. In fact, Andreae turns Arndt's inner Jerusalem inside out, into a possibly existing society nearly perfect in terms of religion, education, and morals; only human "flesh" causes some problems, which are solved by consent of all within the structure of an aristocratic theocracy.

²⁴ Contextualized analysis in Hermann Geyer, *Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie* III (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2001).

²⁵ For a detailed biographical and doxographical account of the person and the group, see Martin Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1657: Eine Biographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

²⁶ Cf. Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1657*, fn. 22, 65–92; Renko Geffarth, "Rosenkreuzer," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* XI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 395–8.

²⁷ See Chapter 22 (Walter Sparr), vol. 2, 441–58.

With respect to the ideal of an authoritarian theocracy *Christianopolis* resembles Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, published 1623 by one of his friends, but known to Andreae already in 1619. Furthermore, the relation between the island Christianopolis and other societies is not an active or, if need be, a defensive one; an apt visitor may invite others or stay there, if he is a sincere Christian (confessional, but not exclusivist Lutheran) and fully accepts social discipline according to the constitution of the city. Implicitly, Andreae presents further perfection only in the case of family; he does not give advice on how to come from a given society to Christianopolis; he gives jurisprudence the least place in this "colony" of inner Jerusalem, which resembles something in between a monastery and a (small) imperial city. Explicitly, he characterizes *Christianopolis* as a kind of comforting play (like Thomas Moore's *Utopia*), but not a fooling one (like Rosicrucian ideas); in other words, as an "example for Christian freedom and security."²⁸

The Will to Change: Heterotopic Jerusalem

Cultural Progress Before the Second Advent

Readers of today can say that Andreae's *Christianopolis* constructed a heterotopy; however, a virtual one maintaining possible reality. It does not refer to a chiliastic time-order, but it conveys a chiliastic dynamic. This dynamic is the *cultura ingenii* of Christianopolis: a perfectly organized educational project, run by highly motivated and fully competent pedagogues, and effectively equipped with didactic measures and abundant material for visualization. Not to forget that formation includes a non-scholastic, empirically oriented knowledge of nature, and the methodic practice of exploring; purging and intensifying the powers of nature. The type of knowledge cultivated by Andreae and all reform-oriented intellectuals, merging 'science' and 'humanities,' included already the category of progress; as it expected a significant and ongoing increase of knowledge. In a way, they imagined to reach anew the situation of Adam before the fall; much more confident than Neo-Aristotelian Orthodoxy to decipher the secrets of the *liber naturae*. In addition, their use of natural wisdom was targeted at general societal reform; i.e. substantial restitution and betterment (*emendatio*) in all human concerns. Such a general progress can be realized best by an advancement of learning and education. This feature of Christianopolis stands in one line with Johannes Kepler – a supraconfessional Christian – and his vision of the "dawn of a new era," or stands in line with Francis

²⁸ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio (1619)," in *Gesammelte Schriften 14*, eds. Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-holzboog Verlag, 2018), 86–429, cit. 106 (100–108).

Bacon's *Instauratio magna* (1605/1620), and his *New Atlantis* (1627). It also allowed transcending the boundaries of traditional apocalypticism to a longer time-span before the Second Advent, which according to the official doctrine was still "near." The first to do this consciously was the charismatic Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who had corresponded with Andreae since 1628 and regarded himself throughout his life as Andreae's disciple. Indeed, the postmillenarian *chiliasmus subtilis* of Comenius' pansophic-Christian vision of societies progressive by education (*De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, 1645–1670) made him one of the founding fathers of modern Europe.²⁹

For Christian reformers a decisive step toward modern chiliasm became possible during the seventeenth century. Now the expectation of a "near" Second Advent was replaced more and more by efforts to prove, using the Revelation of St. John, that salvation history provides a longer time-span from the First Advent respectively now for reform and progress. After a few sporadic exegeses in the sixteenth century a number of commentaries voted openly for chiliasm; notably non-scholastic theologians in England and Germany. The Puritans Thomas Brightman in *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (1607) and Joseph Mede (among others *Clavis apocalyptica*, 1629); as well as the Reformed Johann Heinrich Alsted in his Encyclopedia, in particular *Diatribes de millis annis apocalypticis* (1627); or later the covenantal theologian Johannes Coccejus in *Cogitationes in Apocalypsi* (1668). Then (less) orthodox Lutherans followed; prominently Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, hymn writer, friend of the Cambridge Platonists and epoch-making editor of the Kabbala. Against Knorr's commentary (*Eigentliche Erklärung über die Gesichter der Offenbarung S. Johannis*, 1670),³⁰ the (more) orthodox Lutheran Superintendent Caspar Heunisch published a non-speculative, numerological, and chronotactical exegesis entitled *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (1684), against contemporary chiliasm.³¹

Both authors correlated their exegesis of the apocalyptic visions less with cosmic events, but rather with political and religious events, in order to identify the

²⁹ Walter Sparr, "'Chiliasmus crassus' und 'Chiliasmus subtilis' im Jahrhundert Comenius: eine mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Skizze," in *Johann Amos Comenius und die Genese des modernen Europa*, eds. Norbert Kotowski and Jan Laschek (Fürth: Flacius, 1992), 20–2, 122–9.

³⁰ Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, "Eigentliche Erklärung über die Gesichter der Offenbarung S. Johannis," in *Apokalypse-Kommentar*, ed. Italo Michele Battafarano (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2004).

³¹ Caspar Heunisch, *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (Schleusingen, 1684; facsimile reprint edn. Basel, 1981). Cf. Walter Sparr, "Zeit-Ordnung". Der antichiliasmische Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis von Caspar Heunisch (1684)," *Morgen-Glantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 21 (2011), 159–87. Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie," in *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 105–23, 390–421.

present age in God's time order and the time-span still available for humankind. Heunisch holds fast to the traditional connection of the apocalyptic scheme with the Christian Church as agent in the salvation history, but considers well the gradual fading of the "near" Second Advent in his time. Knorr expected the end of the world by 1820 C.E., Heunisch expects the end only by 2123 C.E. – even more time for "better times," he also expects chiliasm and factually argues for it. "Better times" was a keyword of Philipp Jakob Spener, the patron of Pietism (in the stricter sense), and it marked the reception of a moderate postmillenarian *chiliasmus subtilis* in the established Lutheran Churches. Spener (1635–1705) used the formula "hope for better times for the Church" in "Pia desideria," a foreword to an edition of J. Arndt's Sermons (1675; *Behauptung der Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*, 1693). However, he contradicted Heunisch's identification of the Thousand-Years-Empire with the (true) Church – for him and Pietism in general it is still to come, surely soon, and pious Christians approach it actively. Here he leaves behind the predefined apocalyptic schedule and the passivity of apocalyptic experience.³²

Heterotopy as a Socio-Political Form of Christian Chiliasm

In Spener, too, we see that the ambitious goal of a general Christian reform needed an elite group, since the given structures of ecclesial authority and political power in their mutual dependence were unable to reform the institutional system as such and tolerate a system break. After J. Arndt and J. V. Andreae Spener, too, faced the problem of how such an avant-garde could be shaped as a distinct body, both sociologically and politically. Spener's *Collegia pietatis* (since 1670) took the new form of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a religious-sociological "principle" of Spener.³³ By official position he was able to support the "Waisenhaus" massively; the extremely successful school projects of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) in the not less successful new University of Halle (1694). Francke, however, had to come to terms with not only

32 Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Pietismus und Chiliasmus. Zur Kontroverse um Phillip Jakob Speners "Hoffnung besseres Zeiten", " *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 78, no. 2 (1981), loc. Cit. (fn 29), 390–421. For a Kabbala version of Spener's position see Anonymous [Francis M. van Helmont?]: *Seder Olam sive Orde Seculorum. Historica enarratio doctrinae*, s.l. 1693; English translation London, 1694. The author expects the end of the Antichrist resp. the beginning of the Thousand Years Reign of Christ on Earth by 1777. Cf. Gerold Necker, "Kabbalistische Perspektiven der apokalyptischen Chronologie Seder Olam sive Ordo Seculorum (1693)," *Morgen-Glantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 27 (2017), 23–45.

33 For comprehensive information see Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 281–389.

the Lutheran-Orthodox Church government, but also with the political government represented by the Reformed Elector of Brandenburg (-Prussia). In coordination with him, Francke developed a heterotopic institution for activities of general betterment, mainly pursuing education for practical use outside of the school; experience-oriented research (laboratories, expeditions); religious and social service (e.g. cheap Bibles, pharmacies); and foreign mission (e.g. Danish Tranquebar in India). The “Waisenhaus” and many foundations that followed worked in separate places, independent from the institutional structures of state and church, and critical against the “world” in terms of morals; however, they were determined to transform the society around them thoroughly by communicating superior expertise and convincing behavior.³⁴

The heterotopy established by Francke and his followers in Protestant Europe implied a half-autonomous, still cooperative relation to the respective political powers. A pupil of Halle, however, Nikolaus Graf Zinzendorf (1700–1760), developed a different form of heterotopy. He was himself a political authority with little power, but able to plant communities; “Moravian” settlements in Herrnhut (1722/1727) and elsewhere in Europe (Dutch Genadental, 1638, Danish Christiansfeld, 1773), and overseas.³⁵ They were devoted to Christian life undisturbed from the outside, and were productive for the “world” by connection of education and missionary projects outside. However, they had to come to terms with different and far-away state authorities – an inevitable relation yet not essential. Again, an own type of heterotopy was shaped by groups of radical spiritualists tending, or forced, to move from territory to territory, or to leave political structures and power completely. If they would not resign to merely individual pilgrimage, like John Bunyan (*The Holy City*, 1665; *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 1668) after the failure of Oliver Cromwell’s revolutionary chiasm in England, they moved from “Babylon” either to the extreme edge or went underground³⁶ – or they emigrated to the New World which provided undisturbed freedom of faith and life; and there, on the spot, they anticipated New Jerusalem, Zion, Salem etc.³⁷ This was the option of many Pietist groups like the Labadists (Maryland 1683), the heterodox Lutherans (Germantown 1683), the Ephrata Cloister (1732), the Moravians (“Nazareth,”

³⁴ See Martin Brecht, “August Hermann Francke und der Hallesche Pietismus in ihrer Wirkung auf Westfalen,” in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 2: Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 440–539.

³⁵ See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107. Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15. and Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammershøy), 117–25.

³⁶ Cf. Hans Schneider, “Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), fn. 33, 391–437; See also Chapter 7 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 127–37.

³⁷ See Chapter 10 (Vidar L. Haanes), 189–211.

“Bethlehem,” since 1740), or Shakers (1787). In the New World itself, strong chiliastic hopes had turned up in the wake of the Great Awakening; boosted in particular by Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). When the “American Dream” became real when the United States of America was founded, the constitution granted full religious tolerance on the basis of the separation of state and churches. The clearly chiliastic *novus ordo seclorum*, therefore, was possible in circles that were either Christian-religious, natural/civil religious, or religiously agnostic. From now on, it was an open option to refer to the “New Jerusalem” and to continue to connect it with an *adventus* from heaven, or to locate it in a dawning *futurum* to be unfolded by moral, political, and technological protagonists as “the” history of mankind.

Protestant Europe took a different way due to the close and almost completely affirmative relation between states and the respective church(es). Here, the mainstream Enlightenment (not critics like Emanuel Swedenborg³⁸) left the canonical apocalyptic time-order in favor of an open, progressive development; possible because of the perfectibility of human nature and real by human effort in cooperation with divine providence, *i.e.* with God’s education and perfection of humankind. This paradigm of G.W. Leibniz’ *Essais de Théodicée* (1710) was made popular by philosophy (*Popularphilosophie*) and liberal theology (*Neologie*) after 1750 and was proved in educational reform-projects like the heterotopic *Philanthropinum* schools.³⁹ The grand narrative also became part of a new philosophy of “the” history finalizing the past into present “Neuzeit.” Even a critique of Neology like G.E. Lessing refers to Joachim’s prophecy of a Third Age nurtured by the “eternal Gospel” of Spirit: *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1777/ 1780).⁴⁰ Also the non-speculative Immanuel Kant, in his ideas concerning global human history, pleads for a “non-enthusiastic chiliasm” in philosophy; contributing to a better future.⁴¹ The liberal school of Protestant theology in the nineteenth century follows this line; in particular, Richard Rothe aims for the opposite of heterotopy: the evolutionary dissolution of particular church bodies into a ferment of a free society (*Theologische Ethik*, 1845–1848).

38 See Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85.

39 Cf. Walter Sparn, “Leibniz, Theologie,” *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts IV*, eds. Helmut Holzhey and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Basel: Schwabe Verlag 2001), 1079–90; Walter Sparn, “Die Neologie,” in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg*, ed. Helmut Holzhey (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2014), § 22.

40 Cf. Walter Sparn, “Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,” in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg*, ed. Helmut Holzhey (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2014), § 25; Monika Fick, *Lessing-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2014), 424–77.

41 Immanuel Kant, “Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht,” *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (November 1784), 403f. (also in other essays). Cf. Gerd Irrlitz, *Kant-Handbuch. Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2002), 410–2; 425–9; 431–5.

The persistence of Pietism during the eighteenth century and the Protestant awakening in the early nineteenth century, followed by a re-confessionalization of state-churches and partially of academic theology, helped a minority to hold on to the apocalyptic schedule. This included, as before, the end of papism and the conversion of the Jews; even their return to the Holy Land seemed plausible. Here, the Second Advent was as “near” as ever and therefore was calculated again. Albrecht Bengel’s postmillenarianism (*Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis*, 1740) reckoned the end of the world and the beginning of the first (of two!) Thousand-Year-Reigns by 1836. Quite a number of German Pietists emigrated during two decades prior to that date and planted heterotopic provisional villages in South East Russia, nearer to “Jerusalem.” At home pious Christians organized Bible societies and foreign missions, which on the one hand presupposed colonial expansion and on the other tried to be, in a way, something else. Awakened pastors in Germany confronted with the destructive consequences of industrialization (rural exodus, pauperism in the cities) had, since about 1820, founded para-ecclesial, autonomous social institutions for the poor, orphaned, or disabled outcasts of turbo-capitalism; mostly supported by pious Christian bourgeois. They also began to instruct and to train personnel for such “rescue-houses”: female *Diakonissen* [deaconesses] since 1836 (Theodor Fliedner, Kaiserswerth; 1853 Wilhelm Löhe, Neuendettelsau); and male *Diakone* [deacons] since 1839 (Johann Hinrich Wichern, Hamburg). In 1833, Wichern had established a regular institution (*Anstalt*), which one could call a heterotopy in its double relation to the society. On the one hand this *Anstalt* provided communal life in its own buildings, with its own rules and pedagogical concepts, separated from the outside. On the other hand, this life, e.g. the family principle and the moral restitution of “fallen” persons, should function as an exemplary and sharp contrast to the evil surroundings, and it should be the starting point of the re-Christianization of society.

After Wichern’s program (and success in parts) had become known and had been accepted nation-wide in 1848, further heterotopies of Christian reform and social healing and betterment were founded and often extended to the size of greater villages; e.g. the Johannesstift Berlin (1858), or Bethel (Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, 1867). In Bethel, in particular, “Zion” and many other places of the Holy Land were present in the names of buildings and in the geography of the village. With early modern chiliasm’s Jerusalem code in mind, the manner in which these places reacted to the religious and social crises of their day, exhibited a defensive, rather than an optimistic disposition, in their practice of “Christian love.”

With energy (Bodelschwingh: “Not so slowly!”) these institutions provided schools and workshops, on the one hand, and a religious orientation towards the heavenly Jerusalem on the other. They offered moral rehabilitation and training for an honest job in the society for part-time clients, as well as therapeutical services and social discipline for permanent clients; both on their way to a comforted death. *Diakonische Anstalten* [deaconical institutions], however, abstained willingly

from imagining social evolution or contributing to social-political reform of civil society and state; they rather adjusted to political and ecclesiastical Governments, which after all expected support from them against socialists and revolutionary communists. Even the new nomenclature of “Diakonia” and “Inner Mission” reveals different ambitions of Christian love and hope; now and then.⁴²

⁴² In part III, book 3 of Gerhard Uhlhorn's *Die Christliche Liebestätigkeit* (1894, ²1895, reprinted Neukirchen 1959) we find a nearly contemporary account of the development and the character of diaconical institutions in Germany in the wake of the Awakening 1817ff., p. 515–800.



Fig. 3.1: Interior of Swedenborgs Minneskyrka, Stockholm. Courtesy of Swedenborgs Minneskyrka. Photo: Thomas Xavier Floyd, 2015.

Devin Zuber

Chapter 3

An Apocalypse of Mind: Cracking the Jerusalem Code in Emanuel Swedenborg's Theosophy

The Swedish scientist-turned-mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) came to believe that the ideas contained in his mystical writings constituted the coming of the New Jerusalem, the dawning of a new age as foretold in the book of the Apocalypse. Both allegorical and yet tied to a specific historical claim – that a spiritual apocalypse, a “last judgement,” began unfolding in the year 1757 – Swedenborg catalysed a later generation of Romantic thinkers and writers (such as William Blake) who gravitated towards his millennial combination of Enlightenment empiricism with visionary accounts of things “seen and heard” in heaven and hell. This chapter surveys Swedenborg’s conceptualisation of Jerusalem within his eschatological contexts, before considering how his delineations of alternative spiritualities, flourishing outside Christendom, galvanised later Swedenborgian and New Age imaginaries. Attention will also be given to how Swedenborg’s New Jerusalem led to distinctive artistic and ecclesiastical iconographies within the Swedenborgian church tradition.

In 1743, the Stockholm-born natural scientist Emanuel Swedenborg was undergoing a serious spiritual crisis. He was in the midst of an ambitious project to locate the seat of the soul in the human body, applying years of his training in the various natural sciences now to the labyrinths of brain and blood. His research, he was convinced, would prove to the growing scepticism and materialism of his age, once and for all, that spiritual causation existed in nature, and that the human was more than just matter, the mind not merely a Lockean *tabula rasa*: his project would grandly demonstrate “the mode in which the soul flows into its mind, and the mind into its body.”¹

¹ Swedenborg, 1955 no. 640. Following standard practice in scholarship on Swedenborg, all citations of his work refer to passage (and not page) numbers, in both his scientific and theological works, except where noted.

Note: For comments and suggestions on this chapter, I am indebted to Jim Lawrence and Rebecca Esterson, my colleagues at the Center for Swedenborgian Studies at the Graduate Theological Union, as well as the Rev. Göran Appelgren, pastor of the Swedenborgs Minneskyrka in Stockholm. Any remaining errors are wholly my own.

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But Swedenborg quickly hit a metaphorical wall, having pushed his Enlightenment rationalist empiricism to its utter limits, and the epistemological framework undergirding his scientific thought began to crack and fragment under the duress of his transcendentalist predilections. After a sequence of terrifying dreams, waking hallucinations, and visions that culminated with an epiphany of Christ when he was traveling through Holland during Easter in 1744, Swedenborg began to abandon his scientific search for the soul, feeling called towards a different kind of writing and task.² A second vision of Christ a year later in London confirmed his sense that he was to undertake a new theological vocation: “from that day I left all worldly scholarly endeavour and worked in *spiritualibus* from what the Lord commissioned me to write. Daily the Lord then often opened my bodily eyes, so that right in the middle of the day I could look into the other life and in the most joyful alertness talk with angels and spirits.”³

Over the next twenty-seven years, up until his death in 1772, Swedenborg embarked on an ambitious theological project devoted to explicating the “inner” spiritual sense of Christian scriptures, bolstered by Swedenborg’s clinical accounts of his experiences “seen and heard” – *ex visa et audita* – of heaven, hell, and other places. While the ensuing eighteen separate theological works (several of which appeared in multiple volumes, like the massive *Arcana Caelestia*, or “Secrets of Heaven”) seem to have been geared towards attracting the attention of contemporaries in the church and the natural sciences, Swedenborg’s work was largely ignored or discredited by established theologians; it would take a later generation of Romantic figures, such as William Blake or, in Scandinavia, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, for Swedenborg’s heterodox views on spirituality to find a home in the visionary aftermath of the Enlightenment.⁴

Due to the hostility articulated towards his doctrines by the Swedish Lutheran church, the reception of Swedenborg in his own country was more or less driven underground. Even during Swedenborg’s lifetime, his doctrines had infamously come under scrutiny in 1770 during a much publicized heresy trial in Gothenburg; the Royal Council,

² See the entries in Swedenborg’s “drömboken,” or journal of dreams, published only posthumously. Emanuel Swedenborg *Swedenborg’s Dream Diary*, trans. Lars Bergquist (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2001), 124–137.

³ Carl Robsahm, *Memoirs of Swedenborg and Other Documents*, trans. Anders Hallengren, ed. Stephen McNeilly (London: Swedenborg Society, 2011), 7.

⁴ See Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89. Swedenborg did have a measurable impact on Lutheran theological circles in Germany, particularly in the work of the Schwabian theosophist Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, who had published the first book about Swedenborg’s theology in 1765; see Friedmann Stengel, *Aufklärung bis zum Himmel. Emanuel Swedenborg im Kontext der Theologie und Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011). Written in Neolatin, Swedenborg’s theological work was readily translated into English and German within his lifetime. The authoritative modern scholarly editions of the *Arcana Caelestia* are the volumes being released as *Secrets of Heaven* by the Swedenborg Foundation; see Emanuel Swedenborg, *Secrets of Heaven I*, trans. Lisa Hyatt Cooper (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2008); Emanuel Swedenborg, *Secrets of Heaven II*, trans. Lisa Hyatt Cooper (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2013).

on advice from the Lutheran Consistory, decreed that they would totally “condemn, reject, and forbid” teaching the theological content of Swedenborg’s doctrines.⁵ It was not until much later, in 1873, that Swedish laws would ultimately permit the establishment of non-Lutheran churches, and separatist Swedenborgian congregations were finally allowed to openly form, worship, and operate in Sweden – long after similar “churches of the New Jerusalem” had sprung up in England, America, and even Germany.⁶ Swedenborg’s somewhat contraband status in Scandinavia, however, rendered him quite attractive for later writers like Almqvist and Fredrika Bremer who themselves gravitated towards various theological heterodoxies. Nevertheless, Swedenborg’s highly idiosyncratic interpretation of the “New Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, made ready like a bride adorned for her husband” (Rev 21:2), as an allegorical code for the advent of a new spiritual age that his own writings were the harbingers of, ended up catalysing the religious-utopian imaginaries of a wide number of Romantic and post-Romantic painters, poets, and artists – other Scandinavians distinctly influenced by Swedenborg in this regard would include Thomas Thorild (1759–1808), P.D.A. Atterbom (1790–1855), Bernhard von Beskow (1796–1868), and the Finnish writer Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877).⁷ This chapter is a brief attempt to crack Swedenborg’s own “Jerusalem code,” unravelling its embeddedness within the discourses of both eighteenth-century theologies of history and allegorical hermeneutics, as well as its migration and transferability to a wide variety of other aesthetic projects, both in Scandinavia and elsewhere. Swedenborg’s glosses on the Apocalypse and the “new” Jerusalem were both synchronic and diachronic, tied to the specificity of a historical moment (through his claim that an eschatological “last judgment” had already taken place in the spiritual world, in 1757), but also to a transcendent dimension of what Walter Benjamin would term the *Jetztzeit* [“now-time”] of a messianic (and anti-modern) sort of temporality: there wasn’t just one single last judgment or apocalypse at a particular historical juncture, Swedenborg argued, but the imminent possibility for all individuals (present and future) to experience within themselves last judgments, and to carry a model of the new Jerusalem within the spiritual architecture of their regenerated souls.⁸

5 Lars Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret: The Meaning and Significance of the Word of God, the Life of the Angels and Service to God* (London: Swedenborg Society, 2005), 403–12.

6 Olle Hjern, “The Influence of Emanuel Swedenborg in Scandinavia,” in *Scribe of Heaven: Swedenborg’s Life, Work, and Impact*, eds. Jonathan Rose, Stuart Shotwell and Mary Lou Bertucci (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2005), 156; Feodor Goerwitz, “The New Church on the Continent of Europe,” in *The New Jerusalem in the World’s Religious Congresses of 1893*, ed. L. P. Mercer (Chicago: Western New-Church Union, 1894), 88–9.

7 Hjern, “The Influence of Emanuel Swedenborg in Scandinavia,” *passim*; Olle Hjern, “Carl Jonas Love Almqvist – Great Poet and Swedenborgian Heretic,” in *Swedenborg and His Influence*, eds. Erland J. Brock and E. Bruce Glenn (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church, 1988), 88

8 Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Last Judgment and Babylon Destroyed*, trans. George F. Dole, in *The Shorter Works of 1758* (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2018), nos. 28–32. On Benjamin’s

Finally, as the other chapters in this volume have drawn out, the Scandinavian Jerusalem code often became entangled in actual relationships to the “real” city of Jerusalem, be it through the routes of Protestant pilgrimage or reverberations of the medieval crusades. While Swedenborg’s (new) Jerusalem, on the one hand, as an allegory of individual spiritual regeneration and symbol for a rejuvenated Christianity would seem to obviate any such terrestrial correlations, on the other hand, his peculiar insistence on forms of divine revelation manifesting outside the Judeo-Christian fold, and part of a broader horizon of his unfolding millennial theosophy, has periodically instigated groups of Swedenborgians (both in the eighteenth-century and in more recent times) to embark on orientalist projects in non-western spaces, seeking to find or recover these alternative spiritualities that Swedenborg hinted could be located in Mongolia or Africa. Thus, even though Swedenborg’s Jerusalem code would seem to be neatly contained as an allegory of a Christian doctrine (or at least as revealed by Swedenborg’s theological illuminations), its open gates to the four cardinal directions might be read as registering traces of the religious other, beyond the pale of Christendom. Swedenborg’s Jerusalem code, in other words, its millennial armatures, must be reckoned as part of the foundational symbolic typologies of what would later become the New Age, directly anticipating (and in some cases influencing) the orientalist inflections of both Theosophy and Beatnik Buddhism.⁹

Theologies of History: Swedenborg’s Five Churches

Between 1748 and 1756, Swedenborg laboured over what was to be his theological magnum opus (and official debut as visionary seer): the eight folio volumes of the *Arcana Caelestia* which aimed to explicate the inner spiritual sense of Genesis and Exodus, interspersed with visionary accounts of things “seen and heard” by Swedenborg in the spiritual world. But the *Arcana* did more than allegorize Genesis as a drama of our consciousness and its spiritual evolution; it robustly engaged with the established discourse of what Hans Urs von Balthazar and others have called the “theology of history”: an attempt to read human (and cosmic) history as one of an unfolding divine telos, at work in the world.¹⁰ Swedenborg built on classical tropes that had viewed the history of humanity as one of four (sometimes five) successive ages that usually

Jetztzeit, see Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 261, and Devin Zuber, “Flanerie at Ground Zero: Aesthetic Countermemories in Lower Manhattan,” *American Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2006), 273.

⁹ Devin Zuber, “Buddha of the North: Swedenborg and Transpacific Zen,” *Swedenborg and the Arts* 14, no. 1–2 (2010), 1–33.

¹⁰ Hans Urs von Balthazar, *A Theology of History* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963).

followed declensionist narrative, of moving further away from some purer, earlier “golden” age.¹¹ For the ancient Greek poet Hesiod, these were the ages of metal: first, the ideal Golden Age, which was succeeded by an inferior Silver Age, and then a Bronze Age, and so on. To these epochs Swedenborg affixed the Latin phrase “ecclesia” – perhaps as a misnomer, too easily translated as a “church” – to read the respective ages as markedly different eras of spiritual dispensation and means of communication between humanity and the Divine: it became a way, in other words, for Swedenborg to make the history of revelation and scripture, of spiritual communication itself, the heart of the story of scripture. As Swedenborg puts it in his later *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Teachings* (1758): “in the earliest church, revelation was direct; in the ancient church it came through correspondences; in the Jewish church it came by audible speech; and in the Christian church it came through the Word.”¹²

Already within his theological debut in the *Arcana Caelestia*, Swedenborg begins to self-reflexively conceive of his own spiritual illuminations and exegeses as constituting a new kind of spiritual epoch or dispensation.¹³ In the notebooks and journals he kept during this period to record his private spiritual experiences – published only posthumously as either the “Spiritual Diary” or “Spiritual Experiences” – Swedenborg begins to describe vast upheavals and changes to the spiritual geography of heaven, hell, and the world of spirits. He became convinced he was witnessing interiorly, in the psychic space of the spiritual world, the unfolding of the Last Judgment as foretold in John’s book of Revelations. But Swedenborg was not only personal witness to this spiritual Apocalypse that was reordering the “influx” of heaven into this natural world; the revelation of the heavenly “arcana” in his books were construed to be the doctrinal foundations for a new era or church, signified by the New Jerusalem in John’s Revelations. At the centre of this New Jerusalem were a set of ideas about caring for others, loving the Lord, and an understanding of the religious matters of faith through enlightened reason – doctrines which would identify those Christians who were part of a “new church.” Swedenborg would subsequently go on to publish five distinctive works related to this Apocalyptic eschatology, including a substantial exegetical commentary

¹¹ E. J. Michael Witzel, *The Origins of the World’s Mythologies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹² Emanuel Swedenborg, *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Teachings: Drawn from Things Heard in Heaven*, trans. George F. Dole, in *The Shorter Works of 1758* (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2018), no. 247.

¹³ “The Lord in his divine mercy has given me the opportunity to learn the inner meaning of the Word, which contains deeply hidden secrets that no one has been aware of before. No one can become aware of them without learning how things stand in the other life . . . for these reasons, I have been granted the privilege of disclosing what I have heard and seen over the past several years of interaction with spirits and angels.” Emanuel Swedenborg, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, trans. George F. Dole (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2010), no. 67.

on the book of Revelations itself – *Revelation Unveiled* (1766) (a related sixth work, *Revelation Explained*, was abruptly abandoned, and never published).¹⁴

Even as Swedenborg's New Jerusalem would seem to completely dematerialize into doctrinal allegory, a kind of cartographic sense of space nevertheless persists in the journal pages that detailed his spiritual experiences. He occasionally sketched small, simple maps with letter coded-keys to diagram his observations of the Apocalypse and the attendant rearrangement of the heavens and hells. In entry no. 5471 of *Spiritual Experiences*, for example, he places the New Jerusalem ("A") at the centre, a four-fold block comprised of "those who are truly Christian," surrounded by lateral angling lines that indicate gloomy caverns and sulfurous lakes where groups of hypocritical priests and profaning harlots (amongst other unsavoury characters) were being cast and thrown down into (Fig. 3.2).¹⁵ This veritable "psychogeography" (Guy Debord) traced by Swedenborg's own flânerie through the dynamic spiritual world anticipates William Blake's later use of Jerusalem as a kind of cartographic grid that overlays the streets of London in his great poem *Jerusalem: Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804–1820): a peripatetic poetics to "build Jerusalem, in England's green and pleasant land."¹⁶ It is, moreover, entirely possible that Blake would have seen this particular manuscript of Swedenborg's with its sketches of spiritual space, as the bound volume was in the hands of the Swede Carl Bernhard Wadström in the 1780s and 90s, when Blake was heavily associating with the London Swedenborgian coterie that Wadström was integrally part of.¹⁷

14 These others include *New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine* (1758), *Last Judgment and Babylon Destroyed* (1758), *The White Horse* (1758), and *Supplements to the Last Judgment* (1763). I am grateful to Jim Lawrence for sharing with me an advanced draft of his forthcoming critical introduction to the New Century Edition translation of *Revelation Unveiled*, to be published by the Swedenborg Foundation in 2020 or 2021.

15 Emanuel Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Diary: Recounting Spiritual Experiences During the Years 1745 to 1765*, trans. Durban Odhner (Bryn Athyn, Pa: General Church of the New Jerusalem, 1998), no. 5471.

16 William Blake, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 96. On Blake, Swedenborg, and the psychogeography of London, see Iain Sinclair, *Blake's London: the Topographical Sublime* (London: Swedenborg Society, 2010), passim.

17 According to Tafel, Wadström brought this – and other – Swedenborg manuscripts to London in 1788. The manuscripts were not "repatriated" to the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences until 1845. Rudolf L. Tafel, *Documents Concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg II* (London: Swedenborg Society, 1877), 837. On Blake and the London Swedenborgians, see Morton Paley, "'A New Heaven Is Begun': Blake and Swedenborgianism," *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1979). Of all the volumes that comprise *Spiritual Experiences*, this one (RSAS MS Swedenborg 128: 3, Codex 3B; The Emanuel Swedenborg Collection, The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm) bears the heaviest marks of being much-handled and read, with significant page-wearing in the sections that have the sketches.

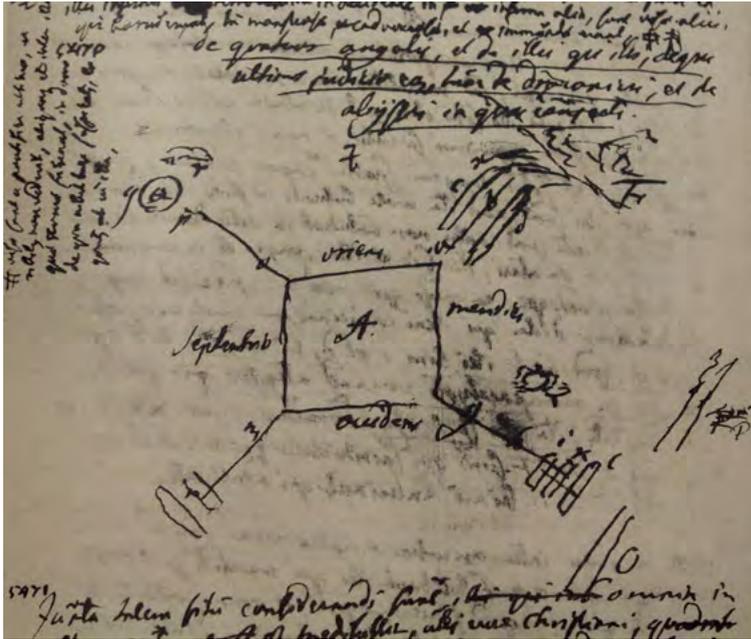


Fig. 3.2: Emanuel Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary* Vol. 3. (RSAS MS Swedenborg 128:3, Cod. 3B). Courtesy of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm. Photo: Devin Zuber.

Nunc Licet: the New Jerusalem Church

Seventeen years after Swedenborg had died in London, a group of his readers and followers met to formally establish a separatist Christian group in 1789. Attendees and signatories to the ensuing manifesto included William Blake and his wife Catherine, as well as Wadström and his compatriot, the alchemist Augustus Nordenskjöld. This First General Conference of the New Jerusalem Church would be indicative of future Swedenborgian church efforts that glommed onto Swedenborg's (new) Jerusalem code, affixing the name of the city to their fledgling churches in England and America, and much later, as noted, in Sweden. As Swedenborg had made the concept of a rational understanding of scripture and spirituality central to his vision of a new kind of Christianity, the early Swedenborgian churches also gravitated towards a moment recorded by Swedenborg in his final *summa theologica*, the *True Christian Religion* (1771). There, Swedenborg details a beautiful heavenly “temple of wisdom” that redeploys much of the same descriptive material found in John's heavenly city: “it was square in form,” Swedenborg writes, “and its roof was in the shape of a crown, with its lofty arches rising on high all round. Its walls were continuous windows of crystal and its

gate of pearly substance.”¹⁸ Above the gate to the temple, Swedenborg sees an inscription: *nunc licet intellectualiter intrare in arcana fidei* – “now it is permitted to enter intellectually into the secrets of faith” – which Swedenborg interprets as a sign that now, in the era of the new church and the dawning new Jerusalem, “one may enter with understanding into the mysteries of faith.” The first Swedenborgian churches accordingly often featured the shorthand phrase “Nunc Licet” somewhere in their architectural program – a fitting conflation of the ecclesiastical Jerusalem onto the temple space of learning that the academically-trained Swedenborg had originally described. Swedenborg’s new Jerusalem was, fundamentally, an almost pedagogical transformation of spiritual consciousness, a new entering into “interior truths” with a rational understanding that would not conflict with science or religion: such a project appears precisely at the schismatic disjuncture between science and religion that was to become a hallmark of modernity, and Swedenborg’s theosophy must be seen as an ambitious attempt to suture the widening gap, redeeming the Jerusalem code for an increasingly secular age.

The Swedenborgian church movements have never been numerically very large, at least when compared with the other Protestant and New Religious Movements that appeared parallel to Swedenborg’s reception, such as Methodism or Mormonism. And yet, the Swedenborgian’s ecclesiastical architecture – perhaps due, in-part, to the spacial specificities of Swedenborg’s New Jerusalem, the lingering after-effects of a kind of theological psychogeography – would come to develop unique symbolic and artistic programs; several Swedenborgian churches have accordingly been given the highest legal landmark status for their distinctive forms.¹⁹ In Stockholm, the Swedenborg Memorial Church [Swedenborgs Minneskyrka], built on the Tegnérlunden park in Norrmalm, continues this departure from Protestant architectural norms. Designed by Nils Erland Heurlin (1865–1947) and constructed in 1927, the interior features striking murals and iconography of the New Jerusalem in the nave and sanctuary, all designed and executed by the artist Erik Stenholm (1901–1976) (Fig. 3.1). Where a crucifixion would normally be located, one finds instead a complex visual program showing the seven trumpet-blowing angels of the Apocalypse – here rendered by Stenholm as graceful Art-Deco maidens, stylized and flattened by the application of gold leaf to their halos. A brilliant golden sun is in their midst, a representation of Swedenborg’s preferred description of the Divine as a spiritual sun in heaven, radiating out love and wisdom.²⁰

18 Emanuel Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion: Containing the Universal Theology of the New Church*, trans. John C. Ager (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2009), no. 508.

19 In the United States, this includes the San Francisco Swedenborgian Church, built in 1895, and the Cathedral in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (1913–1919): both are strong examples of how Swedenborg’s theology could readily integrate with the anti-modernist ideologies of the Arts and Crafts movement. See Paul Eli Ivey, “From New Church Architecture to City Beautiful,” in *Swedenborg and the Arts* (Bryn Athyn College, Pennsylvania, 2017).

20 “The sun of heaven, in which is the Lord, is the common center of the universe.” Swedenborg, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, nos. 152–3.

Across three linked arches at the angels' feet, Stenholm has painted the New Jerusalem with its gates open, and inscribed across the archways one finds not the usual invocation of "Nunc Licet," but (in Swedish) Christ's injunction from the Sermon on the Mount to "seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things will be added unto you" (Matt 6:33) (Fig. 3.3). This textual choice almost certainly mirrors Swedenborg's own little monograph, the *New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Teachings*, which opens with an epigraph from this very section in the Gospel of Matthew.²¹ The church, thus, mirrors a book that echoes, in turn, an allegorical Jerusalem code which transformed the Holy City into symbol for a type of reading, a hermeneutic key to the inner truths of Scripture. The building becomes a book. On the altar, prominently in front of the Jerusalem program, is a large Word (or Bible), only ritually opened during church services – another iconographic indication of the central importance that reading scripture for its inner "spiritual" sense has played in Swedenborgian traditions around the globe.

Jerusalem in Tartary and Africa

Slightly skewing, however, the one-to-one correlation between the inner sense of Biblical scripture and Swedenborg's New Jerusalem are his additional comments on forms of Divine revelation that lay outside of Judeo-Christianity: things beyond the four walls, if you will, of the Holy City that presuppose a form of Christian exceptionalism (or at the very least, a narrative of supercessionism). There is not enough space here to go fully into Swedenborg's rich and intriguing remarks about either the contemporary Africans who were receiving oracular Divine revelations in the interior of the continent, or his suggestions that a different lost "Ancient Word" – equally as holy and filled with scriptural correspondences as the Judeo-Christian bible – lay hidden somewhere in "Greater Tartary," or present-day Mongolia.²² "Search for it in China," he challenged his readers in an Indiana Jones-like gesture, signalling Swedenborg's proximity to an orientalist Zeitgeist that would soon see Charles Wilkin's first translations of the *Bhagavad Gita*, in 1785: "and peradventure you will find it among the Tartars."²³

²¹ Swedenborg, *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Teachings: Drawn from Things Heard in Heaven*.

²² For some of these statements on Africans, see *Spiritual Experiences* no. 4777 (Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Diary: Recounting Spiritual Experiences During the Years 1745 to 1765*), *Secrets of Heaven* no. 2604, *Heaven and Hell* no. 326 (Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell: Drawn from Things Seen and Heard*, trans. George Dole (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2000), and *True Christian Religion*, no. 837–9.

²³ Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Diary: Recounting Spiritual Experiences During the Years 1745 to 1765*, no. 11.

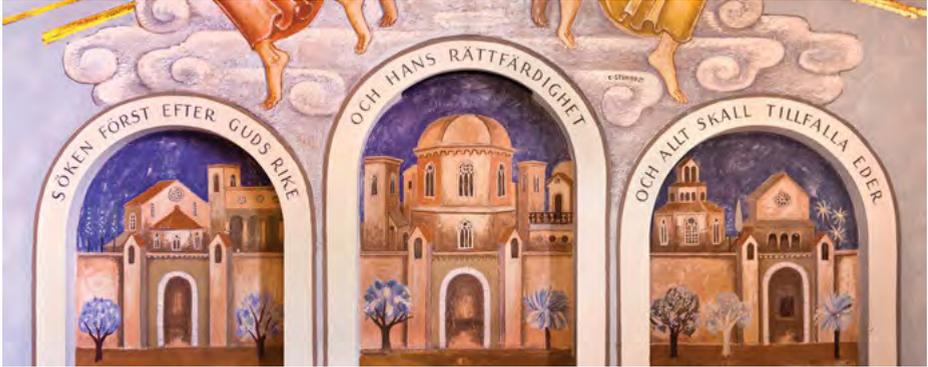


Fig. 3.3: *New Jerusalem*, Sanctuary Mural, Erik Stenholm, Swedenborgs Minneskyrka. Courtesy of Swedenborgs Minneskyrka, Stockholm. Photo: Thomas Xavier Floyd, 2015.

Over the centuries, these enigmatic – if brief – remarks have catalysed various Swedenborgians to seek proof of these alternative spiritual currents that pulsed in some adjacent way to the advent of the New Jerusalem. Nordenskjöld and Wadström, perhaps the two most significant early receivers of Swedenborg’s doctrines in Scandinavia, not only went on to establish the very first Abolitionist Society in Sweden; infused with Swedenborg’s millennialism about the dawning of a new age, an expectation that fuelled various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century utopian imaginaries, they further embarked on a somewhat quixotic project to establish anti-slavery colonies in West Africa where, ostensibly, one could potentially discover this new African revelation.²⁴ Wadström also published very influential anti-slavery manifestoes which brought him into contact with radical British abolitionists, including William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp. Although these colonization efforts failed spectacularly – Nordenskjöld and the other abolitionists were tragically slaughtered by French privateers at their colony in Sierra Leone, in 1795 – they had a literary afterlife of sorts, and at least one prominent Blake scholar has argued that the anti-slavery colonization efforts by the Scandinavian Swedenborgians are a crucial context for understanding William Blake’s *Book of Thel* (1788–1790).²⁵ For some Swedenborgians, the new age heralded by the New Jerusalem, thus, could have a footing in non-western, non-Christian spaces.

²⁴ Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 429.

²⁵ On Nordenskjöld’s unfortunate end, see Marguerite Beck Block, *The New Church in the New World: A Study of Swedenborgianism in America* (New York: Swedenborg Publishing Association, 1984), 54–5; *Thel* has been read as a “post-colonial, post-Swedenborgian” text by David Worrall, “Thel in Africa: William Blake and the Post-Colonial, Post-Swedenborgian Female Subject,” in *The Reception of William Blake in the Orient*, ed. Stephen Clark (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 17–28. *Thel* is found in Blake, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, 3–6.

Similarly, Swedenborg's statements about the lost "Ancient Word" in Asia have led several modern Swedenborgians to follow through with his injunction, and to "seek it there, among the Tartars." Dr. James Brush (now deceased) and the Reverend Christopher Bown, an ordained minister with the American-based General Church of the New Jerusalem, spent many months, from the early 1990's onwards, looking for remnants of this "Word" in various parts of Mongolia and China – ultimately concluding, according to Brush, that it was entangled in a form of Mongolian shamanism.²⁶ Whatever one makes of the pair's unresolved findings, their orienting east mirrors some scholarly speculation on how Swedenborg's Ancient Word might refract a rudimentary cognisance of forms of Tibetan Buddhism that Swedenborg may have acquired an awareness of through his cousin Peter Schönström, a Swedish diplomat in Russia who had collected manuscripts and curios from that region in Asia.²⁷ These exotic loci, at any rate, allowed non-western religions to augment the circuitry of Swedenborg's Jerusalem code, opening to a flow of alternative spiritualities and modes of time that chafed against the secular (or even nominally Christian) presumptions of modern Europe. The most celestially angelic people in the world, Swedenborg wrote, who were welcomed immediately into heaven, were not the white Christians of the west, but unknown African tribes who lived far from the pernicious influence of Christian missionaries, who were more spiritually "interior" than any other peoples living.²⁸ Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Swedish artist Ivan Aguéli (1869–1917), Sweden's first significant convert to Islam and a critical progenitor of modernist avant-garde aesthetics in Scandinavia, went through a deeply Swedenborgian phase before becoming a Sufi, in 1902. Aguéli's immersion in Arabic in Cairo was critically preceded by his study of Sanskrit and Tibetan languages through the scrim of his deep interest in Swedenborg's lost Ancient Word and the theory of correspondences.²⁹ Via Swedenborg, it would seem, there were many different avenues for approaching the Holy City.

26 James Brush and Christopher Bown, "In Search of the Ancient Word," *New Church Life* 122, no. 3 (2002), 107–114; Tayana Arakchaa, email correspondences with author, 2010–2011; a Tuvan doctoral candidate who was Brush's assistant and translator in Mongolia and who, by sheer coincidence, ended up participating in a 2010 summer workshop that I had organized on law and culture at the University of Osnabrück, Germany.

27 Anders Hallengren, *Gallery of Mirrors: Reflections of Swedenborgian Thought* (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 1998), 40–1.

28 Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Diary: Recounting Spiritual Experiences During the Years 1745 to 1765*, no. 4777; Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion: Containing the Universal Theology of the New Church*, nos. 835–40.

29 Marianne Westerlund, "Ivan Aguéli-språket och språken," in *Ivan Aguéli*, ed. Hans Henrik Brummer (Stockholm: Atlantis, Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2006), 95–111; see also Sorgenfrei's important new monograph, Simon Sorgenfrei, *Det monoteistiska landskapet. Ivan Aguéli och Emanuel Swedenborg* (Stockholm: Ellerströms forlag AB, 2018), passim.



Fig. 4.1: “Du ewiger Abgrund der Seeligen Liebe in Jesu Christo aufgethan Hebr 12:1.2.” Frontispiece of Christian David’s *Beschreibung und Zuverlässige Nachricht von Herrnhut* (Leipzig, 1735). Copper engraving.

Elisabeth Engell Jessen

Chapter 4

Citizens in Christ: Moravian Women, Art, and Presence

Eighteenth-century Moravians often set up communities in newly built settlements, for example Christiansfeld in Southern Denmark, which became a power centre for Scandinavian Moravians. This article explores in which way Christiansfeld relates to the idea of the New Jerusalem and how life took place in Christiansfeld. In particular, I discuss the role of art, writing, and self-expression amongst women, men, and children in the Moravian communities, arguing that community members used self-expression as a way of establishing an ideal Christian community of believers. Through writing, singing, playing music, and engaging with art, they found ways of entering Christ's body, communally as well as individually, thus setting up a spiritual New Jerusalem within.

In a 1735 engraving from a publication by Christian David (1692–1751), a prominent Moravian, we see three scenes arranged in vertical sequence, all relating to communal, urban life (Fig. 4.1). At the bottom (a) is a depiction of Herrnhut, the center of Moravian spirituality and administration, and in the middle (b), we see the Moravian congregation prostrate in the Hall, worshipping the Lamb (Rev 5).¹ At the top (c) we see the eternal kingdom or the New Jerusalem, with the Temple on the left and Ezekiel's wheels on the right (Ezek 1; 40).² The three scenes appear to be connected: the artist uses symmetry and order to tie the images together, and the heavenly hills above visually echo the hills surrounding Herrnhut. As the scenes are arranged vertically, the viewer gets the impression that all three locations are present or available at the same time. The collective worship depicted in the middle (b) takes place in Herrnhut (a), the central or "holy" urban locus of the Moravian *Gemeine* (although not an exclusive locus, since Herrnhut here seems to represent every Moravian settlement or society, where worship takes place). The collective worship in turn leads each believer, as well as the community as a whole, upwards (c) towards the New Jerusalem, which represents the end of salvation history, the place where each believer is heading. The three locations are thus present at the same time, and each believer can move between them *now*:

¹ A Moravian church is usually known as a *Saal* [Hall].

² Hans-Cristoph Hahn and Hellmut Riedel, eds., *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüder. Quellen zur Geschichte der Brüder-Unität von 1722 bis 1760* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1977), 179.

moving towards heaven is possible every day, if one participates in communal, Moravian worship.

In this perspective, the transformation from being a citizen of the earth to being a citizen of heaven becomes a question of space rather than a question of time. At the same time, however, the engraving also illustrates the linear journey of every believer from a state of sin to being a man of God, a journey that according to the Moravians was not completed until after death.³ The two perspectives, the linear “one day” and the spatial “now,” are thus present in the image at the same time, both underlining the Moravian idea of *movement*. For the eighteenth-century Moravian storyworld is characterized by the idea of settlement and home, *and* the idea of moving, spiritually as well as physically; Moravians may have built towns across the globe, but they often moved between them. And they settled down for a while, but only did so knowing that their true homes were somewhere else. They were first and foremost world citizens (*Weltbürger*), not Germans, Danes, or Englishmen, and their home was the whole world (for now) and, one day, heaven.⁴

The engraving shows how Moravians, like many other Christians, used the concept of the New Jerusalem to illustrate where they were heading in a spiritual sense. But, at the same time, eighteenth-century Moravians seem to have been more occupied with the idea of belonging and finding rest in Christ’s body (becoming citizens in Christ) than in building a New Jerusalem, either *in* Jerusalem or elsewhere.⁵ It is this dichotomy that forms the base of this chapter, in which I am interested in how Christ’s body as a location takes over some of the characteristics of divine urban space, and how the “storyworld” of salvation history was constructed in the Moravian community (and especially how art plays into that construction). I discuss how Christ’s body, and not so much the idea of the New Jerusalem, comes to represent “home” and “rest” for each believer; a living, breathing space in which each believer could set up home and lead a normal, Christian, urban life.

Thus, it does not seem to be the case that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Moravians ignore the metaphor of Jerusalem or the New Jerusalem as such, but they rather take the metaphor of divine urban living to a new level, where the heavenly city is understood as Christ himself. This is interesting, seeing that they took great care

³ See Gisela Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self: Moravian Conversion and Transatlantic Communication,” *Journal of Moravian History* no. 2 (Spring 2007), 2, 7–36.

⁴ Gisela Mettele, “Eine ‘Imagined Community’ jenseits der Nation. Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als transnationale Gemeinschaft,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 1 (2006), 45–68.

⁵ This more literal expression of the wish to realise the New Jerusalem here and now was prominent in other religious contexts, in particular amongst British radical forces. One (of several) examples of groups attempting to build the New Jerusalem in England was the Panacea Society, a religious group beginning to set up the New Jerusalem in Bedford in the early twentieth century, but with inspiration from Joanna Southcott (1750–1814), a popular prophet from Devonshire. The society still exists. See Jane Shaw, *Octavia, Daughter of God: The Story of a Female Messiah and her Followers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

building their settlements as ideal, urban spaces for their community, *i.e.* something that easily lends itself to being understood as a New Jerusalem. Thus, when I started to look into the history of Christiansfeld, the power centre of Moravian life in Scandinavia in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, I expected to find a plethora of references to Jerusalem. As a newly built urban complex in which believers could realize life *en Christo* (“in Christ”) within a communal setting, the settlers here had a unique opportunity to envision an ideal setting for their community and, as it were, build their own New Jerusalem. But this seems to have been implied rather than articulated directly, although there are clear markers in the town plan revealing that Christiansfeld is indeed God’s urban space, for example the cross shape that divides the central square into four smaller squares with a well in the centre (the well had a practical function as well as a spiritual, symbolic meaning).⁶ I thus came across fewer direct references to Jerusalem/the New Jerusalem in the Moravian material than I expected. Instead, I found indirect references to Christiansfeld as Jerusalem (or “Israel”), such as when Hans Caspar Brandt, a Danish nineteenth-century businessman – who did not live in Christiansfeld and was therefore always longing for it – wrote a letter to the community, and signed it “Your lowly brother in Egypt,”⁷ thereby positioning himself as resident in a place removed from the Holy Land (and, by implication, its centre Jerusalem).

However, what seems to be a paucity of references to Jerusalem in the Moravian material does not mean that Moravians were unaware of connections between their newly built towns/settlements and the idea of the New Jerusalem. When the first house was finished in the settlement that was to become Herrnhut, for example, Count Nicolaus Zinzendorf’s (1700–1760) steward Heitz gave a speech on Revelation 21, in which he “spoke of the magnificence of the New Jerusalem, of the holiness and happiness of its inhabitants, applying these ideas to the house they had erected.”⁸ But with the Moravians, the idea of Jerusalem as the urban locus or destination of salvation (collectively as well as individually) seems to have been taken over by the

6 Jørgen Bøytler and Jørgen Toft Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 2nd ed. (Kolding: Det Danske Idéselskab, 2015), 196.

7 “*Fra din ringe Broder i Egybten*,” [“from your lowly brother in Egypt”] in Jens Holdt, “Breve fra Hans Caspar Brandt i Svendborg til Christiansfeld,” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, sjette række, fjerde bind (København: Selskabet for Danmark Kirkehistorie, Gads Forlag, 1942–1944), 143. Brandt’s letters are an interesting source for exploring non-resident Moravians’ relationship with, and experience of, the community in Christiansfeld. Brandt’s primary reason (or excuse) for frequently communicating with the Christiansfeld society was that his children attended school there.

8 Ami Bost, *History of the Moravians* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1862), 162. The scene also appears in Hutton where the speech is described as “a sort of prophetic sermon about the holy city, the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven”; J. E. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), 199. Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf was the leader of the Moravians until his death in 1760. It was on his estate that refugees from Moravia and descendants of the Bohemian Brethren settled in 1722. Zinzendorf himself was educated in Pietist Halle.

body of Christ, a spatial image that may have been better suited for the *Gemeine* as a movable, transnational network of believers. Thus Christiansfeld seems to have been conceived not as the New Jerusalem of the Nordic countries, but as a new Herrnhut (cf. the two Moravian settlements in Greenland and on Saint Thomas that were actually called Neu-Herrnhut).

Obviously, the relationship between the idea of the historical Jerusalem vis-à-vis the New Jerusalem is complex, as the two *loci* are intimately connected yet separate. I will not go further into that discussion here, but only note that eighteenth-century Moravians generally seem more invested in the idea of the New Jerusalem than in Jerusalem as an actual, historical place. However, they did – like many others – travel to Jerusalem, and in 1865 they founded a “leper home” known as *Jesushilfe* outside the Jaffa Gate. After the Second World War, the Israeli government took over the home and the Moravians instead set up *Sternberg* in Ramallah, which was closed in 1979.⁹ There was also traffic going the other way, from Jerusalem to Europe, for in a diary by Inga Kahr, a Norwegian girl attending school in Christiansfeld from 1867 to 1870, we read about “the beautiful Sophie Vallentiner” who was “the blondest of all”: “none could have guessed [she] was born in Jerusalem.”¹⁰

Christiansfeld

Christiansfeld is situated between Haderslev and Kolding in Southern Jutland and was founded in 1772. Now beautifully restored, it was built on the initiative of the Danish King Christian VII (r. 1766–1808), whom had visited Zeist, a Moravian town in Holland, in 1768 and been impressed by the order and industry there. The king made his minister of finance, Carl August Struensee, approach the Moravian authorities in Herrnhut and enquire whether the Moravians would be interested in settling in Denmark. Building began in 1773 and by 1780, most of the houses that still constitute the centre of Christiansfeld were finished. As a special gesture, and to boost local business, the king admitted the Moravians in Christiansfeld certain privileges, such as tax exemption for the first ten years, and in return, the town was named after him.¹¹

⁹ Paul Peucker, Lanie Graf and Markus Gill, “Moravian Work in Jerusalem,” *This Month in Moravian History*, no. 9 (2006). Accessed September 12, 2018, http://moravianchurcharchives.org/thismonth/06_july_jerusalem.pdf.

¹⁰ Quoted in Annemette Løkke Borg Berg, Lene Lindberg Marcussen and Karen Stoklund, eds., *Danish World Heritage Nomination: Christiansfeld a Moravian Settlement I & II* (Kolding Municipality, 2014), 137. I am grateful to Eivor Andersen Oftestad for drawing my attention to this, and to Käte Thomsen from the Moravian Archive in Christiansfeld for digging out the correct reference.

¹¹ Bøytler and Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 20–39, and Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen “Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 42–3.

Christiansfeld was built on *Langager*, a field that originally belonged to the farm Tyrstrupgård. The town was characterized by order and simplicity and it was similar to other Moravian towns, in particular Herrnhag in Wetterau. The buildings were, and still are, elegant and spacious, the roads straight, and the layout simple: the town was structured around two parallel streets, Lindegade and Nørregade, with a centre consisting of the square with the well and the Hall along on the western side of the square. Gardens were also incorporated into the town plan and the Moravian town builders retained the beautiful views from the town towards the fields, emphasizing the fact that Christiansfeld was situated within a landscape, not separate from it. Even today, looking west from Lindegade, one still gets a strong sense of the interplay between urban and rural. The inhabitants of Christiansfeld did not, however, primarily work the land, for apart from a love of gardening that they shared with many other Moravians, they were craftspeople: they manufactured ceramic stoves (and still do); they were cobblers, carpenters, or butchers; they produced textiles and baked goods, or worked in the tobacco factory; only to mention some of the trades. As a result, the town was industrious and grew quickly, just as the king had hoped.¹²

Christiansfeld quickly became the centre of Moravian life and spirituality in Scandinavia, with people of Moravian observance, like Hans Caspar Brandt, visiting Christiansfeld whenever possible and sending their children – girls as well as boys – to the town’s Moravian schools (until 1810 especially from Sweden, and later, from 1832, especially from Norway; the Norwegian writer Camilla Collett, for example, was educated in Christiansfeld).¹³ And even though there were Moravian societies elsewhere – in Denmark most notably in Copenhagen (where Søren Kierkegaard’s father was an active member) and in Skjern in Western Jutland – Christiansfeld remained the only Moravian *settlement* in Scandinavia and thus played a special role. (Usually, members did not practice communal living in the societies, only in the settlements.)¹⁴

12 Bøytler and Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 34–9. For a list of trades 1789–1810, see Thomas Bloch Ravn, “Håndværk og fabriksvirksomhed,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 174.

13 Thomas Bloch Ravn, “Kostskolerne,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 519; Thomas Bloch Ravn and Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen, “Kostskolernes Oplomstring,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 551.

14 For more on Moravians outside Christiansfeld in eighteenth-century Denmark, see Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen, ed., *Vækkelses Frembrud i Danmark i første Halvdel af det 19. Århundrede* (Institut for Dansk Kirkehistorie, 1960–1977), in particular vols. 1, 3, 4, and 5.

Moravian Life: Uniformity and Communication¹⁵

Moravian towns are usually easily recognisable, due to the global character of the congregation (Moravians from early on preferred the term “congregation,” *Gemeine*, to “church,” emphasizing that they were not interested in forming a new church, but instead sought to facilitate Christians practicing their faith in a new way).¹⁶ Moravian craftsmen in particular, but also other community members, often moved between towns, bringing knowledge, skills, habits, and taste with them, so that crafts from Christiansfeld, for example, were often considered “German” in style by other people in Denmark.¹⁷ For community members, though, the idea was not to be national, but rather transnational: they ought to “*immer mehr Wehrt auf die Ehre (legen), Bürger des Reiches Gottes zu sein*” [constantly (place) more value on the honour of being a Citizen of the Kingdom of God], as a choir report (see below) from Christiansfeld 1809 puts it.¹⁸ Thus, they were not primarily citizens of Christiansfeld, but citizens of God’s (invisible) Kingdom.

The idea of uniformity was also expressed in the way people dressed (women, for example, wore ribbons indicating their marital status), and by the fact that each local congregation was divided into so-called “choirs” based on gender and marital status. But it perhaps found its most distilled expression in the Moravian burial place, the “God’s acre” [*Gudsageren*] where all gravestones were, and still are, simple, identical stones with no indication of social status or status within the community. Here, members were buried according to gender and time of death, not alongside their families.

Town plans were always discussed with Herrnhut before building commenced, and the plans were afterwards kept in the extensive Unity Archives in Herrnhut. Thus, Christiansfeld might have been built from scratch on a field in Southern Jutland, but the buildings and layout of the town were not, as it were, drawn out of thin air. Instead, they were meant to recall or replicate a model of Christian, communal living that had already proved successful elsewhere in Europe and North America. A similar strategy was used in the Moravian mission fields, but it soon proved difficult to replicate a lifestyle developed on a wealthy estate in pietistic Europe in, say, Sumatra or Greenland.

¹⁵ It is Vogt who has pointed towards uniformity and communication as fundamental principles in eighteenth-century Moravianism. Peter Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves: Women as Participants in Congregational Discourse in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Movement,” in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millenia of Christianity*, eds. Beverley Mayne Kienzle and Pamela Walker (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁶ Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves,” 243.

¹⁷ Ravn, “Håndværk og fabriksvirksomhed,” 190, 256.

¹⁸ Quoted in Mettele, “Eine ‘Imagined Community’ jenseits der Nation,” 51.

The administration in Herrnhut also (often) decided when to move community members, and where, such as when the organ player in Christiansfeld, Johan Herman Mankell, was relocated to Sweden due to leading what was perceived as a scandalous life.¹⁹ But they also valued moving between communities and did so voluntarily. There was a strong culture of constant movement and communication, the importance of which was evident in the continuous stream of letters and *Gemeinnachrichten* [community newsletters] that circulated between members.²⁰ Thomas Christensen, for example, was born near Christiansfeld in 1756, moved to Zeist and then, later, via Hamburg and London, relocated to work in the mission in Labrador. Returning from Labrador, he landed in Gravesend, went to the Moravian settlement Fulneck in West Yorkshire, and from there, via London and Altona, went back to Christiansfeld where he died in 1821.²¹ Typically, Thomas Christensen's life story was communicated to other community members in the *Gemeinnachrichten*, the editors of which often took care in choosing *Lebensläufe* (*spiritual autobiographies*) that might be particularly interesting when read aloud in the local communities on the first Monday in each month.²² Also, the value that Moravians placed on communication between local communities is evident in the constant distribution of things and objects that would ensure, for example, a suitably Moravian (or European) life style in the Moravian colonies.²³ So women in Christiansfeld slept in dormitories, dressed uniformly, and wrote letters to similarly dressed Moravian women in Herrnhut, whom also slept in dormitories and wrote letters.

The very fact that writing – the act of shaping experience through personal expression – was encouraged (to the extent that every Moravian was expected to write their own *Lebenslauf*) shows that although uniformity was valued, it did not follow from there that individual experience or expression was devalued. Rather, the two existed alongside each other, the individual expression seemingly flourishing within the framework (or restraints) of communal uniformity. The *Lebensläufe* were, on one hand, narratively and structurally guided by the *Lebenslauf* genre and therefore often similar in tone, structure, and spiritual vocabulary; as Gisela Mettele has put it, “the only taboo was to provide a narrative that did not lead towards salvation but rather to estrangement from the community.”²⁴ But they were also individual in that they recounted individual lives and did so by taking each Moravian seriously as an authorial

19 Sybille Reventlow, “Musik og Sang,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 678–9.

20 For an illustration of how Moravians were often born in one Moravian community and died in another, see moravianlives.org.

21 “Lebenslauf der Bruders Thomas Christensen” in *Nachrichten* 1823: 477–84. Thomas Christensen was in Labrador from 1798 to 1816.

22 Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 18–9.

23 I am grateful to Jessica Cronshagen for pointing this out.

24 Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 23.

voice (although if someone died before finishing the autobiography, it was finished by others). The *Lebensläufe* are in some ways very uniform, and this uniformity might sometimes puzzle modern readers. But the very fact that they are *there*, that they are there in such *abundance*, and that they have been *kept* in the Moravian archives, testifies to the importance that the community as a whole placed on the idea of the individual within the community. Female Moravians expressed themselves – and were expected to express themselves – through the *Lebensläufe*, as well as through other literary genres such as hymns. In combination with the Moravian emphasis on creative self-expression through art and music, which I discuss below, these female Moravians turned into literary voices that used their own lives as creative bases; sometimes even combining literary genres, and, for example, composing a hymn to be included in the *Lebenslauf*.²⁵ Or, to put it differently, they created something new that was intended not (only) for private use or as a private, spiritual exercise, but also was given a place in the public sphere; for the *Lebenslauf* was read aloud at every community member's funeral.

Moravian Women in Christiansfeld

Thus the world of the Moravian women in Christiansfeld might, from one perspective, seem constrained, but they wrote, they worked, they travelled, and they were in contact with other communities through correspondence and visits: in particular, the Christiansfeld sisters had connections with Zeist, Gnadau, Neuwied, Neudietendorf, Neusalz, Herrnhut, Gnadenfeld, Niesky, Gnadenfrei, Surinam, and Greenland.²⁶ The women also served one another in pastoral roles, for the renewed Moravian church paid more attention to the role of women than many other religious communities. Zinzendorf, in particular, seems to have been sensitive to the potential of women taking up roles that were traditionally assigned to men. In 1745, Zinzendorf ordained 20 women as deaconesses, and in 1758 he ordained three female presbyters and 18 deaconesses, as well as declaring that he had also ordained presbyters, or “priestesses,” in the past, but had kept it quiet in order to avoid scandal. For Zinzendorf, “the whole band, the whole company, the whole choir of his maidens and brides, are priestesses,

²⁵ Johanna Bitterlich, for example, included a 12-stanza song that she had composed herself in her *Lebenslauf* (Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 34). For extracts of women's *Lebensläufe* from Christiansfeld, see Anne-Marie Mai, ““To be deeply moved in one's inner being”: Examples of Memoirs written by Moravian Women,” In *Nordic Light*, eds. Thomas Bredsdorff, Søren Peter Hansen and Anne-Marie Mai (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2007). See also, for example, Katharine M. Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997).

²⁶ Tove Elklit, “Befolkning og fattigforsog,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 123.

and not only priestesses but also priestly women.”²⁷ Despite the fact that ordained women were only allowed to carry out pastoral duties towards other women, the mere fact that they *were* allowed is extraordinary. And although Zinzendorf’s death in 1760 meant that leading forces within the *Gemeine* immediately revoked some of the female privileges, women continued to play an active role in Moravian communities. Thus, female deaconesses (but not presbyters) were ordained until 1790, but after that, it was not until 1967 that the next woman was ordained.²⁸

In Christiansfeld, the large and centrally placed Sisters’ House testifies to the care that was given to the sisters’ living, assembling, and working quarters. As in many other Moravian towns, the Sisters’ House was understood as particularly important,²⁹ and women consistently outnumbered men in the Christiansfeld community between 1803 and 1860; in 1835, as much as 61 per cent of the congregation were women. This was probably at least partly due to immigration patterns, as female Moravians who moved to Christiansfeld came to settle down, whereas male Moravians often left after a period of time.³⁰ Compared with the neighbouring town of Haderslev, Christiansfeld also had a larger percentage of elderly women, fewer children, and people, if they married, tended to marry late in life.³¹

Moravian women were divided into the unmarried (*i.e.* “not yet married”) choir, the married sisters’ choir, and the widows’ choir. Girls were in the Girls’ Choir until their confirmation, after which they joined the Sisters’ Choir, and later they moved into the Sisters’ House.³² Until the end of the nineteenth century, the

²⁷ Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves,” 229.

²⁸ In the eighteenth century, there were also female acolytes, who were not ordained, whereas deacon (esses), presbyters, and bishops were all ordained (there were no female bishops): Paul Peucker, Lanie Graf, Thomas J. McCulloch and Markus Gill, “Women Priests in the Moravian Church in 1758,” *This Month in Moravian History*, no. 31 (2008). Accessed September 20, 2018, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/thismonth/08%20may%20women%20priests.pdf>. See also Beverly Prior Smaby, ““Only Brothers should be accepted into this proposed council’: Restricting Women’s Leadership in Moravian Bethlehem,” in *Pietism in Germany and in North America 1680–1820*, eds. Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann and James Van Horn Melton (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009) and Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves,.”

²⁹ Bøytler and Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 85.

³⁰ Tove Elklit, “Befolkning og fattigforsog,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 107. Neighbouring towns Haderslev, Husum, and Tønder also had a majority of women in the period (slightly above 50 per cent), but significantly less than Christiansfeld’s almost 60 per cent between 1803 and 1845. Although women are usually a slight majority, 61 percent is quite a high number, according to Elklit.

³¹ Elklit, “Befolkning og fattigforsog,” 108–110. The community grew quickly after its foundation in 1773, and in 1813 it consisted of 652 people. After that, numbers declined (Elklit, “Befolkning og fattigforsog,” 105–6.) Not everyone in town belonged to the congregation, with 94 per cent of its inhabitants being Moravian in 1803 decreasing to 63 per cent in 1860.

³² Bøytler and Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 78.

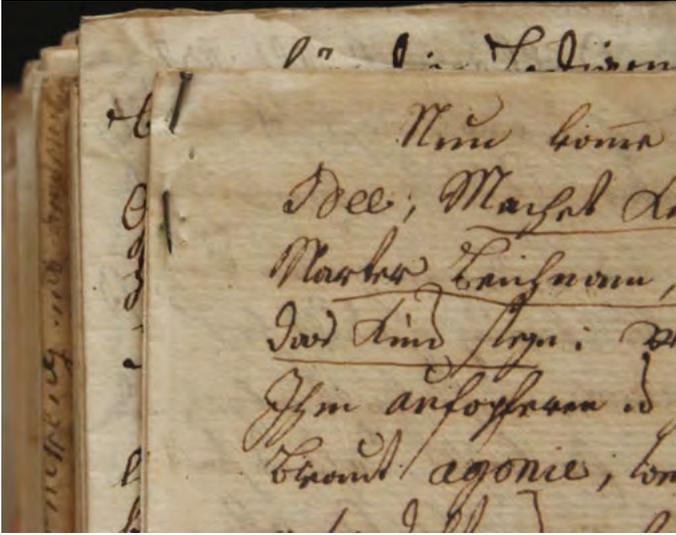


Fig. 4.2: A choir speech with pages held together by a sewing pin, from S.A.I.R.5.a. Korreden and S.A.I.R.5.b. Korreden, Moravian archive, Christiansfeld.

Sisters' House was where women slept (in large dormitories), and where they ate, worked, and sold their crafts in the shop.³³ The sisters gathered in the large, first-floor hall for daily worship and *Singstunden* [Singing Time, liturgical hymn singing], accompanied from around 1778 by their own organ, as well as by other instruments, such as the harp.³⁴ The hall is spacious, and it is easy to imagine how the white walls and natural light from the windows, softened by white curtains, would create an ideal atmosphere to focus on Christ. The Moravian sisters were renowned for being musical, and the girls were taught music and singing in school, but the women's concerts remained closed for outsiders, as they played for their own joy and spiritual benefit, not for others.³⁵ They also wrote choir speeches and read them aloud here. The speeches are still kept in the Sister's Archive and testify to the life and subject matters of early Christiansfelder Moravians in Denmark. There are speeches on Christmas and on mission, for example, written out in German and later in Danish, that sometimes show traces of having been written in a large, communal house buzzing with various activities: one speech is held together by what was clearly at hand – a sewing pin (Fig. 4.2).³⁶

³³ Bøytler and Jessen, *Christiansfeld. Livet og Husene*, 79.

³⁴ Reventlow, "Musik og Sang," 634, 659.

³⁵ See Reventlow, "Musik og Sang," 695–98. The musical archive in Christiansfeld is extensive.

³⁶ The speeches are found in S.A.I.R.5.a. Korreden and S.A.I.R.5.b. Korreden in the Moravian archive in Christiansfeld.

Restlessness, Longing, and Setting up Home in Jesus' Body

The Moravian focus on music being fundamental for the formation of every single believer, as well as for the spiritual wellbeing of the congregation as a whole, points to the vibrant cultural life that took place in Moravian communities. For as quiet and orderly as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Moravians might seem, music, art, and poetry were seen as vital parts of life; expressing the idea that in a Moravian community, members sought to live in constant, joyful, communal worship (“joy” being a keyword in the Moravian alphabet of faith). As such, the Christian minimalism we encounter today in Christiansfeld is a little deceptive. In fact, we might even say that the beautiful restoration of Christiansfeld’s buildings is misleading in terms of reflecting life in an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Moravian town, as it enhances only one part of life there.

The restoration pays tribute to tradition, workmanship, stone, and solid shapes; to straight lines and houses built in good quality materials that are meant to last. In this, however, the dynamic spirit of Moravian communities easily escapes us: that centrifugal and almost impatient force that drove eighteenth-century believers restlessly forward, building lasting structures in stone, yet at the same time distancing themselves from that which they created and focusing on that which is to come: the Kingdom of God.³⁷ Eighteenth-century Moravians lived within a spiritual framework where every material thing, as well as every human action, had spiritual value – a deeply liturgical understanding of life; the grounds of which was Christ as the incarnated divine being. As Christ participated in every part of human life, he made every human action potentially holy, and thus all of human life (and not just that which took place in the Hall) was considered liturgy; even sleeping and waking from sleep.³⁸

The human being gradually becomes used to performing all activities with dignity – sweeping, washing houses, whatever one wants to name and whatever presents itself, from the largest to the smallest and most despicable routine – and thereby the likeness of Jesus shines through and nothing is lost. That is liturgical.³⁹

But, although everything is liturgy and, in a sense, holy, the believer is always *en route*, spiritually speaking. This dynamic, restless perspective is what we see represented in Moravian mission work, which was integral to the *Gemeine*’s self-understanding, and

37 This restlessness is well captured in Per Olov Enquist’s novel *Lewis Resa [Lewis’ Journey]* (2001): a description of the Evangelical movement in Sweden in the twentieth century, which also includes descriptions of Christiansfeld.

38 Hahn and Riedel, *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüder. Quellen zur Geschichte der Brüder-Unität von 1722 bis 1760*, 213–4.

39 *Jüngerhausdiarium*, April 20, 1760, quoted in Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 12.

in the so-called *Streiter* [fighter] spirit in the Moravian societies.⁴⁰ We also see the dynamic perspective in Moravian piety, for example in hymns, which were written by women as well as men.⁴¹ Here, the author often expresses a wish to be *elsewhere*; a longing for unity with Christ, or, to speak in Jerusalem terms, to move from “the earthly Jerusalem” in the metaphorical sense of the term (for example a Moravian town in Southern Jutland) to the heavenly Jerusalem. Zinzendorf, for example – who was a keen and exceptionally productive hymn writer – typically expresses this spatial longing as walking in “the land of shadows” and “walking together in the footsteps of Jesus,” asking Jesus to “lead us to our true home.”⁴² This true home is not a lovely Moravian town below, but rather the eternal *Gemeine* above.

Interestingly, though, for a community that was so keen on building, this spatial longing is often not described in urban terms. Instead, eighteenth-century Moravian piety refers to a shared landscape of salvation that is grounded in Christ’s body. The geography of his wounded body dictates, to a large extent, the language that eighteenth-century Moravians experience the world with and express themselves in. It is, to simplify a bit, more a question of Paul’s *en Christo* rather than Ezekiel’s or Revelation’s vision of the New Jerusalem.⁴³

The believer longs to be housed in the side wound nourished and protected by the blood, and to set up home in Christ’s body – not in a building made of stone, but of living, breathing body. In this body, the restless soul can finally find the much longed for peace, as illustrated in a striking devotional card from Herrnhut

40 Thyssen, “Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund,” 24–5.

41 In the 1740s, Moravian women and men participated in the *Poeten-Liebesmahl*, a version of the special Moravian service *Liebesmahl* (Love Feast), an agape inspired occasion at which tea and rolls were (and still are) served. In *Poeten-Liebesmahle*, women and men competed in hymn writing (Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves,” 237). Many hymns by female Moravian writers were later incorporated into Moravian hymn books, including the ones used in Christiansfeld (see more in Reventlow, “Musik og Sang”). Louise von Hayn (1724–1782), for example, was a notable Moravian hymn writer. She was leader of the single-sisters’ choir in Herrnhut from 1766, and fourteen of her hymns appeared in the 1767 hymn book. In the 1778 hymn book, the number was 44 (whole or in part) (Paul Peucker, Lanie Graf, Thomas J. McCulloch and Markus Gill, “Henriette Maria Louise von Hayn,” *This Month in Moravian History*, no. 22 (2007). Accessed October 3, 2018, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/documents/07aug.pdf>; see also Elisabeth Schneider-Böcklen “‘Amen, ja, mein Glück ist groß.’ Henriette Louise von Hayn (1724–1782) – eine Dichterin des Herrnhuter Pietismus” (PhD diss., University of Marburg, 2005).

42 “Jesus, gå foran” in *Tillæg af Salmer og Liturgier for Brødremenigheden i Christiansfeld [Additional Hymns and Liturgies for the Moravian Society in Christiansfeld]* 2007: 104–5. My translation.

43 For more on the idea of Christ’s body in relation to the Moravian understanding of community, see Christina Petterson, “Imagining the Body of Christ,” in *Sexuality, Ideology and the Bible: Antipodean Engagements*, eds. Robert J. Myles and Caroline Blyth (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2015), 35–55.

where we see Christ's side wound containing a bed and a satisfied Moravian fast asleep. The side wound or side hole, referring to the Roman soldier's lance piercing Jesus' body on the cross in John 19:32, was probably the most popular trope amongst mid-eighteenth-century Moravians, and according to Craig Atwood, it continued to be used until the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ It was used to describe a place where each longing believer – in this connection acting primarily as an individual – could find rest, peace, and spiritual nourishment. “Soft wounds of Jesus. I like lying calm, gently, and quiet and warm. What should I do? I crawl to you,” Zinzendorf put it in his *Wundenlitanei* [*Litany of the Wounds*] from around 1744.⁴⁵

Other similar devotional cards, often in deep red and green colours, further explore the metaphor of “the home in the divine body,” adding more features to it and almost building an eternal town within the divine body. Thus, in one card we have the side hole containing a house, and in another, the imaginative devotion-card painter(s) *cum* city planner(s), from Herrnhut, adds a fountain and a park to the landscape. The description of that which happens within Christ's body as something civilized, almost urban, is emphasized in the accompanying short texts: “I am asleep in the side hole, do not wake my noble soul,” reads the card with the sleeping Moravian. Others read, “There [in the side hole] I enjoy all the delicatessen” and “I go for a walk in the side hole” (this is found on the image showing the park and a fountain).⁴⁶ None of these activities described in words are, of course, exclusively urban, but together with the urban imagery in the cards they create an enticing and colourful urban dream of life lived as a citizen in Christ's body. Here, members of the Moravian society that from the beginning had defined themselves as religious refugees, as homeless, as pilgrims, could finally find rest in a town that was also a body.⁴⁷

44 There is a plethora of studies of Moravian usage of the side hole or side wound. See for example Craig D. Atwood, “Little Side Holes: Moravian Devotional Cards of the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Moravian History*, no. 6 (2009): 61–75 (for more on the history of the devotional cards); and Craig D. Atwood, “Zinzendorf's Litany of the Wounds,” *Lutheran Quarterly*, no. 11 (1997): 188–214 (for an example of how the trope was used in literature/liturg). There is an ongoing discussion as to the relationship between the so-called Sifting Time (a scandalous period in the 1750s) and the figurative language surrounding blood, wounds, and holes. For a recent and thorough discussion, see Paul Peucker, *A Time of Sifting: Mystical Marriage and the Crisis of Moravian Piety in the Eighteenth Century* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2015).

45 Quoted in Atwood, “Zinzendorf's Litany of the Wounds,” 208.

46 Quoted in Atwood, “Little Side Holes,” 62.

47 “Die Erfahrung der Heimatlosigkeit hatte sich der Brüdergemeine gewissermaßen von Anbeginn ins Bewusstsein eingeschrieben” [The experience of homelessness (lit. *homeland-ness*) had, as it were, entered Moravian consciousness from the very beginning] Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 52.

Moravian Art

If we take a closer look at eighteenth-century Moravian art, we also see the double perspective of expectation and realization, of waiting for Christ and assuming that he is already present in the midst of the congregation.⁴⁸ The Moravians were fond of images, portraits of community members, biblical scenes, and graphic illustrations of Christ on the cross, to the extent of being accused of being “popish.”⁴⁹ A key point in their philosophy of art was the almost literal idea of the presence of the depicted: an image of Christ worked not so much as a representation of Christ, but to ensure his presence in the room, at that moment. Likewise, a portrait of a community member like Zinzendorf could be used to make him present locally, for example when celebrating his birthday.

The art collection in Herrnhut consists of almost 300 oil paintings, mostly portraits,⁵⁰ but we do not see much art on display in Christiansfeld today. There is a copy of Thorvaldsen’s statue of the risen Christ (known from Vor Frue Kirke, the cathedral, in Copenhagen; see Fig. 11.0) above the liturgical table in the Hall, and in the choir hall in the Sisters’ House, we see an oil painting of the risen Christ, likewise situated above the liturgical table.⁵¹ However, oil paintings also *in a sense* belong to the “static” sphere of Moravian life, in that they were created to last: they were framed and displayed (sometimes, though, Moravian missionaries would bring paintings with them in order to display them to “the heathens,” hoping that the language of art would communicate what faltering language skills could not).⁵² But in eighteenth-century Moravian communities, we would probably have come across just as much art belonging to the “dynamic” sphere of life as to the “static” sphere: art that

48 In 1744, the community in Herrnhut pronounced Jesus the main elder of their *Gemeine* and entered his name into the list of members, complete with details such as birthplace, “Bethlehem,” and occupation, “carpenter”; Paul Peucker, “Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei. Form und Funktion der Malkunst in der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine um 1750,” *Unitas Fratrum, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine* 55/56 (2004), 131. A lot of research has already been done on Moravian music, whereas only very little has been done on Moravian use of art. In this section, I am particularly indebted to Paul Peucker’s, “Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei” and Paul Peucker’s, “A Painter of Christ’s Wounds: Johann Langguth’s Birthday Poem for Johann Jakob Müller, 1744,” in *The Distinctiveness of Moravian Culture*, eds. Craig Atwood and Peter Vogt (Nazareth: Moravian Historical Society, 2003).

49 Peucker, “Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei,” 170.

50 Peucker, “Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei,” and Peucker, “A Painter of Christ’s Wounds.” Many of the earlier depictions of Christ have vanished.

51 Some objects are also exhibited in the Moravian museum in Christiansfeld.

52 Paul Peucker, “Communication through Art: The Role of Art in Moravian Communities,” in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World*, eds. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 247.

was created for a particular occasion, often in haste, and later destroyed, such as festival banners with illustrations to be used in liturgy, or various tableaux.⁵³

One example is the 1795 picture from the Girls' School in Bethlehem (Pennsylvania), showing girls singing. They are accompanied by a man (perhaps a music teacher), and above them, a banner shows the first verse from Psalm 115, chosen for 24 March 1795: "Not to us, Lord, not to us but to your name be the glory, because of your love and faithfulness."⁵⁴ The garland of flowers that surrounds the Bible verse are replicated in the flowers that surround the image itself, thereby suggesting that the musical girls might speak to us in a similar way as Psalm 115 speaks to the girls.

This argument draws on the expansive Moravian understanding of preaching, according to which other forms of preaching exist alongside, or even perhaps above, the traditional sermon (which, we may note, soon became separate from the liturgy in Moravian communities): we have the "preaching in songs" that the *Singstunde* represent, or the "preaching through art" that Moravian painters practised.⁵⁵ For Zinzendorf, the crucial point was not that preaching was learned or intellectual. On the contrary: the more affective the preaching, the better, and since songs, paintings, music, and poetry speak to the heart in a more direct and effective way than a scholarly exposition, they were to be valued accordingly.⁵⁶ Likewise, choir members were not meant to gradually understand more and more about Christ, but, as Gisela Mettele puts it, "by means of constant training of the imagination and the feelings, to empathize ever more deeply with the 'life, suffering, and death' of Jesus, in order 'to share in the likeness of Jesus in body and spirit.'"⁵⁷ This anti-intellectual stance is perhaps most memorably reflected in an engraving from around 1750, now in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, of a man whose head had been replaced by a side wound, illustrating that he had left rational thinking behind and allowed himself to be consumed by faith.⁵⁸

53 The dichotomy between "static" and "dynamic" should by no means be taken too far, but is only meant as a tool to help us think about the origins and use of different types of art and writing. In poetry, for example, Peucker points out that occasional verses often made it into printed hymnals with only minor corrections (Peucker, "A Painter of Christ's Wounds," 19.) The Moravians in Christiansfeld probably also did this. The archive contains clean copies of various occasional songs, verses, and choir responses, especially to be used at the *Singstunde* that often accompanied a funeral. A folder in the Prediger-archiv in Christiansfeld (P.A.II.R.11 A.1.g) simply contains various hymns and songs on loose leaves, mostly copied out in neat handwriting.

54 Inscribed on the banner: "Nicht uns HERR nicht uns, sondern deinem Namen gib Ehre um deine Gnade und Wahrheit." The music teachers were not always men. (Trans. New International Version.)

55 See Peucker, "A Painter of Christ's Wounds," and Peucker "Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei."

56 For more on the Moravian idea of preaching, see Vogt, "A Voice for Themselves."

57 Mettele, "Constructions of the Religious Self," 13.

58 Peucker, *A Time of Sifting*, 70–1, including a reproduction of the image.



Fig. 4.3: Christmas Celebration at the Moravian Boarding School for Girls in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, c.1800, by Anna Rosina Klies. Watercolour on paper. Moravian Archives, Kliest Collection.

Since all members of the Moravian community were expected to have inner religious experiences and feelings, they were also – painter, baker, and builder alike – expected to be able to share this, with spiritual authority, in a communal setting. Women and men were asked to *communicate* with each other about life in faith, not simply to listen to a person talking *to* them, as Zinzendorf put it in 1755: “not merely pious *talks* were given but *conversations* to the heart and soul of the members which were coming out of an inner experience.”⁵⁹ Or, as the English poet and painter William Blake (1757–1827), who most probably was influenced by the Moravians, articulated it: “A Poet a Painter a Musician an Architect: the Man/ Or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian . . . The unproductive Man is not a Christian.”⁶⁰ Moravians were not only expected to experience faith, but also to express it. Their individual experiences were understood as having value within a communal setting.

Another example of Moravian occasional art is an image from Christmas time at the Bethlehem girls’ school around 1790 (Fig. 4.3). The image is complicated, in that it is not only a representation of something, but a representation of a representation.⁶¹ We see a rather large tableau in green, blue, and gold, illuminated by several small lights on the right side of the image (Moravians were fond of illumination), and on the left side we see the girls seated in front of the tableau. The tableau itself seems to consist of a large urn with an image, which is hard to make out, at its centre: it could be Christ as the Lamb. The urn is placed on a stand, on which we read “The Word was made Flesh,” and in front of the urn is a simple fountain, similar to the central well that we find on the central square in Christiansfeld. The perspective in the tableau is slightly tweaked so the words on the stand can be clearly read by the viewer. Similarly, the girls all have their heads turned towards the viewer, thereby creating a connection between us and them, inviting us to join them in enjoying the Christmas tableau. Between the girls and the tableau is an empty chair, but it is unclear to whom it belongs: to the teacher who stands on the far-left side of the image (perhaps the artist behind the image, Anna Rosina Kliest, who taught in the school from 1788 to 1805)? To the viewer? Or to Christ himself, being considered part of the congregation; the chief elder of the society?

We also notice how, in the image, the Christmas tableau almost becomes part of the room itself: it is not raised on a platform, but it is available for the girls to stretch

⁵⁹ Vogt, “A Voice for Themselves,” 236. My italics.

⁶⁰ *Laocoön* (1826–1827), in David V. Erdman, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake, Newly Revised Edition* (New York: Anchor Book, 1988), 274. For more on Blake and the British Moravians, see for example Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Recovering the Lost Moravian History of William Blake’s Family,” *Blake. An Illustrated Quarterly* 38 (2002); and Craig D. Atwood, “Christ and the Bridal Bed: 18th century Moravian Erotic Spirituality as a Possible Influence on Blake,” in *Re-envisioning Blake*, eds. Mark Crosby, Troy Paternaude and Angus Whitehead (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁶¹ I am grateful to Victor Plahte Tschudi for articulating this.

out and reach if they stand up; only protected by a very low rail. A similar lack of boundary between art work and surroundings is found elsewhere in Moravian art works, for example in festival banners, where blue sky can disappear into the air instead of being stopped by a border.⁶² In fact, the trees from the tableau seem to connect the girls with the tableau, combining the two spheres with a bridge of living leaves. Thus, we get the impression that what is depicted in the tableau also takes place, albeit only for a short while, within the community of the girls. In that sense, it has presence and reality – and, in that sense, it is liturgy.

It is probable that tableaux and illuminations like this have also existed in the girls' school in Christiansfeld. Illumination, for example, was a much-loved activity that also took place in Christiansfeld and it still forms a significant part of the Christmas celebration. We know that "remains of wall decorations," probably referring to occasional art works for liturgical use, exist in Christiansfeld.⁶³ Many art works, however, and especially occasional art works and ephemera (as opposed to oil paintings and buildings) have probably disappeared, in Christiansfeld as well as elsewhere. This is partly due to natural causes (fire or mould) and to negligence or disinterest, but also simply to the fact that occasional art works had already served their purpose, so there was no reason to keep them. Instead, they might be disposed of or reused; festival banners, for example, could be painted over with new images and text as to suit the new liturgical occasion or festival.⁶⁴

A Liturgical and Artistic Life

The subject of Moravian girls and women expressing themselves through art is still a relatively unexplored area. Women wrote their *Lebensläufe*, they performed as musicians, and were taught to play and sing from an early age, and they were keen hymns writers. We also know that girls were taught painting and drawing, and a large collection of drawings from the girls' school is still kept in the archives in Christiansfeld.⁶⁵ A skilled English female painter, Maria Spilsbury (1776–1820), had strong Moravian links and was daughter of Jonathan Spilsbury (1737–1812), a Moravian engraver who probably knew William Blake.⁶⁶

We also assume that the girls from the school in Bethlehem were involved in creating the Christmas tableau themselves: Maria Rosina Unger notes in her diary that the

⁶² See Peucker, "Kreuzbilder und Wundenmalerei," 164–6.

⁶³ Ravn and Thyssen, "Kostskolernes Oplomstring," 576.

⁶⁴ Peucker, "Communication through Art," 259.

⁶⁵ Ravn and Thyssen, "Kostskolernes Oplomstring," 561.

⁶⁶ See Keri Davies, "Jonathan Spilsbury and the Lost Moravian History of William Blake's Family," *Blake. An Illustrated Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2006/2007).

girls have been painting for several days as well as collecting “moss & greens for Christmas.”⁶⁷ A diary from a Swedish girl, Clara Rebecca Bager, who attended the girls’ school in Christiansfeld from 1835 to 1838 gives the same impression. On the day of the Single Sister’s Festival on May 4, 1836, Clara describes that “the previous day we had dressed a room with greens and glasses with flowers.”⁶⁸ Likewise, Inga Kahr, the Norwegian girl in Christiansfeld whose diary I quoted above, notes that the girls themselves decorated their house with garlands of flowers on festival days.⁶⁹

This adds a whole layer to the interpretation of the Christmas tableau and the pictorial representation of it, since the tableau already, in a sense, belonged to the girls, as they had created it.⁷⁰ They were not only taught drawing and music as skills similar to reading and calculating, but they were also trained in using these skills in their joyful life *en Christo*, to create art installations and then to participate in them and respond to them. The communal life they were expected to participate in was, as it were, a sort of global, Christian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. However, the tableaux and art installations have now disappeared, and the lasting works of art, for example oil paintings, are often unsigned. Typically, we do not even have the names of the architects that dreamed up Christiansfeld, so the *voices* – in art, music, and poetry – are *there*, sometimes even distinctly so, but they are often anonymous.

The idea of *liturgisch leben*, “living a liturgical life,” perhaps addresses this view of Christian life as a work of art.⁷¹ When living the liturgical life, liturgy, as mentioned above, is not confined to the consecrated room, but is weaved into every little activity, night and day. Within this framework of understanding, praying and singing is liturgy, but so is sleeping, eating, working in the factory, conversing with another community member, and drawing in school. Similarly, the divine reality or the experience of Christ is not only present in church, but in every aspect of life. Moravians not only worshipped Christ as the Saviour, but also commemorated the life of Jesus in detail, so that one could *fully* dwell upon the fact that Jesus was also a child, a man who ate, drank, and wept, and a carpenter who used his skills. This dwelling on the life of Jesus was expressed in a litany used in Christiansfeld:

67 Unger’s diary is transcribed and available online at BDHP Journals, “A JOURNAL kept at BETHLEHEM BOARDING SCHOOL begun in December, 1789 by MARIA ROSINA UNGER,” accessed May 9, 2019, http://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/journals/unger/mariarosina.htmlhttp://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/journals/unger/mariarosina.html.

68 Ravn and Thyssen, “Kostskolernes Oplomstring,” 554. My translation.

69 Inga Kahr, diary from Christiansfeld 1867–1870. Quoted in Berg, Marcussen and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 137.

70 It also draws lines to ideas about the place and use of nature and natural elements within Moravian urban piety: including the use of flowers and plants in women’s needlework as well as the idea of the garden as an essential part of a Moravian town; forming a living, colourful, and slightly uncontrollable counterbalance to the balance and permanence of the buildings.

71 Helge Rønnow, “Liturgien,” in *Hernhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 712.

With your life's perfect merit
bless us dear Lord God!
 With you being born human,
 with your childish obedience,
 with your diligence at work,
 with your humility, meekness and patience . . .⁷²

This expresses an impression of Jesus as someone who is also, in a sense, a perfect Moravian: he is human, he is “childish” (a positive term, as Moravians placed particular spiritual value on the child-like state and on children),⁷³ and he is obedient, hardworking, humble, meek, and patient. He also, being someone who is “at work,” invokes the impression of a citizen – someone who could be living in a Moravian town like Christiansfeld – and a simple man; not a university educated philosopher. He is *one of them* and, at the same time, the locus that they are all waiting to enter through his wounds. He is someone that they can relate to now, and, at the time, the spatial location that will one day be realized: A New Jerusalem in body and spirit.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Moravian piety placed immense spiritual value on the incarnation. This informed the way they lived; informed liturgy and theology, social structure and education. But it also informed the way they understood art and each believer's responsibility to transform experience into expression. This (often) individual practice – to compose a text, a painting, or a piece of music – then fed back into a collective space, when, for example, a text was read aloud and could stir certain feelings or experiences in others.⁷⁴

The idea of the holy materiality of all things also informed the way the Moravians lived. They settled in ideal towns where town plan and architecture were thought to best facilitate what they understood as true Christian life. As such, they lived a life that could easily be understood as a simplistic attempt to realize life in the New Jerusalem. But they were more subtle in their construction of an urban salvation space: they created a vision of a living body (Christ), in which life as a good, Christian citizen could be lived. Christ's body thus came to represent the New Jerusalem; a large,

⁷² My translation. Quoted in Rønnow, “Liturgien,” 713. This seems to be a shorter version of The Great Church Litany, the longer version of which also, for example, mentioned Jesus's circumcision: “By thy human birth and circumcision.” (Quoted in E. de Schweinitz, *The Moravian Manual: containing an account of the Protestant Church of the Moravian United Brethren or Unitas Fratrum* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859), 138.

⁷³ Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 132–4.

⁷⁴ “During the reading aloud of the biography of the blessed sister, Luise von Hayn, which made a deep impression on me, some things became clear to me through the Holy Spirit, and my heart was so seized that I again sought out solitude and renewed my bond with the Savior amidst tears of love and shame.” (Biography of Johann Heinrich Jahr, 1839, quoted in Mettele, “Constructions of the Religious Self,” 20.) For more on von Hayn, see above, fn. 41.

all-encompassing space that could contain all human life; a transnational *Raum* [space] in which all Christians – female and male, children and adults – could become true citizens. With Jesus being fully human, so could every Moravian make use of her or his practical skills in a community such as Christiansfeld, and use these practical skills help to build the new, urban reality in the body of Christ: a city of believers that was at the same time an industrious town in Southern Jutland, a congregation united in joyful worship, and a living, breathing city situated in Christ's wounded and resurrected body. Just like in the threefold engraving from Herrnhut.

Christina Petterson

Chapter 5

New Jerusalem in Greenland: Aspects of Moravian Mission

Most Moravian settlements were conceptualised according to a square, with the axis either constituted by central buildings or the gaps between the buildings. This architectural pattern has given rise to the assumption that the Moravian settlements are configurations of the New Jerusalem. The present chapter examines the extent to which the idea of New Jerusalem is present in the Moravian mission station of Neuherrnhut in Greenland.

The question of Jerusalem in the early Moravian Brethren is an interesting question because of the community's eschatological fervour, combined with its settlement activities, which saw a flurry of villages and missionary stations constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century. However tempting it may be, to see these building activities as an expression of the "New Jerusalem," we should be very careful in making this connection because there are very few references to Jerusalem in the primary material of the Moravian Brethren. The present study concerns itself with the mission station Neuherrnhut in Greenland, where the Moravians worked as missionaries from 1733 to 1900 (Fig. 5.1).

In the course of their missionary work in Greenland, the Moravians established six missions. The first one was established on the outskirts of the Danish colony of Godthaab (Nuuk), and in 1747 the mission station named Neuherrnhut was inaugurated. In their excellent study of the history of Neuherrnhut from 1733 to 2003, Kathrine and Thorkild Kjærgaard mention that the building was designed on the basis of the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21: 9–27.¹

In their building activities, the Moravian Brethren materialised the classical Christian idea that the church, the congregation of believers, is an image of the heavenly Jerusalem, so that not only the congregation, but also its constructions anticipate the heavenly city. The fundamental architectonic figure had to be a [cubic] square as in the heavenly Jerusalem, described in detail towards the end of Revelation (21: 9–27). In the shape of a garden or a square [as in a market square] the square is found in the centre of all Moravian building constructions after Herrnhag.²

¹ Kathrine Kjærgaard and Thorkild Kjærgaard, *Ny Herrnhut i Nuuk 1733–2003* (Nuuk: Ilisimatusarfik, 2003).

² Kjærgaard and Kjærgaard, *Ny Herrnhut i Nuuk 1733–2003*, 33. My translation. See also page 34: "the Moravian Brethren's buildings were not only meant to anticipate the heavenly Jerusalem by their architectural basic form, but also by their splendour and size. Also in this case Herrnhag had showed the way – it was like a residential palace for the king of heaven."

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Fig. 5-1: The new Herrnhut mission in Greenland, c.1770. From Heinz Barüske, *Grönland: Kultur und Landschaft am Polarkreis*, 1990.

When examining some of the diaries and correspondence from Greenland, however, finding references to Jerusalem in relation to town planning and architecture proves to be very difficult. Apart from one biblical reference, to which I will return, the diaries from Greenland in the first three years and the months surrounding the erection of the buildings make no mention of Jerusalem.

Returning to the argument put forward by Kjærgaard and Kjærgaard we see that they identify *Herrnhaag*³ as the link between Neuherrnhut and Jerusalem. That Herrnhaag was modelled on the New Jerusalem is frequently presupposed.⁴ According to Claus Bernet,

Herrnhaag was originally intended to be a small settlement with exactly twelve buildings in its centre. In a conference in June of 1738 Zinzendorf said the following about the establishment of the centre for the settlement: 'It is not the Saviour's intention that it [Herrnhaag] should extend in a year and a day to twenty-four buildings. Rather every possible effort should be made to hold the number to twelve.' Here Zinzendorf was referring to twelve as the twelve apostles of Jesus, who were symbolized in the plan of Herrnhaag's houses.⁵

When double checking the reference in the minutes of the meeting it says, however:

Herrnhaag: It is not the interest [Sinn] of the Heiland that in time it be expanded to 24 houses, rather one may as far as possible do it so that it *comes to around 12*, allowed by + [the lot] the orphanage would be useful to build if there is money for it.⁶

There is thus no reference to the apostolic number of 12 as a foundation for the architecture of Herrnhaag, and the number 12 certainly is not an absolute figure in the conceptualisation of Herrnhaag as Bernet seems to suggest. Also, as the plan shows, there were 13 houses in Herrnhaag.

In his architectural analysis of the 19 European Moravian settlements between 1722 and 1808, Andreas Richter shows that there are two main types (and 7 exceptions to either). Type 1, to which Herrnhaag belongs (among others), consists of an empty square (only populated by secondary elements, such as paths, wells, plants, and so forth), around which the community buildings, including the *Saal* [the Great

³ The settlement of Herrnhaag was founded in 1738 in the Wetterau after Zinzendorf's expulsion from Saxony in 1736, and became the spiritual and executive centre of the community.

⁴ Klaus Richter, "Aus der Baugeschichte der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine," in *Herrnhuter Architektur am Rhein und an der Wolga*, eds. Reinhard Lahr and Bernd Willscheid (Koblenz: Landskreis Neuwied/Rhein, 2001), 31.

⁵ Claus Bernet, "The New Jerusalem in the 18th Century among the Moravian Church and the Radical Pietists," *Freikirchen Forschung* 16 (2007), 240–1.

⁶ UA.R.2A.1.3.B, page 4, point 9. "Herrnhaag Es ist nicht des Heylands ~~sinn~~ sinn das es im Jahr und tag auf 24 hauser solte erweitert werden sondern man darff so viel als möglich thun daß es etwa gegen 12 kommen Erlaubt des + das Waisen haus wäre nützlich zu bauen wenn Geld darzu wäre." My translation. UA stands for Unitäts Archiv and refers to material held at the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, Germany.

Hall] are grouped in threes. Type 2 includes Herrnhut, and has the *Saal* within the square, dividing the square into two parts that are uneven in respect to size and quality. Here there is no fixed number of houses around the square.⁷

Interestingly, type 1 settlements became standard after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760. At all levels this period saw more centralisation of power and decision-making processes to ensure conformity. In relation to settlements and building, a board of building activities was established in 1765, following a building conference in 1763.⁸ In the period before 1760, Herrnhag and Niesky were the exceptions. Chronologically, Neuherrnhut belongs to the type 2 settlements.

Of even more interest to our present investigation is the fact that Richter analyses the type 1 settlement, *i.e.* the square with 3 by 3 buildings as equivalent to the 12 gates of the New Jerusalem: the empty square signifies the absence of the temple because of the presence of God and the Lamb.⁹ Richter further speculates (and he is clear that these are just speculations) that this empty space was intended to keep the middle free for the invisible Lord, which he sees as analogous with the decision of the 1741 Synod, which transferred to Jesus the highest office of the Moravian Brethren – the office of General elder – and thus left that space, or office “empty.”

However, as mentioned, Herrnhag is yet another exception to the type 1 in that it does not have 3 by 3 buildings, but 2 by 2. This means that the *Saal* does not lie on the axis. Rather, the axis consists of the space between the buildings.¹⁰ This should at the very least *question* the seamless connection between Herrnhag and the New Jerusalem.

Neuherrnhut as Modelled on Herrnhag

The building of Neuherrnhut was more than an assembly hall. It had school rooms, residential units, kitchens, storehouses, and so forth. According to Wolf Marx, who has done the most work on the *Saals* of the Moravians, such multipurpose use of the building was a common feature. Thus, the prayer hall of the first period (1724–1760) was never a building unto itself, but a part of the *Gemeinhaus*, “the

7 Andreas Richter, “Die Siedlungen der Brüdergemeine in Europa. Eine Typologische Übersicht,” *Unitas Fratrum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine* 51/52 (2003), 3–5.

8 The *Risßbüchlein* by Christian Gottlieb Reuter, which connects Herrnhag with the heavenly Jerusalem was completed in 1760/61. See Ulrike Carstensen, *Stadtplanung im Pietismus. Herrnhag in der Wetterau und die frühe Architektur der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (Herrnhut: Herrnhuter Verlag, 2009), 321–33.

9 Richter, “Die Siedlungen der Brüdergemeine in Europa. Eine Typologische Übersicht,” 7.

10 Thank you to archivist Olaf Nippe, Unity Archives, Herrnhut, for pointing this out.

community house.”¹¹ This is connected, presumably, with the idea that the presence of Christ is within the congregation and not connected to the building.¹² In the diary entry describing the day of the inauguration, Johannes Beck emphasises the *function* of the building as a place to “cover us from snow, rain, and where to speak with one another from our hearts and the bloody wounds of the Lamb, and we asked the Lamb for a house where we could hold gatherings.”¹³

There is one detail, however, which should be mentioned. First the reference to psalm 84, verse 4 – “The birds have found their tree, the swallows their nest” – which is mentioned in the diary on October 16, 1747, when the Moravians inaugurated Neuherrnhut: “Now we can say, now the bird has found its house, and the swallow its nest, a place which the Lamb has chosen on the sea of ice as reward for his pain.”¹⁴

This biblical reference is carved on the memorial stone at the site where Christian David cut down the first tree to build the first house in Herrnhut, and he is said to have cited this when cutting. An oddity, in this context, is that the full description of the inauguration of Neuherrnhut is preserved twice: once in the diary written by Christian Stach, which is the one that refers to the psalm, and once in Christian David’s description to Zinzendorf. The verse is not mentioned, however, in Christian David’s description, which is interesting if he is the one connected with the verse in early Herrnhut.

New Jerusalem or Heavenly Jerusalem: Revelation or Hebrews?

While Jerusalem, Zion, and the heavenly community are certainly present in the archival material of the Moravian Brethren, there is no evidence for a consistent and *fundamental* understanding of the Moravian settlements as manifestations of the New Jerusalem.

11 Wolf Marx, *Die Saalkirche der Deutschen Brüdergemeine im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), 9. In Herrnhag, the *Gemeinhaus* was inaugurated in 1740, but it quickly became too small, and a new *Saal* was built as part of Zinzendorf’s house. This was completed in 1745.

12 Jørgen Bøytler, “Moravian Values and Moravian Towns,” in *Christiansfeld Initiative: The Founding Conference 2003* (Christiansfeld, 2003), 11.

13 UA. R.15.J.b.I.1b, October 16, 1747: “ihr wist auch das wir kein plätzgen hatten uns vor schnee, regen, u kälte zu verbergen um uns mit einander zu besprechen vo unsere hertzen u des Lämleins blutigen wunden, u wir haben das Lamm gebeten um ein Haus wor wir könnten versamlungen halten.” My translation.

14 UA. R.15.J.b.I.1b, October 16, 1747: “Nun können wir sag: Nun hat der Vogel seyn Haus gefunden, u die Schwalbe ihr Nest, Einer Stätte die sich das Lamm am Eys-Meere vor seinen Schmerzens Lohn erwählet hat . . .” My translation.

That is not to say that Jerusalem does not figure in the theological imagery of the Moravians. But rather than the physical creation of a “New Jerusalem” we should rather look to participation in the “heavenly Jerusalem,” following the image of Jerusalem in the Letter to the Hebrews (Heb 12:22–25). Of course, in the parlance of the time, as well as in scholarship, this distinction is not always observed.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this heavenly communion seems to be much more in line with Moravian ideology. The Moravians engaged less with a notion of a New Jerusalem on earth, and more with a transcendently distinct community with whom they were in direct connection (the upper community), as depicted in the etching of the Moravians worshipping with the upper community and the depiction of the mountain Zion (Fig. 4.1).

In the eighteenth century this was expressed particularly through the musical and liturgical practice of the Moravians, which still has a profound influence on Greenlandic piety today. In a recently published article on Moravian music as *praxis pietatis*, Church Historian Sven Rune Havsteen analyses the use of music in the description of the inauguration ceremonies of Neuherrnhut, and concludes that music played a significant role in all 5 gatherings which occurred throughout the day. I will mention one, which emphasises the affective nature of music. This is from the third gathering:

At 4, the Greenlandic love feast was summoned [by horns] and with the verse ‘when I can eat him etc,’ and during the meal many cross air birds and side-hole verses were sung and accompanied by three violins and a flute, the musicians were Br Beyer, Christian David, Molzau, and brother Böhmisich helped with the flute as well as he could, they did the same at the other occasions whenever there was singing in spite of the terrible music, there still was a such a spirit of grace and feeling of love that the Greenlandic members were so drunk that they hardly could leave the *Saal*, because they had never in their lives seen and heard anything like it.¹⁶

¹⁵ Claus Bernet, “Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism,” in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 140.

¹⁶ UA. R.15.J.b.I.1b, October 16, 1747: “3tens wurde um 4 Uhr zum grönl Liebesmahl geblasen, und mit dem verse wenn ich ihn essen kan etc u unter währendem essen wurden viele † luft vögel und seiten holgen versgel abgesungen u mit drey // violinen u einer Flöte dazu gespilet, die Musicanten waren Br Beyer, C.D. Molzau u br Böhmisich half mit der Flöte so gut er konte, des gleichen Thaten sie auch bey den andere gelegenheiten so oft gesungen wurde, es war doch bei aller der schlechten Music Ein solcher gnaden geist und liebes gefiel daß die grönl geschw ganz trunken waren das sie zu lezt kaum aus dem Saal gehen konten, denn sie hatten den glichen denige ihr lebtage nicht gesehen und gehört.” My translation. *Love feast* is a Moravian practice and is a simple and informal gathering of fellows, such as the Greenlandic members, at which food was eaten, prayers given, and hymns sung. *Cross air birds* was a common name for Moravians in the eighteenth century. It refers to the air blowing from the cross on which the birds can soar. Finally, *side hole* is another common feature of eighteenth-century Moravian imagery and refers to the wound in Jesus’s side from John 19:34. It became a way of referring to Jesus, and was regarded as a place of birth and refuge for the Moravians in the 1740s and 1750s.

The way in which music is incorporated in the simple services and gatherings demonstrates that music plays a crucial role in the experience of the unity and divine presence, according to Havsteen. He connects this with the understanding of music as *praxis pietatis* and considers whether the Moravian use of music was experienced as heavenly music, and as a materialisation of the “social dimension of the divine harmony in the community of the congregation.”¹⁷ Thus, the practice of music gave access to the cosmic dimension of which it was a part.

In conclusion, the focus on the Moravian missionary station as a manifestation of the “New Jerusalem” rests on a forced interpretation of the significance of the earthly Jerusalem in Moravian piety. Moravian Christianity at this stage was much more apocalyptic, and thus it could be argued that it was the direct connection with the divine presence which became the heritage of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland. In time, while the Danish state church took over the institutional forms of religious practice and education from around the nineteenth century, the Greenlandic use and appreciation of music as in some way participating in the heavenly choir, and the intimate connection between Greenlanders and Jesus are still very unmediated, and hence, very Moravian.

¹⁷ Sven Rune Havsteen, “Musik som *praxis pietatis* i missionens tid (18.årh.),” i *Kristendom i Grønland*, ed. Sven Rune Havsteen (København: Eksistensen), 69–75.

Birgitte Hammershøy

Chapter 6

Tracing the Jerusalem Code in Christiansfeld: A World Heritage City

In 2015 the Moravian settlement of Christiansfeld in Denmark was included in UNESCO's World Heritage List for its Outstanding Universal Values relating to the town plan, the exquisite architecture, and the functional distribution of the buildings. The town was viewed as an "ideal protestant city," and a realization of the vision of the Christian societal structure according to the ideals of the Moravian Church. The World Heritage nomination file explores what an "ideal protestant town" is without mentioning the notion of "the heavenly Jerusalem," an underlying image that was crucial to the Moravians. This chapter argues that a "Jerusalem code" may constitute a hermeneutical key to interpreting the town of Christiansfeld.

In 2015 the oldest part of the city of Christiansfeld in Denmark was included in UNESCO's World Heritage List¹ as an emblematic Moravian settlement. Objects are inscribed on the list if they are of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) compared to similar objects, and in as much as they possess significance for humankind. In addition, they must meet at least one out of ten criteria.² Christiansfeld meets criteria 3 and 4. Criterion 3 states that the property must "bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared." The nomination file thus argues that "Christiansfeld is a manifestation of the Moravian Church's idea of how an ideal society and life should be designed . . . and . . . presents an exceptional connection between town structure and denominational culture."³ Criterion 4 affirms that the property should

1 The World Heritage List is the core of UNESCO's *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage from 1972*. The Convention is the result of years of international collaboration in the field of protection and preservation of the cultural and natural heritage of significance to humankind as such, a heritage which constantly is threatened by changes in society, armed conflicts, and war. Objects for the list are proposed by State Parties who have ratified the Convention, today 193, and proposals are evaluated by ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites, before they are accepted by The World Heritage Committee.

2 All ten criteria are described in: UNESCO. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. WHC.15/01 (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015), par. 77–8.

3 Annemette Løkke Borg Berg, Lene Lindberg Marcussen and Karen Stoklund, eds., *Danish World Heritage Nomination: Christiansfeld a Moravian Settlement*, I & II (Kolding Municipality, 2014), 154.

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Fig. 6.1: *Christiansfeld, 1780*, by Meno Haas. Copper engraving. Royal Danish Library.

present “an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.”⁴ The nomination file argues that the special town plan, architectural unity, and functional distribution of buildings in Christiansfeld illustrate the impact of the Age of Enlightenment to society, which is seen as a dramatic stage in human history. Furthermore, the file maintains that as a Moravian colony and a planned urban society Christiansfeld was “constructed to realize a vision of a Christian societal structure in accordance with the ideals of the Moravian Church.”⁵

In this chapter, I point to an aspect of the nomination of Christiansfeld to the World Heritage List which I find underexposed, namely the notion of “the heavenly Jerusalem,” a biblical image so crucial to the Moravians that it most likely was part

⁴ UNESCO. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, par. 77–8.

⁵ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 156. See also Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15.

of the “vision” that informed the construction of Christiansfeld. I argue that the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem represents an important code or hermeneutical key to interpreting the site.

Christiansfeld: A Moravian Settlement

Christiansfeld was founded in 1773, and laid out, constructed, and built according to a strict town plan on agricultural land in a very short time. A copper engraving from 1780 shows that by then the most important buildings were already erected (Fig. 6.1). In the 1740s the Government made restrictions that aimed to limit the influence of Moravians in Denmark,⁶ and hence the question arises: How did the Moravians end up in Denmark with a bare piece of land to build on, and what were the guiding principles for their vision of an ideal society and city?

The town was founded by special permission, and on invitation from the Danish king, by a small congregation from Herrnhut in Saxony, known as Herrnhuters or Moravians. Herrnhut was founded in 1722 on the estate of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf by a religious community of men and women exiled from the region of Moravia (Bohemia and Mähren) in central Europe, whom after that was called the Moravian Brotherhood. Count Zinzendorf was trained by the Pietists in Halle and later, as a religious leader, he was heavily inspired by the radical Pietistic concept of *Philadelphia* – brotherly love. Zinzendorf was related to the Danish Court and through him the Moravian Brotherhood had in the 1730s received royal permission to establish themselves in Denmark in small societies. As the societies grew, however, the preaching of the Moravians sparked resistance from within the largely Pietistic state church, and for fear of separatist movements within the absolute monarchy restrictions were imposed on the Moravians. In 1766, however, Christian VII (1749–1808) acceded the throne, and in the context of the Enlightenment the view towards the Moravians changed. In 1768, the King went on a journey with his adviser and physician Johann Friedrich Struensee visiting the Moravian colony of Zeist in Holland. Here, the King saw how the industrial and commercial developments and craftsmanship of the Moravians could benefit Denmark. Contact was made with the congregation in Herrnhut and on the advice of Struensee the King had a concession drawn up that gave the “Herrnhuters . . . the Brethren professing the unaltered Augsburg Confession”⁷ the right and freedom to establish themselves on the King’s land. The town was named Christiansfeld after the King, but on their arrival the Moravians from Herrnhut did not

⁶ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 88.

⁷ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 93.

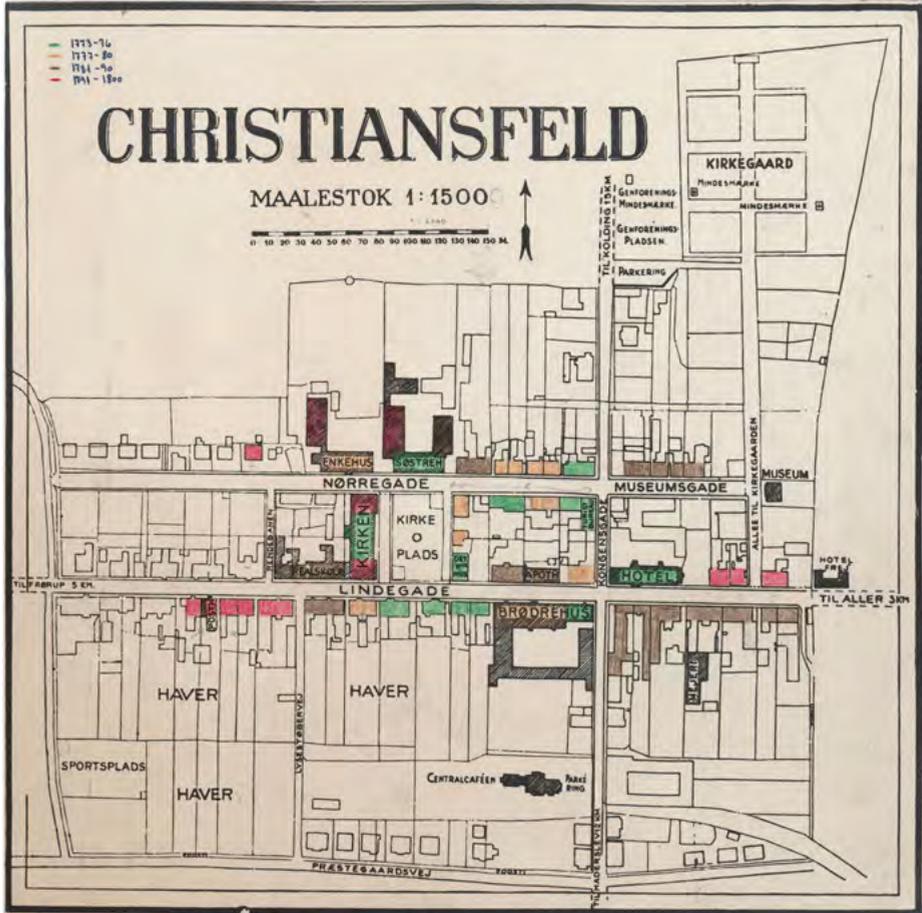


Fig. 6.2: Survey map of Christiansfeld with coloured timeline of erected houses, 1940s. The town plan is still the same today. Royal Danish Library – Danish National Art Library.

only bring industriousness and craftsmanship, but also certain religious ideas⁸ about the ideal society that heavily influenced the way they planned towns and buildings.

Guiding Images: Herrnhut and Herrnhag

A survey map from the 1940s (Fig. 6.2) shows the grid-like structure of the town, which has been preserved since the late 1700s until today, with two parallel, east-

⁸ See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107.

west running streets – Lindegade and Nørregade – and a central church square. In the eastern part of Lindegade [Linden Street] and Nørregade [Northern Street] there are two north-south aligned axes, Kongensgade [King’s Street] (which only became a reality in 1854) and Kirkegårds Alle [Cemetery Lane], leading to the cemetery Gudsageren [Gods Acre] The buildings are arranged hierarchically around the church square according to the societal structure of the Moravians, *i.e.* a division of the congregation into “Choirs” according to gender and age: the Sisters’ house, the Widows’ house, the Brothers’ house, along with the vicarage, and the provost’s house.⁹ The survey also has a coloured timeline of the erected houses. The architecture is simplified and homogenous with one- or two-storey yellow brick buildings with red tiled roofs; despite its simplicity, the architecture shows exquisite detailing and craftsmanship.¹⁰ The evaluation by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) acknowledges that Christiansfeld bears testimony to how an ideal society and life could be designed and that the town plan, the architectural unity, and the functional distribution of the buildings represent an ideal Protestant city. This raises the questions: what is an ideal Protestant city and where does the inspiration come from?

The team of experts from Kolding Municipality responsible for preparing the nomination file for Christiansfeld made great efforts in order to find possible sources of inspiration for the conception of the town plan.¹¹ For the most part Christiansfeld is interpreted alongside sixteenth- and seventeenth-century visions of utopian cities. One model is related to Zinzendorf,¹² who made a plan of a round city with an octagonal centre with eight streets emanating from it. Another is Johannes Valentinus Andreae who described Christianopolis, an ideal or utopian city of square form.¹³ The different sources of inspiration mentioned by the expert group are first and foremost selected because they focus on a certain architectural form. In addition, the group cites early literary examples of utopian cities focusing on social structure, for example in Thomas More’s *Utopia* from 1516.¹⁴

Although the expert group do mention the formative Biblical image of a Levite city in Numbers 35:1–6, in which a square city is described, and also acknowledge that the Moravians viewed themselves as similar to the Levites in that

⁹ In addition, the city plan includes a fire station.

¹⁰ ICOMOS, *Evaluation of Nominations of Cultural and Mixed Properties to the World Heritage List* (Bonn: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization/World Heritage Convention, 2015), 214.

¹¹ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 208–12.

¹² Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 212. The plan from approximately 1756 was for the town Wachovia. Original in the Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut.

¹³ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 225. Christianopolis was presented in 1619 as “Republicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio,” heavily inspired by Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*. The map of Christianopolis has been printed numerous times. See Chapter 22 (Walter Sparr), vol. 2, 441–58.

¹⁴ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 182, 223.

they also performed a special spiritual service to their fellow human beings, the expert group does not relate this to the notion of the Moravians being part of a wider apocalyptic movement in society; which was awaiting the end of this world and the coming of the kingdom of God while clustered around the image of “the heavenly Jerusalem.” The expert group even dismisses the image of “the heavenly Jerusalem” before having scrutinized it thoroughly,¹⁵ just as they have not looked into religious town planning principles in depth. Both of which could have shed light on the comparative analysis in the nomination file, concerning what Moravian towns and other towns of the period share, which might have been content/ideas rather than form.¹⁶

In his dissertation *Gebaute Apocalypse [Building the Apocalypse]*,¹⁷ Claus Bernet provides an account of how the Moravians were part of a diversity of religious utopian movements in the eighteenth century that drew on a variety of biblical images summed up in the image of “the heavenly Jerusalem.” The image is derived mainly from Revelation 21: 2–3 where the apocalyptic end is replaced by a new and better world represented by the image of the new city coming out of heaven to the people on earth: “And I saw the Holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God . . .” and “Look! God’s dwelling place is now among the people, and he will dwell with them.”¹⁸ At the inauguration of the city of Herrnhut these words from Revelation were cited.¹⁹ Herrnhut and Herrnhag²⁰ were both seen as realizations of this eschatological hope for a

15 “The plan produced by von Zinzendorf does not display any solution based on the contents of the Bible even if we accept the premise that the heavenly Jerusalem has been visualised as being a round city from the Middle ages right up to the threshold of early modernity”: Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 210, and “The vision conjured up of the heavenly Jerusalem (Revelations 21:10–21) as a beaming, regular set of buildings can hardly be considered as providing a clear parallel for the basic plan of the Moravian Church’s settlements for the very fact alone that these are not based on any type of symbolic arithmetic which is viewed as being an expression of order in that sublime city”: Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 208.

16 It is criticized in the evaluation by ICOMOS that other Protestant settlements have not been included, i.e. The Shakers, Amish and Quakers, especially that the Shakers whose functionalist-pietistic architecture have had a profound impact on modern architecture have not been included in the comparative analysis. ICOMOS, *Evaluation of Nominations of Cultural and Mixed Properties to the World Heritage List*, 141.

17 Claus Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse.” *Die Utopie des Himmlischen Jerusalem in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2007).

18 NIV, New International Version.

19 Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse,” 306.

20 Herrnhag was home of the radical Pietists and one of the members here, although also connected to Herrnhut, was the geodesist Christian Gottlieb Reuter who had surveyed Moravian settlements worldwide, and in some cases even drafted the plan himself. His influence on different draft plans was obvious. Bernet emphasizes for example the impact from Herrnhag and Reuter in relation to biblical images and symbolic numbers. A town should be square and have 12 gates like described in revelation (Rev 21:15–21), the number of houses in a town should be 12 as the apostles or 24 as the elders.

transformed and better world and the towns were soon to become prototypes for Moravian settlements elsewhere.

The most prominent feature of Herrnhut was the right-angled measurement of plots with a rectangular town centre.²¹ Similar features can be found in Christiansfeld. A survey from 1812 (Fig. 6.3) builds upon the oldest known plan of Christiansfeld from 1772, which is in the archives in Niesky, in Saxony and signed “Schlegel.” Christiansfeld is measured according to a modular plan of 8 x 8 ells,²² known as *Ruthen*. On Schlegel’s plan it is mentioned that the plots must be exactly 40 ells in width and 48, 80, or 120 ells in depth. In addition, the square in front of the church/assembly hall must be exactly 80 ells wide and 96 ells deep. Together with the indications given for the streets, these measures compose a strict town plan of rectangular grids.²³

The center of Moravian towns was often an empty space free of buildings; a symbol demonstrating that the city was ready to receive the coming of the Lord,²⁴ although a well pointing to Christ as the Water of Life (Rev 22) was often placed here. The lack of a temple in the biblical descriptions of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:22) explains the lack of traditional church buildings in Moravian towns. Instead, located next to the main square, they have an assembly hall. This is without an altar and without a pulpit. Instead they have an elevated chair and a liturgical table from which the liturgical leader conducts the service. In Christiansfeld the assembly hall has transverse benches placed in front of the elevated chair and liturgical table. Around this central hall the other buildings are arranged hierarchically, representing the societal structure of the Moravians. The most prominent of these are the “choir” houses, which convey a thorough break with traditional family-forms. They represent the Moravians’ view of themselves as a family of brothers and sisters working and living together awaiting a renewed life centered upon the second coming of Christ. This is what Bernet has labeled a theocratic society.²⁵

The Jerusalem Code in Christiansfeld

In search of a biblical “model” for Christiansfeld the concept of “the heavenly Jerusalem” appears to be a more fruitful code and key to interpretation, rather than the biblical understanding proposed in the nomination documents, which tended towards a more literal reading of the Bible.

²¹ Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse,” 311.

²² Old linear measure, c.1,14 meters; Danish: “alen.”

²³ Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, *Danish World Heritage Nomination*, 96; Hans Henrik Engqvist, “Byplan og bygninger,” in *Herrnhuter-samfundet i Christiansfeld*, ed. Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Åbenrå: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, 1984), 421.

²⁴ Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse,” 319.

²⁵ Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse,” 317.

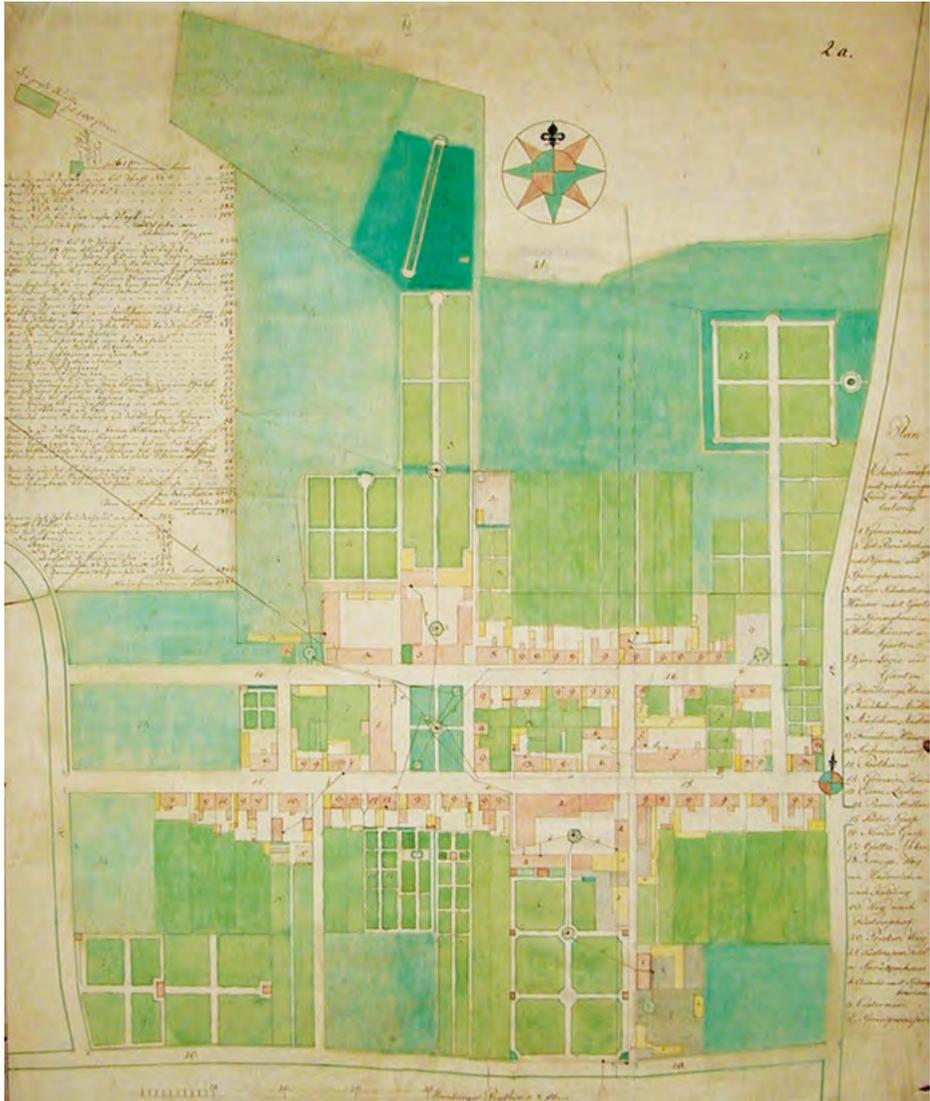


Fig. 6.3: Early survey by Stauanger from 1812 where quadrates measured in *Ruthen* are indicated. Brødremenigheden, The Moravian Church in Christiansfeld.

In an architectural heritage perspective, the intangible values of the town would become more evident when this hermeneutical key is employed.

In the future, if other Moravian towns are nominated for UNESCO's World Heritage List, I find it important to consider the Jerusalem code when explaining the societal structure and the layout of a Moravian town or settlement. I also want to point out an interesting ambiguity in today's reception of these settlements. While Claus Bernet argues that the Moravian Town Structure reflects a Theocratic social order, ICOMOS reveals a modern secular understanding of Christiansfeld. ICOMOS views Christiansfeld as an illustration of Enlightenment ideas, such as equality and social community; ideas that only became a reality for many Europeans well after the French Revolution. This ambiguity presents a contemporary loss of understanding of religious ideas as guiding images in earlier town-planning.

Arne Bugge Amundsen

Chapter 7

The New Zion in Norway in the 1740s

During the reign of King Christian VI (1730–1746), Denmark and Norway saw a number of religious changes and experiments in legislation, ideology, and practice. A number of oppositional preachers and prophets took the opportunity to oppose state religion and traditional piety. Drammen southwest of Oslo became the arena for the most radical of them all: Søren Bølle, a radical Pietist and Anabaptist. With a small group of followers he established “The New Zion” in the 1740s. Bølle’s thoughts were deeply connected with similar oppositional groups on the European continent.

Ever since the Lutheran reformation was imposed on both countries in the 1530s, the twin monarchy of Denmark-Norway had been a highly profiled Lutheran confessionalist state.¹ “Separation,” that is religious protests or nonconformism, was both legally and politically regarded as unacceptable if one was to be considered a full member of the society and as one of the King’s subjects. The legislation was explicit and fairly consequent in this matter.² Quite another thing is the question of the political and cultural realities. Practical and even economic reasons made it necessary to establish a legal and ordered presence for Non-Lutheran immigrants, whom were explicitly welcomed by the King in the so-called “free towns,” where Non-Lutherans were allowed to settle and – at least to a certain extent – to practice their religion.³ In the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway, Fredericia, Friedrichstadt, and Altona represented such cities.

The confessional situation was to change in an even more radical way during the reign of Christian VI (1699–1746, king from 1730). The Danish royal court experienced quite a Pietistic revival during the first years of his reign.⁴ Parallel with his strong interest in Pietistic ideals and practices, the King worked on one dominating project, namely how to make Denmark and Norway an even more prosperous state both economically and culturally. Some of his subjects actually took the King by his word, and demonstrated in public that they *had* experienced a religious conversion, that

1 Jens E. Olesen, “Dänemark, Norwegen und Island,” in *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, eds. Matthias Asche and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 27–106.

2 Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850 [The History of Norwegian Free-Thinking]* (Oslo: Humanist forlag, 2001), 31f., 35f.

3 Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 36f.

4 Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 168ff.

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they *had* the spirit of God in their hearts, and that they *had* started on new lives in Christ.⁵

The New Zion in Drammen

One of these small groups of religiously experimental individuals was situated in the area of Drammen, a few miles southwest of the city of Christiania (Oslo) (Fig. 7.1).⁶ This group was led by a radical student of theology, the Dane Søren Bølle,⁷ who in the early 1740s settled in the Drammen area.⁸ His authority as prophet and leader of the group depended not least on the fact that he had spiritual visions in which he was inspired directly by God. He did not refer to details of these visions, but restricted himself to the argument that they were parallel to what happened in the days of the first Apostles.⁹

The social principle of the group was egalitarian: In the eyes of Christ, all believers were equal and in the same position. This was the reason why Søren Bølle quite early followed the Moravian example regarding marriage and courtship. Under divine guidance, young men and women were to marry according to a lottery principle. Søren Bølle showed the way in 1741: In his case, the lottery *finally* and surprisingly enough turned out to his advantage, as his lot was the daughter of a local clergyman, Andreas

5 There was much contemporary publicity connected with a radical theological student, Gert Hansen, in the years 1737–1739, and to a small group of lay preachers in 1739; all for the most part concentrating their activities to the South-Eastern parts of Norway, Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850*, 171ff. Andreas Aarflot, *Norsk kirkehistorie II [The Church History of Norway]* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1967), 165, 168.

6 The medieval name of the present capital of Norway was Oslo, but after a disastrous fire the city was physically moved in 1624 and renamed Christiania. From 1925 the official name of the city was returned to Oslo.

7 In fact, the only complete presentation of the history of this movement is S. A. Sørensen, *Zioniterne. En religiøs Bevægelse i Drammen og Omegn i Midten af det 18de Aarh.* (Kristiania: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1904). Sørensen's little book consists, however, for the most part of presentations of and quotations from the different contemporary sources of the Bølle movement. Later contributions seem to rely on Sørensen's book. Some decades before Sørensen, the historian Ludvig Daae edited some information about this group, Ludvig Daae, "Om de saakaldte Zioniter i Drammen ved Midten af forrige Aarhundrede," in *Nogle nye Bidrag til den norske Kirkes Historie*, ed. Ludvig Daae (Drammen: J. Wulfsberg, 1806), 1–35. On his biography, see Fr. Nielsen, "Bølle, Søren," in *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, vol. 3, ed. C. F. Bricka (København: Gyldendal, 1889), 325–6; Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Bølle, Søren Jensen," in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, vol. 2, eds. Knut Helle et al. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 120–1.

8 The city of Drammen was established in 1811 based on the two staple ports Strømsø and Bragernes. For a general survey of the history of Drammen in the eighteenth century, see Odd W. Thorson, *Drammen. En norsk østlandsbys utviklingshistorie*, vol. 2 (Drammen: Drammen kommune, 1962).

9 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 42f.



Fig. 7.1: Dram (Drammen), c.1800, by John William Edy. From Boydell’s picturesque scenery of Norway, 1820, plate no. 71. Courtesy of the National Library of Norway.

Wulfsberg (1683–1742).¹⁰ The “separation” of the group was, however, extended to include all rituals and religious acts under the control of the Lutheran state church.

In 1742, Søren Bølle and a few of the other leaders of the group were imprisoned. They stayed in prison for approximately one year; for the most part left without the possibilities of communicating with the other members of the group. As a result of the imprisonment of Søren Bølle, the group in Drammen had to change strategy. The civil and ecclesiastic authorities hardened their pressure against the remaining members, and a number of Lutheran ministers actively met and argued with them in order to make the separatists renounce their heresies. On the other hand, the Bølle group turned out to have a new leader; a teacher and wig maker from Bergen with the name of Jørgen Kleinow (1715–1751). He filled Søren Bølle’s position in the role as visionary and prophet, and he seems to have been even more radical than Bølle.

¹⁰ The history of the Wulfsberg family is described in detail in Aagot Wulfsberg, *Slægten Wulfsberg* (Christiania: private print, 1900); Aagot Wulfsberg, *Slekten Wulfsberg. Genealogisk-biografisk samling*, 2nd. ed. (Oslo: private print, 1940).

In 1744, the first references to Bølle's and Kleinow's group as *Zion* occur in the historical sources, but there are many indications that this epithet was used at an earlier stage. The references from 1744 come from two lists enumerating the present members of this group of religious opponents. The lists were set up by the leaders themselves and presented in court. They indicate that at the time "Zion" counted about one hundred inhabitants. What is especially interesting with regard to these two lists is that they refer to the internal names or functions of the members of the Zionites. Søren Bølle is named "The Apostle of Zion, The Fighting Aid of Anointment," Anniken Wulfsberg [Bølle's wife] is called "The Visionary, a Prophetess in Zion," Jørgen Kleinow's name is "The Special Prophet of the Beginning of Zion," while other members are called "Zion's servants" or simply "Zionites." Remarkable is also the name of the unbaptized child of Søren Bølle and Anniken Wulfsberg: "Prison Victory"; a name that obviously refers to the fact that his father, the Apostle of Zion, was imprisoned in Christiania, and that the true believers were hoping for his victorious release.¹¹

A Paradise Lost

When the Zionites began to display an increased independence and radicalism towards any external authority, this was paralleled by increased action from the authorities. The fact that the Zionites no longer were restricted to Drammen, but also attracted members from other parts of the country contributed to the authorities' more aggressive strategy. Indeed the "New Zion" challenged the territorial church structure so important for the Lutheran state church.

In August 1743, Bølle and three other leaders were sent to Fredericia, one of the King's "free cities."¹² This was not the end of the story, however, for the leaders from Drammen. During the autumn of 1743, they returned to Norway where they tried to persuade their followers that the best solution would be to travel to Altona. In December, they were arrested once more and in January 1744, King Christian VI decided that the religious rebels from Drammen were allowed to choose for themselves one city among these three "free cities": Fredericia, Friedrichstadt, or Altona.¹³ They chose Altona.

In 1744, most traces of the Zionites disappear – both in the "free city" and in Drammen. The few traces of them that do exist, however, are interesting enough. It seems that even the authorities in the "free town" of Altona regarded the Zionites as a troublesome part of the diverse and complex religious culture in the city. In Altona, the male Zionites let their beard grow, and they all wore a special outfit, which consisted

¹¹ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 146–150.

¹² Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 119–123. Fredrik August Wessel Berg, *Kongelige Rescripter, Resolutioner og Collegial-Breve for Norge i Tidsrummet 1660–1813*, vol. 1 (Christiania: J. W. Cappelen, 1841), 878.

¹³ Sørensen, *Zioniterne* 138.

of white gowns with leather belts and a white badge with red numbers written on it. Their ritual practices were also taken notice of: They awaited the Last Judgement, the New Zion, and were praying and crying for The Lord to come.¹⁴

However, the Lord did not come, and the Zionites dissolved as a group. After a few years, Jørgen Kleinow returned to Norway and Drammen, accepting the Lutheran state church rituals. He first stayed in Drammen, then in Tønsberg, and finally in Bergen. He married twice, and he found both his wives in the network around the Wulfsberg family.¹⁵ Even Søren Bølle at last submitted to the civil order. In 1749, he legally married his wife Anniken Wulfsberg – seemingly in order to obtain legal rights to the inheritance from her father. Contrary to Jørgen Kleinow, Søren Bølle never returned to Norway. He stayed in Altona until his death in the 1780s.¹⁶

But the Paradise was lost.

A Fertile Soil?

How could a movement like Søren Bølle's have found a fertile soil in an area like Drammen? Even to modern eyes, this movement appears to have adhered to rather

¹⁴ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 156, 172ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Wulfsberg, *Slægten Wulfsberg* (1900), 8f., 15ff., 70f. He first married Marie Dorothea Theisen (d. 1747), who previously had been married to Andreas Wulfsberg (1693–1736). They had one son with the peculiar name Semach/Zemach, born in December 1747 and buried in February 1748. The boy's name must refer to Zech 3: 8: "Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee: for they *are* men wondered at: for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH." This shows that despite the final acceptance of the official church rituals, Jørgen Kleinow was still embedded in his separatist universe: His son was expected to be a new branch of the New Zion. Jørgen Kleinow then lived in Bragernes parish in Drammen. Soon after the death of his wife and son he moved to the city of Tønsberg, where he in September 1748 married Ingeborg Schaar with merchant Andreas Wulfsberg (b.1714) and school teacher Niels Wulfsberg (1715–1784) as their best men. The couple had two children – Ephraim (b.1749, Tønsberg) and Maria Dorothea. The daughter was named after his first wife, but the son's name was obviously another Biblical reference, this time Gen 4: 52: "And the name of the second called he Ephraim: For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction." Jørgen Kleinow died in Bergen in July 1751. The register of the assets of the deceased indicate that he during his last years had acted as a teacher of geometry. Strangely enough, the only book with religious contents left after him was a Danish translation by Thomas Horrebow (1719–1790) of a book by Stephan Prætorius (1536–1603), first published in Copenhagen in 1750; Stephan Prætorius, *De Troendes aandelige Skattekammer, hvori findes Lærdommen om Guds Børns sande Troe, Retfærdighed, Salighed etc.*, trans. Thomas Horrebow. 4th ed. (Copenhagen: N. C. Ditlevsen, 1846). See also H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, vol. 4 (København: Aschehoug, 1972), 158f.; Stephan Prætorius and Martin Statius, ed., *Geistliche Schatzkammer der Gläubigen*, (Lüneburg, 1636); Eckhardt Düker, *Freudenchristentum. Der Erbauungsschriftsteller Stephan Praetorius* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 226.

¹⁶ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 184–8, 191–5.

extreme viewpoints and radical social experiments. We should thence expect the movement to have been regarded as even more radical and extreme in the 1740s. And beyond doubt: It *was* regarded as extreme and perhaps even quite bizarre. There are several reports about the more or less noisy and even violent reactions caused by the public acts and meetings of the Zionites, and the rumours about what actually happened behind closed doors were many.¹⁷

Søren Bølle's movement was not without predecessors in these parts of Norway. From the 1720s and onwards, as mentioned, Drammen and the surrounding districts had seen several radical prophets and their supporters coming and going.¹⁸ The way of thinking and acting that Søren Bølle propagated was therefore not entirely new or unknown in these societies: The believing individual was not merely in the hands of social destiny, and he or she was not the victim of the hypocritical majority, or of the local vicars whom were solely occupied with furthering their own career and increasing their wages.

The message presented by such radical movements was not, however, designed for a stable, socially balanced, and tradition-bound society that was typical of most local communities in early eighteenth-century Norway. On the contrary, it is more than likely that the Drammen Zionites and Søren Bølle actually were the products of a local society, which became more and more defined by its social instability. To Bølle and his followers, Christian belief and practice was not a question of being obedient to the authorities or to adhere to traditional standards. The status of being a Christian was a question of "being seen" – not by the local community of the local vicar, and definitely not by the Bishop or the King, but by God and by themselves. In fact, this way of "being seen" was also a theme put forward in Erik Pontoppidan's 1737 instruction on the Little Catechism by Martin Luther, entitled *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth Leading to Piety]*; an instruction obligatory for all to read and recite before their confirmation. To Pontoppidan it was important to underscore that "true Christians" should be able to "see each other"; to identify each other through special ways of speech and conduct.¹⁹

By creating their own public sphere, the Drammen Zionites were enabled to see one another; to establish a new order. This new order made it possible for believers to neglect the church authorities, to refuse to answer the judges' questions in the court, and even to look upon the absolute monarch as their equal in Christ. On several occasions Bølle, Kleinow, and others addressed the King directly,

¹⁷ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 22, 61, 74f., 87. There are also many examples of families being split apart or ruined by conflicts, Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 94, 96ff., 101.

¹⁸ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 15ff.

¹⁹ Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Oppvekkelsens steder. En lesning av Erik Pontoppidans Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed (1737)," in *Vekkelsens møtesteder*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Lund Universitet/Kyrkohistoriska Arkivet, 2014).

asking him to open his eyes or hoping for him to experience the grace of God.²⁰ This new order also enabled the penniless theological candidate Søren Bølle to marry the daughter of an established and respected member of the local elite. The local society and the bride's father despised this alliance, but the new couple was seen by Christ!

The Authorities' Reactions

In a situation of moral, social, and cultural stress, the supporters of Søren Bølle maintained that they were not bound by commonly accepted rules.²¹ Their marriages were arranged by lotteries, they buried the dead in private gardens, and newborn children were accepted into their community by order of their own prophet, Søren Bølle. This group of radical Christians did not identify with the local community, nor with a position as subordinates of a Christian king and his laws. Their identity was based on a specific interpretation of the Bible, and their hope was the sudden return of a heavenly Christ.

If Søren Bølle ever published anything, it has not survived. The only texts he signed were some recordings about his own life and the development of his little group.²² What has been preserved until our time, then, are predominantly court recordings, letters, and analyses signed by the authorities. This might seem like a disadvantage with regard to the possibilities of understanding the inner culture of the Bølle group, yet it is not. Even in the court protocols it is possible to identify how the Zionites used a quite specific and characteristic language of their own. They played with words, behaved in confusing ways, refused to answer questions in the way the judges expected them to, or used the court as an arena for propagating their extreme points of view.

It is quite surprising that the Danish-Norwegian authorities did not react at an earlier stage and – when they finally reacted – that the reaction was not more firm and aggressive. In fact, the sources indicate that despite the fact that the local civil and ecclesiastical authorities recommended King Christian to respond more strongly, he turned a deaf ear and followed the majority of the Supreme Church Council. Instead, he followed his conviction that religion was a serious matter, and that troubled consciences should not be put under pressure. In 1741, Christian himself wrote that “religion is a matter in which every man has to settle with God according to his

²⁰ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 68ff.

²¹ It should also be mentioned that in Eastern Norway the years 1741–1743 were dominated by plague and famine.

²² Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 45, 49, 52, 57. There also exists an extraordinary letter from Jørgen Kleinow, where he writes as a prophet in short, declamatory sentences; Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 146.

conscience; and one man may not take or give, demand or prohibit any other man's personal belief . . . ”²³

King Christian did not feel obliged to react until 1742, when the Zionites performed a public baptism in the Drammen River. The King was neither very liberal nor in favour of the radical Pietists, but he was convinced that religion was “a special matter.” The final royal decision was not taken until March, 1745, when King Christian VI concluded that within few months “the Separatists and Anabaptists” had to decide finally whether they accepted the Lutheran sacraments and clergy or not. If their conclusion was negative still, they would have to move to one of the “free cities” or leave Denmark-Norway permanently.²⁴

Messengers of a New Order?

In this description of the cultural practices of the Drammen Pietists, the picture of a seemingly modern cultural phenomenon emerges: The Drammen Pietists did not accept the past or the present as relevant elements in defining their own values and standards. On the contrary, their references were the ideals of the heavenly kingdom; ideals that legitimized their violation of any given norms.

The question remains without an answer: Were they messengers of a new, modern order; of changes in culture and society that could be seen as forerunners of, for instance, individualism and the struggle for civil rights? I think that the answer to this question depends on a number of complicated and not reconcilable elements. Many historians would conclude that modern mentalities in Scandinavia belong to the later part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century.²⁵ These historians are right. The Drammen Pietists did not “create history,” and the development of their movement in the few years around 1740 was unique, seemingly. Their radicalism turned out to be without results, at least in the sense that that they were forced to leave the Drammen scene and thus were left no possibilities of having successors.

On the other hand, the historian will never be able to conclude definitively on the following problem: Even if Søren Bølle and his followers were exiled and sent to a “free town” in 1743, was it not still possible that small groups of religious oppositionals in Drammen and the surrounding areas “remembered” the social and cultural pattern of Bølle and his Zionites? The fact remains that two generations later vernacular religion in

²³ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 10. “Religionen er en Sag, som ethvert Menneske har at opgjøre med sin Gud efter sin Samvittighed; og det ene Menneske kan ikke tage eller give, befale eller forbyde noget andet Menneske, hvad han i sit Hjerte skal tro . . . ” My translation.

²⁴ Wessel Berg, *Kongelige Rescripter I*, 916–9.

²⁵ E.g. discussions in Börje Bergfeldt, *Den teokratiska statens död. Sekularisering och civilisering i 1700-talets Stockholm* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997); Tyge Krogh, *Oplysningstiden og det magiske. Henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700-tallets første halvdel* (København: Samleren, 2000).

Norway was given a permanent stamp by another young, radical Pietist and revolutionary – Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824).²⁶ In his travel records from the years around 1800 Hauge has several references to small groups of a more or less radical religious persuasion, and Hauge traces their roots back to the events in the 1730s and 1740s.²⁷

The closest one can come a conclusion to these analyses, then, is maybe that the history of the radical religious movements in early eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway reveals interesting and decisive elements. “Separation” had come to stay in this part of Europe.

However, further questions should be asked.

Religion as Poetry

From where did Søren Bølle and his followers get their ideas? Very little is known from the primary sources, so the arguments have to be based on circumstantial evidence. It is striking how, in the 1730s and 1740s, similar ideas and practices can be found all over Scandinavia and in Protestant Germany. In addition to the activities of the Bølle brothers in Copenhagen (see below), there were similar groups in both Finland²⁸ and Sweden,²⁹ and millenaristic and prophetic movements followed radical Pietism in Germany as well.³⁰

Many traces will lead to Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), and his radical experiments with piety, social structures, and religious language. In 1727, von Zinzendorf established the organization of Moravians at his estate in Saxony (Herrnhut). In the early 1730s, he was an advisor to King Christian VI. His “esoteric theology,” focusing on extreme emotions and the freedom of the true Christians beyond confessional boundaries, has been much debated.³¹

26 Cf. Arne Bugge Amundsen, “‘The Haugean Heritage’ – a Symbol of National History,” in *In Search of Symbols. An Explorative Study*, eds. Jens Braarvig and Thomas Krogh (Oslo: Department of Cultural Studies, University of Oslo, 1997). See also Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

27 E.g. Hans Nielsen Hauge, *Skrifter*, vol. 6, ed. Hans N. H. Ording (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1952); Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 206.

28 André Swanström, *Separatistledare i 1700-talets Österbotten* (Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag, 2004).

29 Nathan Odenvik, *Sven Rosén. En trosfrihetens martyr i Sverige under 1700-talet* (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1944); Nathan Odenvik, *Carl Michael von Strokirch och Sveriges första friförsamling grundad i Stockholm 1734* (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1948).

30 Cf. Claus Bernet, “Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism,” in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

31 E.g. Leiv Aalen, *Die Theologie des jungen Zinzendorfs. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte des Pietismus* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1966); Wilhelm Faix, *Zinzendorf – Glaube und Identität eines Querdenkers* (Marburg: Francke, 2012).

More specifically, however, the group in Drammen had many similarities with the Zionites, whom from a first phase in Ronsdorf in the Duchy of Berg established a “New Zion” in Elberfeld, Wuppertal, in 1737, centering around the founder Elias Eller (1690–1750) and the female prophetess Anna van Bushel (d.1744).³² How and when Søren Bølle might have become acquainted with such ideas and practices is difficult to decide. One explanation might be that impulses were brought to him by his brother, Simen Bølle, who was on a longer “pilgrimage” in Germany having been expelled from Copenhagen.³³ The Bølle brothers might also have obtained their information through the quite extensive book production of German radical pietists.³⁴

Another question concerns what the American sociologist of religion Andrew M. Greeley has called the “poetry of religion” or the “religious imagery.” In Greeley’s view, different religious traditions – rituals, symbols, metaphors – are the bearers of what he calls “heritage” and they accumulate symbolic power and potential over time.³⁵ This accumulated power and potential might contribute to an explanation of the force and the spirit of groups like Søren Bølle’s in Drammen in the 1740s. Considering Andrew M. Greeley’s heritage perspective, it is perhaps wise also to include a diachronic element here: “religious imagery” grows and develops through time. That is why it is of great interest to investigate if Søren Bølle’s ideas had their forerunners – not in Germany or Denmark, but in Norway. They obviously had, and some of them could be identified in the decades before Bølle appeared in the Drammen area.³⁶ Most likely they were more numerous than previously suspected by Norwegian scholars, and their history is definitely much older than the eighteenth century.³⁷

To these groups Zion or the New Zion was not a physical place or an ideal for kings,³⁸ for society, or the common public. Zion was a Utopian space, into which the group of the few believers could move mentally, physically, and rhetorically.³⁹ In the New Zion the physical landscape, like the Drammen area, was just a surrounding for deeper meanings and ideas. The new rituals, the new social formations, the new names and functions of the individuals, represented the most extreme way of separating from “the world” with its authorities and monuments. The very

32 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 5ff. See also Chapter 2 (Walter Sparn), 55–73; Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15; Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammershøy), 117–25.

33 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 8.

34 Cf. Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

35 Andrew M. Greeley, *Religion as Poetry* (New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publishers, 1995).

36 Cf. Arne Bugge Amundsen, “A Separatist Movement in Norway around 1650 – A Contribution to the History of Pietism in Europe,” in *Confessionalism and Pietism: Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Fred van Lieburg (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2206); Chapter 14 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), vol. 2, 266–81.

37 Cf. Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*.

38 See Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), vol. 2, 72–95.

39 See Chapter 22 (Walter Sparn), vol. 2, 441–58.

idea of Zion and the New Zion made the separation from the religious majority and the establishment of a new order possible.

Taking that into consideration, one should conclude that “separation” more generally might be seen as one of the elements in the “religious imagery” of Christian culture, and that the new order in Drammen in the 1740s actually was but an example of an order as old as Christianity.



Fig.8.1: Hans Nielsen Hauge, bronze bust by Thorsten Christensen Flatmoe (1831–1886). Østfold fylkes billedarkiv. Photo: Kjell Bertheau Johannessen.

Jostein Garcia de Presno

Chapter 8

“Preparing stones and chalk for Zion”: Jerusalem, Hans Nielsen Hauge, and the Community of Friends

The Norwegian lay preacher and entrepreneur Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) sparked a movement that significantly came to shape Norwegian religion and society. His teachings were firmly rooted in the Pietistic tradition, with a special emphasis on the need for conversion and a puritan lifestyle. In his many writings, he frequently referred to the adherents of the movement as being on the way to the new or spiritual Jerusalem while currently living in the old. This chapter explores how Hauge’s conceptions about Jerusalem influenced the Haugean movement and its relation to society.

God no longer dwells in man-made temples, but in a spirit that is meek and broken-hearted Therefore, let us turn toward the heavenly Jerusalem, which is holy, and into which no uncircumcised shall enter.¹

The ministry of the greatest Norwegian promoter of pietism, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824), started, ironically, half a century after the Pietistic movement had been setting the agenda in Denmark-Norway. As a consequence, Hauge travelled around the country, preaching a message of consciousness of sin and a frugal lifestyle in an age which to a large degree had already moved on from Pietism to ideas of the Enlightenment, at least in the more learned circles. Despite repeated impediments from church and government, Hauge’s ministry spurred a national movement, mainly in rural areas. What had started out as a typical Pietistic message of individual conversion, rapidly resulted in numerous groups of so-called “friends” around the country.² The situation of the friends in society was often tense, especially in

¹ “Nu boer da ikke Gud i Templer som er gjort med Hænder, men hos en nedrig sønderknuset Aand . . . Derfor vende os om til det himmelske Jerusalem, som er helligt, og i hvilket ingen Uomskaaren skal komme.” Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hagues skrifter*: 3, vol. 1 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1949). All translations into English are my own. The English Standard Version is used for citations from the Bible wherever the biblical text is cited without too much adaptation.

² The “friends” was the name Hauge himself preferred for the adherents of the movement. In Hauge’s time, people outside the movement often used pejorative nicknames such as “the readers,”

the early stages of the movement. In addressing this situation, Hauge sometimes used biblical topographical metaphors connected to Jerusalem and the Temple, in multiple ways. Not only could “the heavenly Jerusalem” be depicted as safe-haven for the friends who were considered to be “the true Temple of God”; Hauge also likened his entire ministry to “preparing stones and chalk for Zion” in the midst of a society which was seen as a resistant “Jerusalem.”

Hauge’s use of metaphors and ideas about Jerusalem have never been studied, despite the considerable amount of literature looking into the life and teachings of Hauge and the Haugean movement.³ This chapter aims to investigate what Hauge’s conceptions of Jerusalem were, based on his usage of metaphors such as “the Temple” and “Jerusalem,” what these conceptions can tell us about how he understood the situation of the friends in society, and how this understanding came to influence the lives of the friends. I will attempt to show how Hauge’s understanding of society as Jerusalem can help make sense of important traits of the early phase of the Haugean movement.⁴

Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Haugean Movement

Hans Nielsen Hauge grew up on a farm in the South-Eastern part of Norway and started an active ministry as a lay preacher and devotional writer in 1796, at the age of 25, prompted by what he later described as an ecstatic religious experience and a calling.⁵

“the writers,” or “the saints.” During the trial (see below), Hauge was interrogated about his “followers,” a nametag to which he strongly objected since he did not consider himself “anyone’s leader.” Estimates of the number of friends in the movement before the trial vary enormously and have tended to be exaggerated. Hauge himself spoke moderately during the interrogation of “a few thousand friends.” Attempts of (and objections to) estimations are given in Hans Christian Bang, *Erindringer* (Kristiania, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909); Halvard G. Heggveit, *Den norske kirke i det nittende aarhundrede*, vol. 1 (Christiania: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1911), 62; Dagfinn Mannsåker, “Hans Nielsen Hagues Motstandarar,” *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 41 (1962), 74.

³ Aarflot assessed the number of publications about Hans Nielsen Hauge to be approximately 500–600, see Andreas Aarflot, *Tro og lydighet. Hans Nielsen Hagues kristendomsforståelse*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 35. Kullerud estimated the total number of publications about Hauge and the Haugean movement to be around 2500, most of which are in Norwegian, see Dag Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge* (Oslo: Forum Aschehoug, 1996), 67. The most comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography about Hauge and the Haugean movement is given in Finn W. Sjørusen, *Den Haugianske periode, 1796-ca 1850. Litterær produksjon av og om Hans Nielsen Hauge og haugianerne: en bibliografi*, vol. 3b (Bergen: NLA-forlaget, 1993), 85.

⁴ This study is limited to Hauge’s own lifetime, with a particular emphasis on the period of his active ministry, 1796–1804.

⁵ For a thorough discussion of the historical validity of the different (and differing) accounts of the religious experience, see H. Koch, “Hans Nielsen Hagues religiøse utvikling,” *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* (1959), 63; Bjørn Kornerup, “Hans Nielsen Hagues religiøse utvikling,”

Being a “simple son of a peasant,”⁶ as he favoured to style himself in his early booklets, he did not have any formal education beyond basic schooling, let alone any theological education. His religious learning was gained primarily from catechetical instruction and the reading of popular devotional literature and the Bible. In spite of this, and despite general restrictions against lay preaching in Denmark-Norway at the time (especially the so-called “Conventicle Act” of 1741), Hauge’s ministry quickly escalated from talking to friends and neighbours, to making travels around Norway with an ever-expanding radius.⁷ His ministry sparked what has come to be known as the Haugean movement and a “community of friends,” consisting of and emerging from individuals and groups of Hauge’s friends. The movement was to begin with solely religious in nature, but quickly developed a financial side to it, with the establishment of businesses and trade networks.⁸

The writing, publication, printing, and distribution of Hauge’s books as well as other devotional literature came to be the driving force of Hauge’s ministry and the Haugean movement. During his lifetime, Hauge wrote and published altogether 33 books and booklets, many of them in several printings.⁹ In addition to his many publications, he wrote a vast number of letters, several hundreds of which have been preserved, and the friends regularly kept in touch with each other through correspondence and travel. The writings and letters of Hauge reflect the ideological basis for the movement, as they addressed the current situation of the friends in society

Kirke og Kultur (1937), 66; Andreas Aarflot, “Hans Nielsen Hauge,” in *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 2002), 36.

6 “en ringe Bonde-Søn”

7 In addition to his own account (*Beskrivelse over Hans Nielsen Hauges reiser, viktigste Hendelser og Tildragelser*, [Description of Hans Nielsen Hauge’s Travels, Major Events and Incidents]) republished in Hans Nielsen Hauge, *Skrifter* VI, ed. Hans N. H. Ording (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1952), 58. The most detailed accounts of Hauge’s travels and ministry are given in Anton Christian Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid. Et tidssbillede fra omkring aar 1800* (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1910), 40; Sverre Norborg, *Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi: 1771–1804* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1966), 78; Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge*, 67.

8 The economic side of Hauge’s ministry is the main topic of Dagfinn Breistein, *Hans Nielsen Hauge, “Kjøbmand i Bergen.” Kristen tro og økonomisk aktivitet* (Bergen: Grieg, 1955), 43; Johan Schreiner, “Hans Nielsen Hauge og ‘Samfundets felleskap,’” *Historisk Tidsskrift* no. 29 (1933), 81. Grytten claims that Hauge was involved in the establishment of some 30+ businesses, Ola H. Grytten, “Haugianere som næringslivsaktører,” in *Gud og Mammon. Religion og næringsliv*, ed. Bjørg Seland (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2014), 55. Characteristic traits of the Haugean community of friends is most recently discussed in Bjørg Seland, “I ‘Fællesskab og Samfund’- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon,” in *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Fra samfunnsfiende til ikon*, eds. Knut Dørum and Helje Kringlebotn Sødal (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), but see also Nils Sivertsen, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og venesamfunnet* (Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1946), 84.

9 Estimates of the distribution of Hauge’s publications before the trial average around 150 000 copies. It is commonly assumed that he was one of the most widely read authors in Norway around the year 1800, cf. Trygve R. Gundersen, *Om å ta ordet* (Oslo: Norsk sakprosa, 2001), 163; Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge*, 30.

as the movement developed. They have therefore served as the primary sources for this inquiry.

Hauge's relation to church¹⁰ and society was ambivalent, as he felt torn between loyalty to the laws of the king and the calling of God.¹¹ His ministry did not only make him friends, it also made him some mighty foes, most notably among the clergy and the civil servants.¹² He was apprehended a total of 10 times in connection with his travels and preaching activity. In 1804, he was finally arrested under direct orders of the central government in Copenhagen and charged with sectarian activity, violations of the Conventicle Act, and economic fraud. The subsequent trial against him lasted altogether 10 years and Hauge spent most of this time behind bars. This effectively hampered the growth of the Haugean movement and contributed to changing its nature as well. After the trial, the somewhat subversive early phase of the movement gave way to a more compliant attitude among its members, as the friends sought to comply with legal regulations of lay religious activity and were increasingly valued as role models in the local congregations.

More than a Metaphor?

Hauge repeatedly addressed the relationship between the friends, the official church and the rest of society in his writings and letters, by means of biblical topographical metaphors.¹³ For example, he frequently addressed his friends as “the true Temple of God” and encouraged them to “build and dwell on Mount Zion.” Still, the fact that Hauge's metaphorical references to Jerusalem – and from here on, I use the word Jerusalem as representative of the whole cluster of biblical, topographical metaphors, such as Jerusalem, Zion, and the Temple – have not been studied previously is perhaps

10 When the Reformation was introduced in Denmark-Norway in 1536, the king became the head of the official church, which as a general rule was the only legal religion in the two countries. The relation between the invisible church as its believing members and the visible church as its organisation and building was a much addressed topic in Hauge's writings and letters. For a discussion of Hauge's ecclesiology, see Aarflot, *Tro og lydigheit*, 378–430.

11 Sverre Steen, “Hans Nielsen Hauge og Bondereisingen,” *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 46 (1945), 244.

12 Both Bang, Lindbeck, and Mannsåker have made studies of the clergy's opinion of Hauge, with Lindbeck offering the most systematic analysis. Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid*, 40; Anders Lindbeck, “Prestskapet sitt syn på Hans Nielsen Hagues religiøse vekkelser i 1804,” (Universitetet i Bergen, 1999), 71; Mannsåker, “Hans Nielsen Hagues motstandarar,” 74. Norborg emphasises the role of Frederik Julius Kaas who as president of the central government initiated the prosecution of Hauge Norborg, *Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi*, 79.

13 “Writings” here refers to all of Hauge's publications. A complete collection was edited by Hans N. H. Ording in 9 volumes during the years 1947–54. Similarly, a collection of Hauge's letters was edited and published in 4 volumes by Ingolf Kvamen during the years 1971–76.

not too strange.¹⁴ It is evident that when referring to Jerusalem in his writings, Hauge was forwarding metaphorical images already present in the New Testament, like comparing the believers with the temple or speaking of a heavenly Jerusalem as their final destination.¹⁵ Besides, the friends being the Temple of God and heading for the New Jerusalem cannot be said to have been among the most prominent themes of Hauge’s preaching.¹⁶ Moreover, this metaphorical language fits hand in glove with Pietism’s so-called “language of Canaan”; a characteristic, esoteric sociolect full of metaphorical figures of speech with which Hauge showed great familiarity.¹⁷ In this characteristic language, the “true” believers, were forsaking the “world” by striving to be “living stones in the Temple of God.” They were on their way to the “spiritual Canaan” to dwell forever in “the heavenly Jerusalem.” Hauge’s extensive use of biblical references and his dependence on the Pietistic heritage have previously been thoroughly documented.¹⁸ His use of Jerusalem-images to describe the lives of the believers could at first glance seem to be little more than a continuation of this tradition.

Furthermore, whatever Hauge’s understanding of Jerusalem, it neither led to an attempted building of a New Jerusalem on earth nor to the establishment of an isolated ideal society modelled after Jerusalem, as had been the case with other European Pietist movements.¹⁹ It did not even lead to a separation from the official church, as Hauge in his so-called “spiritual will” famously admonished his friends to

14 In the Bible, the ideas of a New Jerusalem and a new Temple are largely interchangeable, “simply because the one cannot be imagined without the other.” Pilchan Lee, *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 5. As the idea developed, these two metaphors were to a large degree just different ways of expressing the same eschatological hope, which is why it is relevant to study them together. To get an overview of Hauge’s use of Jerusalem, the temple and other possible synonyms as metaphors, I have searched his writings and letters for the following words: *Jerusalem/Ierusalem/Salem*, *Zion/Sion*, *tempel/templ* [temple], *Guds Stad* [City of God], *Bierg* [mount], *Juda*, *Moria*, *Ofel*, *Kanaan* [Canaan], *Jacob*, *Israel*, *Jebus*, *lovede land* [promised land], *hellige land* [holy land], *Guds bolig* [God’s residence], *Dauids Stad* [City of David], *Ariel*, *Aelia Capitolina*, *Babel/Babylon*, and *Roma*.

15 The most explicit occurrences in the New Testament are found in John 2:19–21; 7:36–9; 1 Cor 3:10–17; Gal 4:21–7; 1 Pet 2:4; Heb 12:22–4; and Rev 21:9–27.

16 “Jerusalem” and synonyms appear altogether approximately 300 times in Hauge’s writings and letters. For comparison, the word “salvation” [*frelse*] and derivatives occur 599 times; the term “flesh” [*kiød*] 1048 times; “world” [*verden*] 2203 times; and “sin” [*synd*] 2858 times.

17 For the phenomenon of the “language of Canaan” in Pietistic movements, see Lucinda Martin, “The ‘Language of Canaan’: Pietism’s Esoteric Sociolect,” *Aries* 12, no. 22 (2012), 75.

18 See especially Aarflot, *Tro og lydighet*, 35; Gundersen, *Om å ta ordet*, 48.

19 Famous attempts of the eighteenth century at building new Jerusalems were Ronsdorf (which sprung out of Calvinism) and Herrnhag (which sprung out of Lutheranism), cf. Claus Bernet, “The Heavenly Jerusalem as a Central Belief in Radical Pietism in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Covenant Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2005), 41. The significance of the heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism in general is well described in Claus Bernet, “Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism,” in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 42.

remain within the church.²⁰ The understanding of Jerusalem, then, in some ways did not bring about any very remarkable consequences in contrast with other Pietistic movements and would seem to be sufficiently explained by Christian tradition. What could then justify a further investigation?

A couple of points seem relevant to mention. It is precisely Hauge's extensive use of and references to the Bible that is key to understanding the importance of Jerusalem for Hauge. It seems fair to assume that because Hauge's writings were saturated with biblical references, his *interpretation* of the biblical terms and concepts contained in those references must necessarily be of significance and consequence. Considering the impressive distribution that Hauge's publications had in Norway in the early years of his ministry, Hauge's ideas of Jerusalem, as expressed through his writings and letters must have had a substantial influence on his readers. Furthermore, just because Hauge and his friends did not break with the official church, it does not necessarily follow that his understanding of Jerusalem did not have any significant influence on his relationship with the church (actually, as I will argue, the opposite seems to be the case).

There is a more historiographic point to be made, too. Lucinda Martin has recently called for an increased appreciation of the theological accomplishments of the laity of Early Modern Europe.²¹ Her point is that lay leaders of religious movements should be studied for their contributions to theology, not just for their roles as organizers and transmitters. Hauge's application and adaptation of Jerusalem as a metaphor for the situation of the friends in society naturally belong within such a study.²² Hauge's role as catalyst of the Haugean movement is undisputed, but his theological contributions have often in posterity either been too easily forced into a Lutheran regime or waved off as mostly Pietistic or legalistic (surely, they were this too, but they were certainly more than this).²³ It should therefore not come as a surprise if Hauge's

²⁰ The majority of the friends remained within the official church, as Hauge requested in his will: "For such is my final will, that you henceforth as before exclusively follow our country's religion, so that you receive from the public instructors all that their public service involves. So, you will go to church, receive the sacraments, in marriage they officiate the ceremony, and in death the burial, and everything else that belongs to good order." ["Thi er min sidste Villie, at I herefter som forhen ganske ene holder Eder til vor Stats Religion, saa I modtager af de offentlige Lærere Alt, hvad deres offentlige Embede medfører; I gaar da i Kirken, annammer Sakramenterne, ved Ægteskab gjør dem Vielsen, samt ved Dødsfald Jordpaakaldelse og alt andet, der hører til god Orden."] Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og Hans Samtid*, 488.

²¹ Lucinda Martin, "More Than Piety: The Historiographic Neglect of Early Modern Lay Theology," *Church History and Religious Culture* 98 (2018), 76.

²² Although Hauge's life and ministry transitions from the Early Modern into the Modern period, he was *theologically* firmly rooted in the Pietistic currents of Early Modern Europe.

²³ In his comprehensive analysis of the writings of Hauge, for instance, Aarflot tellingly chooses the term "conceptions of Christianity" over theology, when analysing and systematizing the contents of Hauge's writings, arguing that Hauge was primarily a preacher, not a theologian, Aarflot, *Tro og lydighet*, 206. Although that may be the case when it comes to form, it does not cover the

use of biblical metaphors in relation to his friends could turn out to be more than “just a metaphor.” Consequently, it is through studying Hauge’s use and interpretation of Jerusalem as a metaphor for a Christian life that this investigation will be conducted. How did Hauge understand the Jerusalem of the Bible and how did he apply this understanding to his own society?

Hauge and Jerusalem

References to Jerusalem, either as citation or metaphor, can be found in almost all of Hauge’s writings and in many of his letters, spread out here and there, from both before, during and after the trial.²⁴ Some books contain more frequent references than others, given their literary genre. The popular hymnal that Hauge published contains several references to Jerusalem; often portrayed as a refuge for the believers after a strenuous life on earth.²⁵ Another concentration of references to Jerusalem is found in the 900-page postil that Hauge spent much of his time writing before and during an imprisonment in Trondheim in the winter of 1800. A postil was a book that traditionally contained expositions of the designated Gospel

facts regarding contents and impact. With all his biblical references and interpretations, Hauge was certainly creating and practicing theology, if not systematically writing it.

24 In Hauge’s writings we find both citations of biblical verses containing Jerusalem (and synonyms), and applications of Jerusalem as a metaphor. However, a theoretical and methodological differentiation between these types is hard to maintain when studying the material, as Hauge often cited verses from scripture in admonishing his readers, for instance, “for we should be the temple of the Holy Spirit, 1 Cor 3 C 16 V,” Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 3, vol. 2 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1949), 478. In the following, these two different kinds of use will therefore be treated together, in as much as they both involved an element of interpretation.

25 “De sande Christnes udvalgte Psalmebog” [“Selected Hymns for True Christians”] was published in several editions and in a total of 10 printings Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 4 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1951), 7–13. Approximately half of the hymns were taken from “Troens rare klenodie” [“The Rare Treasure of Faith”] (Bishop Hans Adolph Brorson’s hymnal from 1739), some from other hymnals, and some were authored by Hauge and members of the Haugean communities. A portrayal of Jerusalem as a safe haven is expressed for example in “And then in struggle, cross and death, to follow you, until you fetch me to your heavenly city!” [“Og saa i strid og kors og død at følge dig, indtil du henter mig op til din himmel-stad!”] (Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 4, 88, 104, 142). The image of Jerusalem could also be used adversely, in reprimanding the persecuting side: “Arise, Zion! Do not be lukewarm anymore.” [“Op, Zion! det er tid, at lunkenhed har ende.”] (p. 22) and similarly, “Jerusalem, how you look! Such a sweet virgin bride, now become a whore?” [“Jerusalem, hvor seer du ud, er saadan deilig jomfrue-brud nu til en hore bleven?”], Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 4, 28.

and epistle-texts for each Sunday of the year. Some of the biblical texts mentioned Jerusalem and the temple, and consequently these were thoroughly expanded upon by Hauge.²⁶ A third concentration is found in the letters of Hauge, if we consider them as a group; often in the form of admonishment of the receivers.²⁷ The fact that we find references to Jerusalem in Hauge's personal letters – where the words and content are entirely the choice of the writer, and not only in the more genre-specific language of the hymnal and postil – attests to the meaningfulness of this metaphor to Hauge.

Hauge's use of Jerusalem-metaphors to speak of the friends' role in society was both varied and multivalent. He would claim God's presence among the friends and an eschatological hope, by describing how the spirit of Jesus dwells in the heart of every believer "so that it becomes his temple," that the friends should "build and dwell on Mount Zion," and that the believers were heading for "the Jerusalem above."²⁸ However, there could also be elements of criticism of church and society in his message, as Hauge could contrast the believers as "Zion," with the rest of society as "Jerusalem," and condemn church services as services of "the Jerusalem in bondage."²⁹ Finally, Hauge could also express personal engagement metaphorically, as when he in a letter to friends in 1801 likened his entire ministry with "preparing stones and chalk for Zion, so that it may be built."³⁰

Hauge's different applications of the temple- and Jerusalem-metaphor seem to outline a gradual shift in his understanding of Jerusalem, in line with the changing stages of his life. The original context of the biblical temple- and Jerusalem-metaphors provided various points of identification for Hauge's ministry. At the beginning of his ministry, it was the hope of a heavenly Jerusalem that was stressed. The biblical hope of a new temple and a New Jerusalem had originated and developed within Judaism and Christianity when the temple and holy city were perceived

²⁶ The postil was re-published in two volumes: Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 3 vol. 1, 55; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 3 vol. 2, 56. Vol. 1 containing 1–388 and vol. 2, 388–612. The exposition of Luke 19:41–48 is found on 476–9 on 3rd Sunday after Trinity and the exposition of Matt 24:15–28 is found on 600–6 on 25th Sunday after Trinity. Other relevant expositions for this study are Luke 2:42–52 (82–7); Mal 3:1–4 (108–11); Matt 4:1–11 (159–63); Matt 21:1–9 (237–41); Luke 24:13–35 (280–5); Acts 13: 26–32 (286–9); Luke 24:36–48 (289–3); James 1: 22–7 (334–8); Acts 8:14–7 (380–4); John 10:1–10 (384–8); and Gal 5:16–22 (501–3). See also Chapter 12 (Eivor A. Oftestad), vol. 2, 235–57.

²⁷ See for example Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1971), 58, 77, 87, 129, 178; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 2* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1972), 91, 117, 259; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 3* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1974), 47, 68, 78, 174.

²⁸ Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 178; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3 vol. 1, 338; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter*: 3 vol. 2, 478.

²⁹ *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3 vol. 1, 195.

³⁰ "Gud kiender ieg haster at faae tillavet Sten og Kalk til Sion, saa den kan blive opbygt." Letter from Bergen to friends, March 27, 1801, in: Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 78.

as either out of bounds or defiled.³¹ This was a situation with which Hauge strongly identified. From the very beginning of his ministry, Hauge was heavily influenced by his reading of the book of Revelation.³² As part of what might be called an apocalyptic discourse, Hauge believed that society in general was at a crisis, that the “Temples of his time” – that is, the churches – were defiled, and that the “true believers” were heading for a New Jerusalem in the future.³³ Around 1800, at the prime of his ministry and while working on his postil, it was Jerusalem as a present reality that came to the fore. In the postil, Jerusalem’s rejection of Jesus was taken as a typological example of contemporary society’s rejection of Hauge’s message in his own time.³⁴ Toward the end of his life, it was rather the Jerusalem of the past that came into focus when Hauge composed his *Udtog av Kirke-Historien [Excerpts from the History of the Church]*, reflecting on how his own movement fit in with the rest of church history, which had started in Jerusalem.³⁵ There seems, therefore, to have been a gradual change of attention from that of the future to the past, from viewing Jerusalem primarily as an end-time hope at the beginning of his ministry,

31 The idea can be traced back to the period of the Babylonian exile (587–539 B.C.E.), when the temple and city had been destroyed and a great portion of the people of Judah had been brought into exile. It develops in literature of the Maccabean period (around 167 B.C.E.), when the temple was defiled by the Seleucids, and the time after the destruction of the second temple. In the new Testament, the hope of a new temple or Jerusalem is given a Christological application as Jesus’s death and resurrection is understood as having taken over the function of the temple, cf. Peter W.L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspectives on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996), 91; Tom Wright, “Jerusalem in the New Testament,” in *Jerusalem Past and Present in the Purposes of God*, ed. Peter W.L. Walker (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1992), 93.

32 Both the first (*Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed [Reflection on the Folly of this World]*) and second booklet (*Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom [Attempt at a Treatise on the Wisdom of God]*) that Hauge published, contained several explicit references to the book of Revelation.

33 There are several accounts of how local ministers protested when Hauge expounded texts from Revelation in local assemblies, as the book of Revelation was generally considered a “sealed book” at the time, Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid*, 161; Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge*, 132; Nils H. Magerøy, *Hans Nielsen Hauges verksemd i Møre og Romsdal fylke. Etter eldre bøker og ymse andre kjelder* (Molde: Møre og Romsdal krins av det Norske misjons-selskap, 1945), 73. Hauge scoffed at the idea of a sealed or closed book, “as if God would have written books for another world.” Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 5* (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1953), 249.

34 In two published lists containing “remarkable sayings in the Bible” (published in 1798 and 1801), we find references to verses containing Jerusalem: Luke 10:30; 21:24; and Gal 4:26, Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 2* (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1948), 99, 132, 139. These can be considered footprints of Hauge pondering how best to interpret non-eschatological verses of scripture containing Jerusalem. The lists are simply indices of references to scripture, containing an extract of a verse, with no further explanation.

35 Cf. Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Hauge som kirkehistorisk aktør og betrakter,” in *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Fra samfunnsfiende til ikon*, eds. Knut. Dørum and Helje Kringlebotn Sødal (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 2017), 38. The booklet was published in 1822, Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 8* (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1954), 1–230.

to appreciating the historical significance of Jerusalem more towards the end of his life. Along the way, Hauge also reflected on the idea of Jerusalem as a spiritual reality in contemporary society.

Hauge's Hermeneutics

In order to comprehend Hauge's understanding of Jerusalem, it is necessary to see it in light of his biblical interpretation in general, both in comparison with the tradition he drew on and as a result of his general interpretive practice. Andreas Aarflot, who most thoroughly has studied Hauge's interpretation of scripture, describes Hauge's biblical hermeneutics as a combination of "dependence" and "independence."³⁶ Dependence, as in being indebted to Pietistic and orthodox tradition of interpretation of scripture with which Hauge was profoundly familiar; and independence, as in showing a high degree of confidence in his own abilities to interpret and apply scripture in his own context and in having the audacity and creativity to deviate from tradition.³⁷

This combination of dependence and independence can be recognised in the way Hauge handled the biblical metaphors that he was familiar with, both from devotional literature and from the Bible. Hauge was well versed in the orthodox and Pietistic devotional literature and even republished several such writings himself.³⁸ The writings of Friedrich Eberhard Collin (1684–1727), several of whose books were published by Hauge, and Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum [Four Books on True Christianity]* (1606–1610) were well known to Hauge and contemporaries; both used the image of Jerusalem as a picture of the Christian life.³⁹ There is no doubt that Hauge drew from these sources in his

36 Aarflot, *Tro og lydigheit*, 205–8; Andreas Aarflot, "Skriftsynet i norsk lekmanstradisjon i det 19. århundre," in *Bibelsyn og bibelgransking*, ed. O. Øystese (Stavanger: Nomi, 1966), 34.

37 For Hauge, the true meaning of the Bible was acquired through the "wisdom of God," not the "knowledge of men." He was aware of the criticism being brought against some of his more "independent" interpretations, but argued that as the ministers of the church were not doing their job, he had to do it for them, "even though he did not know Hebrew and Greek as they did." Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5* (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1953), 249.

38 Hauge's theological and Pietistic background has been thoroughly investigated and described in Aarflot, *Tro og lydigheit*, 35. Amundsen provides a review of one of the most influential Pietistic writings in Norway, Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness]*, Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Oppvekkelsens steder. En lesning av Erik Pontoppidans Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed (1737)," in *Vekkelsens møtestedet*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Lund Universitet/Kyrkohistoriska Arkivet, 2014), 37.

39 Collin's *Jesu Christi forklaring i sjelen [Exposition of Jesus Christ in the Soul]* was published by Hauge in 1799; *Lærdom af andres Bespottelse og Forfølgelse for Christi Navn Skyld [Lessons from the*

understanding and application of the biblical metaphors in his own writings. However, there is also a difference to be observed. Whereas these writers mostly focused on the individual believer, Hauge frequently spoke of the believers collectively, as the true Temple of God and as building and dwelling on Zion. This emphasis on the believers as a community is stronger and more frequent in Hauge’s use of the metaphor than in the tradition he drew on.

We find that the same tendency applies in relation to the use of the metaphor in the New Testament. There, the temple-metaphor is applied both to the believers and to Christ. In other words, both the Church (that is, the community of believers) and Christ can be called the Temple of God.⁴⁰ In Hauge’s own writings, however, the temple-metaphor is exclusively applied to the church as the believers, as in this exposition of the temptation of Jesus (Matt 4:1–11):

Jerusalem was considered by the Jews to be the Holy City, and the Temple was the House of God. *But we must interpret them to be the communion of saints, which is the true Temple of God.*⁴¹

Quite remarkably, Hauge not even once referred to Christ as the Temple in his writings, even though he obviously was familiar with this use of this metaphor in the New Testament. When comparing Hauge’s use of the metaphor with that found in Pietistic tradition and the New Testament, therefore, a strong Haugean attention on the community of believers and their situation in society becomes apparent.

The second point regards Hauge’s interpretive practice. Much of Hauge’s independence and innovation when interpreting scripture, came from “allegorizing interpretations.”⁴² Hauge primarily saw the Bible as God’s living word addressing contemporary society. Its “true” or “spiritual” meaning was therefore to be found in interpreting it with regards to the present, not the past or future. This was also the case when interpreting biblical references to Jerusalem, as justified by Hauge in his postil, when commenting on Jesus’ prophecy of cosmic destruction in Matthew 24: 15–28:

This Matthean description uttered by Jesus could be interpreted with regards to the destruction of Jerusalem, especially considering the words he says in the beginning of the chapter. Alternatively, this destruction can be interpreted with regards to the end of the world. But as

Cursing and Persecution of Others for the Sake of Jesus Christ] and *Christelige levnetsregler [Christian Rules of Life]* in 1800. References to Jerusalem in *Four Books on True Christianity* can be found in Johann Arndt, *Den Samme Kristendom: Bok 1–3* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1955), 28, 85, 135, 301, 514. See also Chapter 2 (Walter Sparr), 55–73.

⁴⁰ As in John 2:19–21; 7:36–9; 1 Cor 3:10–7; and 1 Pet 2:4.

⁴¹ “Jerusalem var det vel, som Jøderne regnede for den hellige Stad, og Tempelen Guds Huus. Men vi maae udlægge det til hellige Menneskers Samfund, som er den rette Guds Tempel.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3 vol.* 1, 162. My italics.

⁴² Aarflot, *Tro og lydighet*, 209.

Jerusalem is destroyed and we don't know whether we will experience the end of the world or not, *we must interpret it specifically with regards to ourselves, and our own time.*⁴³

Although Hauge's interpretation of the text with regards to the present had much in common with Pietistic biblical interpretation and was by no means unique, it does exhibit a particular Haugean emphasis.⁴⁴ If we use the terminology of the medieval *quadriga*, Hauge's choice of interpretation could be described as a matter of reading the text allegorically/typologically and above all tropologically (*i.e.* morally), rather than asking for its literal sense or the anagogical (*i.e.* eschatological) sense. Hauge did not actually deny that the text could be read literally/historically (as in the universities) or eschatologically (as by more radical Pietistic movements). His interpretation was more a question of relevance to his own situation: what was important to Hauge was how the text, as God's word, addressed his own present time and society. What it once had meant or would come to mean was subordinate.⁴⁵ As a consequence of this view of scripture, the historical and physical bodies, whether the temple, Jerusalem or Israel, for Hauge came to be relatively uninteresting in themselves.⁴⁶ Their true meanings were as spiritual entities, as (the homes of) the community of friends and they had value principally as such. In interpreting scripture in this way, Hauge was partly forwarding tradition and partly innovating; consistently interpreting Jerusalem for his own time.

Jerusalem in Bondage and Freedom

With these Haugean interpretive emphases in mind, how did Hauge understand the Jerusalem of the Bible and how did it colour his understanding of contemporary

43 "Denne Mathæi Beskrivelse, som Jesus haver sagt, kunde vel udlægges om Jerusalems Ødelæggelse, især formedelst de Ord, som han først i dette Capitel siger; ellers kan og denne Ødelæggelse udlægges paa Verdens Ende. Men som Jerusalem er ødelagt, og vi veed ikke, om vi oplever Verdens Ende, saa maa vi især udlægge den paa os i denne Tid." Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3 vol. 2, 600. My italics.

44 Valentin E. Löscher, *The Complete Timotheus Verinus* (Northwestern Publishing House, 2006), 77. Löscher (1673–1749), a defender of orthodoxy, criticised the German Pietists in general for preferring the spiritual sense over the literal.

45 This tendency of interpretation with a consistent view to the present was already observed by Hauge's first biographer, professor of theology Stener Stenersen, who claimed that, for Hauge, repentance from a sinful life was emphasised to the degree that the past was practically converted into the present. Stener J. Stenersen, *Hans Nielsen Hauges Liv, Virksomhed, Lære og Skrifter* (Copenhagen: F. Tegnagels bogtrykkeri, 1827), 87.

46 In the biblical literature this is different, as the distinction between the hope of a New Jerusalem/temple on earth versus a heavenly Jerusalem is not always clear, cf. Lee, *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation*, 70.

society? Although Hauge nowhere gave an extensive or coherent account of his understanding of Jerusalem in the Bible, it seems that through his work on the postil and a planned exposition of the Bible, Hauge gradually gained an understanding of a general “interpretive key” concerning all the references to Jerusalem in the Bible.⁴⁷ In 1804 he briefly stated this understanding in the preface to the said exposition:

In scripture there are evil and good angels, Rev. 12 C 7 V, evil and good animals, Rev. 4 C 13 V, evil and good laws, Isa. 11 C 7 V, Rev. 5 C 5 V, *Zion and Jerusalem, in bondage to sin and in freedom.*⁴⁸

This statement seems significant for understanding Hauge’s conception of Jerusalem in the Bible, and consequently his application of the metaphor in his writings. According to this statement, Zion/Jerusalem sometimes refers to the Zion/Jerusalem in bondage to sin, while at other times to the free Zion/Jerusalem.⁴⁹ According to Hauge, there were thus two antithetical “Jerusalems” in the Bible; one in bondage and the other in freedom. The historical Jerusalem of the past and the eschatological Jerusalem of the future were interpreted as spiritual realities of the current society, and the implied job of the interpreter was consequently to decide in each case which of the two was meant. With Hauge’s “interpretive key” in mind, we can try to describe or reconstruct these two cities by piecing together citations and metaphors referring to Jerusalem from his own writings. The two cities would then look something like this:

The Jerusalem in bondage, or “the Jerusalem below,” consisted of “the children of this world” who “call themselves Christians but are worse than heathens.” They had “the Gospel of the Kingdom of God,” yet they were blinded by sin. The children of the city “live under a cover of hypocrisy, retain their hardened heart and relish the desires of the flesh.” They “do not recognise their time of visitation,” just like the Jerusalemites did not recognise Jesus when he rode into the city. This Jerusalem “trusts in its own wisdom, the wisdom of men.” It “worships its unclean Temples of this world, which have been built by men” and is “enslaved to sin and walking on its broad road.”⁵⁰

47 The exposition itself was probably finished by Hauge in 1804 and printed shortly after, but is no longer extant. According to the preface, it consisted of excerpts of the Bible, with commentary, and was meant for “those simple of faith, who do not have a Bible of their own.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 5, 249. My translation.

48 “[I] Skriften er tvende Slags, onde og gode Engle, Aab 12 C 7V, onde og gode Dyr, Aab 4C 13 V, onde og gode Lover, Es 11 C 7 V, Aab 5 C 5 V, Zion og Jerusalem, i Syndestand og i Frihed.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 5, 251. My italics.

49 The wording in the citation is ambiguous and could in principle also be taken to mean that Zion is in bondage, while Jerusalem is in freedom. This interpretation does not correlate well, though, with how Hauge uses these terms in other references.

50 The description is assembled from references to Jerusalem in Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 87–8; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 1 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1947), 195; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 161, 213, 384; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 69, 238, 257, 351; Hauge and Ording,

Its counterpart, the Jerusalem in freedom or “the Jerusalem above” consisted of the children of God, who “were not of the world.” With a typical Haugean puritan emphasis, they “subdue all their desires and let their body and soul be overcome by Jesus”, they “hate evil and love those who fear the Lord.” As they are living in this world, they follow their Lord “through perils, struggle and death.” The enemy “pours rivers of scorn, lies and persecution after them, but they find their refuge in Christ.” This life is a “journey that every true Christian must make to the spiritual Canaan.” While they are on earth, the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem are “the Temple of God,” because they have “put off their old self and have become new in Christ.” As his Temple, they have been “sanctified by Jesus and are sustained by him.” Just as Jesus made his entry into Jerusalem before Easter, he has made his “spiritual entry into their hearts, which constitute the true Temple of God.” This temple is not made by hands but consists of “the humbled hearts of the true believers” who are destined for “the heavenly Jerusalem.”⁵¹

From Hauge’s multivalent mentioning of Jerusalem in relation to the friends and society, it seems clear that Jerusalem for Hauge was more than both an ancient city and a future hope. It was that too, but more importantly it was a designation for the present spiritual and social reality that he and his friends lived in. Very much reminiscent of Augustine’s image of two cities, this must be said to be quite an impressive theological adaptation from a “simple son of a peasant.”⁵² The Jerusalem in bondage was not just a thing of the past. It still existed, as an adversary of God’s work, whenever it opposed the ministry of the friends. On the other hand, the Jerusalem of the future was already there in a Lutheran “already, but not yet”-way. The friends were on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem and were building that city stone by stone, friend by friend. Here and now they were the true Temple of God, building on Mount Zion. These two spiritual entities were in a sense projected from the past and the future onto the present stage. With this conception of Jerusalem, it makes very much sense for Hauge to exclaim: “God knows that I am

Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 465, 603, 609–10; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges Skrifter*: 2, 28, 114, 231; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges Skrifter*: 6 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1952), 177; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 7 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1954), 176. Hauge similarly depicts other biblical places in similar ways, like “Ephraim, the poor soul who serves sin and its eagerness”: It shall not prevail; “Nazareth, the most despicable place,” and “Capernaum, exalted not by God, but by men.”

⁵¹ Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 178; Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 3*, 78; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 1, 214–5; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 2, 81, 151, 153, 213; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 13, 69, 114, 240, 285, 338; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 3, vol. 2, 440, 478, 497. Hauge also uses other biblical topographical metaphors to describe the believers, such as “the victorious Jacob,” “the true children of Israel,” and “the Goshen of the land of Egypt.”

⁵² Hauge shows some familiarity with Augustine’s thoughts and actually cites *De Civitate Dei* [*The City of God*], Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 3, vol. 2, 56.

preparing stones and chalk for Zion!” Through his ministry he was convinced that he was preparing for and even helping to build the Jerusalem above.

How, then, did this understanding of Jerusalem as a spiritual reality influence the lives and practices of the friends? The following discussion of this question will be limited to two areas: How the understanding of Jerusalem as a future hope helped justify a devout lifestyle among the Haugeans, and how the understanding of contemporary society as Jerusalem in bondage influenced the friends’ view of and relation to the official church.⁵³

The Hope and Fear of a New Jerusalem

In contrast with several other Pietistic movements, the general down-to-earth attitude of Hauge meant that he did not waste much time speculating about how things would be in the eschatological Jerusalem or the events of the end-times. The heavenly Jerusalem was first and foremost a goal indicating the right direction, not a thing to meditate upon.⁵⁴ However, as a goal, it was also a standard toward which the believers must align their lives in order to be admitted. Consequently, the hope of a New Jerusalem was not exclusively a cause of joy for the Haugeans, as it came with certain requirements.

The issue of moral requirements of true faith was a much-expounded one among the Haugeans. In his writings, Hauge often quoted long lists of vices as examples of unchristian behaviour and attitude. Sverre Norborg describes how “mutual exhortation became a regular topic in the extensive correspondence among the

⁵³ The Jerusalem of the past also played an important role for the Haugeans but will not be discussed further here. Suffice it to say that not only did the city of Jerusalem which rejected Jesus often serve as a cautionary tale to the friends, but the historical New Jerusalem, the first congregation, served as a role model for a true Christian lifestyle. This most distinctly manifested itself in a wish to introduce collective ownership among the friends, as “in the time of the apostles.”

⁵⁴ Hauge describes how he in the beginning of his ministry spent a lot of time trying to figure out “the dates and times of eternity,” but in the end concluded that it was wrong to try to make sense of the holy scriptures using his mind, instead of believing the word of God and acting thereupon, Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 6, 138. Only once in his writings did he explicitly direct the attention of his friends to contemplate the Jerusalem above, and even here his reservation against speculation is almost palpable: “So let Jerusalem now arise in your mind, a Jerusalem depicted with gates of gold and jewels and its light as crystal, Rev 21 C. Though in comparison it is but a mirror, for the New Jerusalem or the bliss of eternal life and the glory of God cannot be grasped or comprehended by the human mind, much less be expressed in words.” [“Saa lad nu Jerusalem opgaae i Eders Tanker, et Ierusalem, der afmales, for Porterne ere af Guld og Ædelsteene og dets Lys som Chrystal, Aab 21 C. Dog i Lignelse er det allene som et Speil; thi det nye Ierusalem eller (det) evige Livs Lyksalighed og Guds Herlighed kan ikke begribes eller tænkes med menneskelig Fornuft, mindre udtrykkes med Ord.”] Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 5, 247.

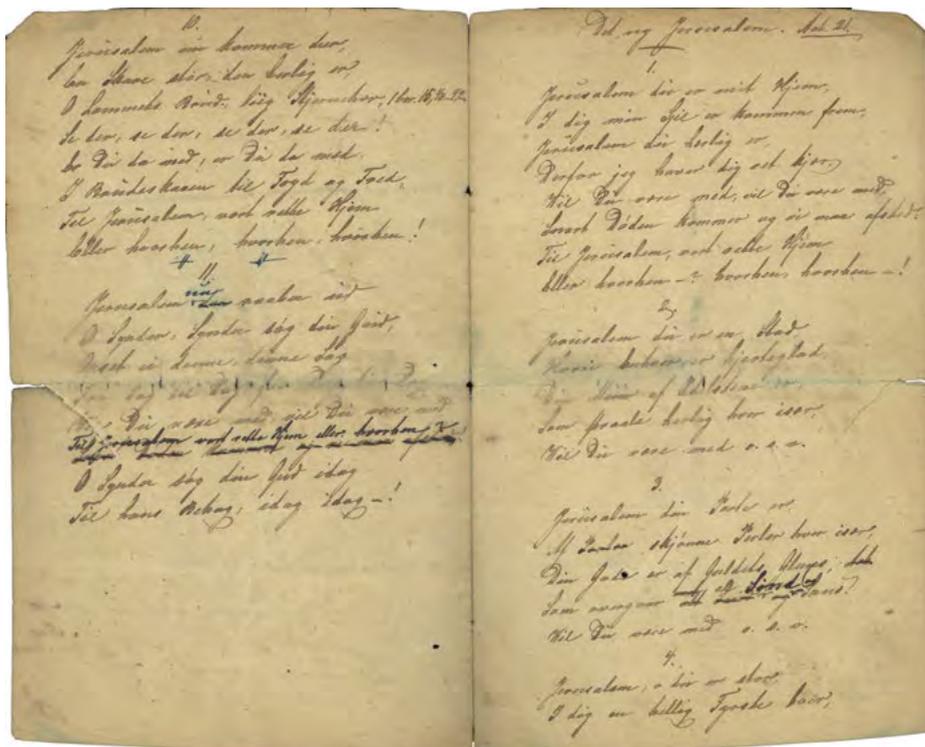


Fig. 8.2: Hymn entitled *The New Jerusalem, Revelations 21* by an anonymous adherent of the Haugean movement. Heggtveitsamlingen, MF The Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society Archive. Photo: Kristin B. Aavitsland.

friends.”⁵⁵ Salvation was not just a matter of trusting in Jesus, like the Moravian brothers too easily preached (according to Hauge).⁵⁶ A true life of faith was a “constant battle,” a “continuous purging,” a “forsaking of this world” in preparation for the respite in the spiritual world.

An important rationale for this pious emphasis was the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem as a place without impurity. Tellingly, one of the phrases that Hauge cited most frequently regarding the New Jerusalem was from Revelation 21:27, that “nothing unclean” will ever enter it (or, as Hauge usually rendered it, “nothing

⁵⁵ My translation. Norborg, *Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi*, 192.

⁵⁶ Hauge’s relationship with the Moravian brothers was ambivalent and a cause of mutual distrust. It is most thoroughly described in Daniel Thrap, *Brødremenigheden i Norge* (Christiania: i kommission hos Jacob Dybwad, 1908), 89; Daniel Thrap, “Seeberg og Hauge,” *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* (1910), 90. See also Oluf Kolsrud, “Smaating um Hans Hauge fraa arkivet i Herrnhut,” *Særtryk av Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* (1913), 64.

common or unclean”): “Be sure that you do not refrain from hearing this voice, that nothing common or unclean shall enter the New Jerusalem, Rev 21 C. 27 V.”⁵⁷ The phrase “nothing common or unclean” is only a detail from the whole biblical vision describing the city as it descends from heaven, yet for Hauge it became *the* definition of the New Jerusalem. Only this phrase did he cite again and again, whereas he omitted to mention other parts of the vision of the New Jerusalem, like its purported glory and splendour. In this way, Hauge’s understanding of Jerusalem as a place without impurity, strongly influenced the piety of the friends. As he interpreted the formulation “nothing unclean” as referring to *moral* impurity (as opposed to *ritual* impurity), this attribute of Jerusalem served as an important incentive for the Haugeans to strive to live morally pure lives so as to “qualify” for the spiritual city. This even affected the rendering of the Bible itself, as Hauge (with a Freudian slip?) once substituted “nothing” with “no one”: “*No one* unclean will enter the New Jerusalem, Rev 21 C. 27 V, who does not have the mind of Jesus Christ.”⁵⁸ So strong was this emphasis on a Christ-like lifestyle and forsaking of “the world,” that Hauge would even describe it as a foundation for the Christian life: “God knows that just as he has placed a cornerstone in Zion, so he has taught me to make a foundation thereupon, in forsaking myself and the world.”⁵⁹

The emphasis on purity as a requirement for entering the heavenly city meant that the *hope* of a New Jerusalem brought with it a *fear* of the same to the Haugeans. The friends were notorious for their tendency to be strictly morally law-abiding and for heavy sighing, downward gazes, and contorted voices.⁶⁰ These were all meant as expressions of piety, of acknowledging one’s own sinfulness.

57 “Seer nu til at I ikke undslaaer eder for at høre denne Røst, at intet almindeligt eller urent skal komme ind i det nye Jerusalem; Aabenb. 21 Cap. 27 v.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 110. Other occurrences are found in Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen sauge* 2, 259; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 155; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 110; Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 2, 503. Close in wording is also Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 84 (no one uncircumcised) The rendering of the verse as “nothing common or unclean” is characteristic of Hauge and translates the original single Greek word *koinos* with both the literal meaning “common,” and the contextual meaning “unclean.” Hauge seems to have adopted this reading from Pontoppidan, excerpts of whose book “The Mirror of Faith” Hauge published. There, we find the same rendering of Rev 21:27: “Nothing common or unclean shall enter the New Jerusalem.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 267.

58 “Der kommer ingen uren ind i det nye Jerusalem, Aab 21 C. 27 V som ikke haver Jesu Christi Sind.” My italics. Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 155.

59 “Gud veed at som han haver sat en Hiørnesteen i Sion, haver han og lært mig at lægge Grundvold derpaa, i at fornægte mig selv og Verden.” My italics. Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge* 1, 58.

60 Svein I. Langhelle, “Haugianske møteplasser og samlingsformer med eksempel fra det sørvestre Norge 1820–1850,” in *Vekkelsens møtesteder*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Lunds universitets kyrkohistoriska arkiv, 2014), 68; Svein I. Langhelle, “Då det blei synd å le: dei haugianske

However, there were also reports of exaggerated consciousness of sin leading to depression and even suicide among the friends, and this characteristic trait of the movement made it into the trial as an accusation against Hauge's ministry for leading to "harmful consequences."⁶¹

The fear of not making it into the New Jerusalem also meant that the friends could never be certain about their salvation. A scene from the deathbed of one of Hauge's friends, Maria Pedersdatter Hougen, strikingly illustrates this ambiguity of hope on the one hand and fear and uncertainty on the other. The girl was still in her teens, and her family and friends stood gathered around her as she bade them her final farewells. In his portrayal of the death-scene, Hauge describes how after all had been said and done,

she sang about the spiritual Jerusalem. And when she no longer could pronounce the words, the onlookers heard the sound of the melody. And this sound persisted until she fell asleep in the Lord, satisfied and glad.⁶²

The situation described is both solemn and hopeful. Yet, in the middle of this almost hagiographic account of the girl's death, it is also reported what had occurred just a few moments before: A fellow friend, standing by the girl's side, had asked her bluntly whether she truly "felt the assurance of faith of having her heavenly bridegroom."⁶³ Apparently, one could not be certain of entering the heavenly Jerusalem, even when singing about it on one's deathbed.

The Friends as the Temple of God

The self-conception of the friends as Zion and the Temple led to a complex and somewhat ambivalent relation to society and the official church, understood as "the Jerusalem below." Sometimes Hauge would distance himself and the friends from the official church and society and portray them as antagonists of the "true temple"

vekkingane som forandra Rogaland," in *Levende religion. Globalt perspektiv – lokal praksis*, eds. Anna Rebecca Solevåg and Anne Kalvig (Stavanger: Hertervig Akademisk, 2015), 69.

61 The derogative nametag "the saints" probably alludes to the strong emphasis on a life of purity among the friends. Reports of (often female) friends entering into depression as a result of Haugean preaching were common in the interrogation reports from the trial. In the report from Lyster, several neighbours insisted that in the case of a suicide of certain female Haugean, it was the "madness" caused by Hauge's message that had caused it. This was strongly denied by the local friends. Justisdepartementet, Kommissjon i saken mot Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804 [Proceedings from the trial against Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804], RA/S-1151/D/L0001, package 5, item 321. Riksarkivet/The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

62 Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 7, 6.

63 Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*: 7, 6.

and even as their enemy.⁶⁴ At other times the distinction was less clear, and the church was rather seen as a mission field, as the *potential* Jerusalem above.

Hauge’s relation to the official church has often been portrayed as one of faithfulness despite conflict. It is argued that he had attended church all his life, had admonished his friends to do the same, and that he only preached “the elementals of faith” and “the teachings of Pontoppidan,” as he used to claim.⁶⁵ Although this is largely true, it is equally true that Hauge also in several ways devalued the church institution and church buildings in his teaching and through his actions. In his writings, Hauge expressed that God no longer dwelled in “man-made temples,” as he called the churches.⁶⁶ He also spoke of the church services as being “in bondage.”⁶⁷ Although Pontoppidan had expressed similar views in his *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness]* (1737), there seems to be a significant difference between his and Hauge’s views.⁶⁸ Pontoppidan had regarded going to church on Sundays as the primary way of worshipping God, and the personal contemplation in the “inner temple of the heart” not as something contradictory, but as a necessary supplement.⁶⁹ For Hauge, though, these two forms of worship could be said to be essentially different and even opposite. For Hauge, the heart was not only the “inner temple” of God, as Pontoppidan had called it, it was the *only* temple of God. Where Pontoppidan had seen personal contemplation as a necessary supplement, Hauge rather saw attending church as something done mainly “out of necessity.”

The practical consequence of this view can be seen in the way Hauge and the friends went about their ministry. They chiefly went around conducting “religious assemblies”⁷⁰ in people’s homes, and claimed Jesus as their example as they

64 Antagonists of the movement could be called “the enemy,” a name also used for the devil, cf. Seland, “I ‘Fællesskab og Samfund’- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon,” 107.

65 This was Hauge’s usual line of defence against repeated accusations of heresy. Bishop Pontoppidan’s *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness]*, first published 1737, was an exposition of Martin Luther’s small catechism and consisted of over 700 questions and answers. Although knowledge of its contents was still a prerequisite for confirmation and consequently for entering adulthood in Norway, by Hauge’s time the ideas of Pontoppidan were considered obsolete by many. During the trial Hauge’s defence lawyer made an effort to justify and excuse this old-fashioned theological affiliation. See Erik Pontoppidan, *Sannhet til Gudfryktighet*. Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1964, 80.

66 Hauge claimed that God had not dwelt in the Jewish temple before its destruction either, since it was already defiled. He deduced this from the fact that Jesus, according to the Gospels, visited the temple only three times during his lifetime, and therefore could not have dwelled there, Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 2, 602.

67 “just as we see now, with Jerusalem or our church services, which are currently in bondage.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 1, 195.

68 Amundsen, “Oppvekkelsens steder,” 37.

69 Pontoppidan, *Sannhet til Gudfryktighet*, 38–39.

70 The Conventicle Act of 1741 used the term *gudelige Forsamlinger* [godly assemblies] for religious meetings outside the church. In the trial against Hauge, the most commonly used term was *religiøse Forsamlinger* [religious assemblies].

preached “in the open fields, the temple courts, the houses of the poor and prisons.”⁷¹ In a letter to friends, Hauge even lamented that resources spent on adornment of churches was a squandering of money.⁷² According to Hauge, the best place for the preaching of the Gospel was not inside the churches, where God did not live, but outside. Hauge even claimed Martin Luther in support of this view:

Martin Luther also wished, that all churches or temples should become a heap of stones . . . and that the Gospel should be preached in the homes, and this we can understand he had reason to wish for.⁷³

Hauge in this way shifted the idea of a holy place from the church building, to basically anywhere else. Borrowing the vocabulary of Doreen Massey and human geography, it could be said that Hauge in this way emphasised a “relational” understanding of space over a “two-dimensional” one, as he stressed that it was the people who were holy, not the places.⁷⁴

Hauge’s ambivalent relation to the church also came to expression in other ways. Not only would the friends sometimes designate themselves “the church” or “the congregation.”⁷⁵ They even had their own religious books, published by Hauge: not only the must-haves, the hymnal, postil, and catechism, but even their own “essential Bible” and “epistle-collections.”⁷⁶ Spiritually, and this was what really mattered to Hauge, the community of friends in many ways functioned as a religious community of its own. They practiced “tactical religion” as Michel de Certeau would say it, with their verbal devaluation of the buildings of the official church and their use of their own liturgical

⁷¹ Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 384. By temple courts Hauge referred, in his metaphorical language, to the common ground outside the churches (*kirkebakken*). A typical situation is vividly described by a local postmaster, Peder Knoph, explicitly *not* a follower of Hauge: “Whenever the witness was at Wasaas church in the years 1803–04, and in the beginning of 1802, he always saw a cluster of people around some person.”, Justisdepartementet, Kommisjon i saken mot Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804 [Proceedings from the trial against Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804], RA/S-1151/D/L0001, package 5, item 321. Riksarkivet/The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

⁷² In a letter to friends, Hauge lamented that “the holy temple, or house of God, 1 Pet. 2 is poorly funded compared to the worldly temples with their dead paintings and precious things of this world . . .” Letter to friends, 1800, in: Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 47. In the letter, Hauge made the point that he wished money would be channelled to his trade and enterprises, as they contributed to the printing of religious books, and so forth, instead of being spent on church buildings.

⁷³ Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 3, vol. 2, 602. Hauge also took Jesus’s reaction to Jerusalem’s rejection as a role model for how the friends should relate to the church: “Christ wept for those who did not know their time of visitation, so must we.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 384.

⁷⁴ Cf. Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 77.

⁷⁵ Seland, “I ‘Fællesskab og Samfund’- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon,” 107.

⁷⁶ The already mentioned “Exposition of the Bible,” see above. Exemplars of book-bound collections of letters from Hauge and other friends have been preserved, resembling how the congregations of the early church collected the epistles of Paul.

books, in opposition to the “strategic religion” of the official church.⁷⁷ The friends never established themselves as an organisation distinct from the official church (another typical trait of tactical religion, according to de Certeau), as this was not really a viable alternative in the absolutist monarchy of Denmark-Norway. However, the accusation against Hauge in the trial of having established a religious sect, was in this regard not completely off the mark. In the way that had any real value to the friends, the spiritual way, they both considered themselves as a church in the sense of a community of true believers, and functioned as such.⁷⁸ Participation in the official church was more a matter of conforming to society. It is therefore neither surprising nor unfitting what reason Hauge gave in his final will to his friends for remaining within the church: They were to do so simply because it belonged to “good order.”

The Friends as Zion in Jerusalem

On the other hand, the church services were not altogether useless in Hauge’s eyes. Not only was attending church “good and proper behaviour,” about which Hauge was genuinely concerned; in the homogenous Lutheran society of Denmark-Norway, society and church were quite indistinguishable, and all the ministers of the church were the king’s men. This point was not lost on Hauge, who recognised the value of a society built on “God’s law.”⁷⁹ Hauge could even call the ministers of the church “the guardians of the walls of Zion,” acknowledging their significance for true faith.⁸⁰ This situation of living as true believers in a society where everyone was part of the Lutheran church, was probably what lay behind a comment he once made about the relationship between Zion and Jerusalem. It reflects a much more sympathetic relation to church and society than described above:

Furthermore, Zion is understood as more glorious than Jerusalem, as the city was built on the hills of Jerusalem, but on Mount Zion was the temple, which was the holiest [place] and where there was worship, more than the other places.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 44; Linda Woodhead, “Tactical and Strategic Religion,” in *Everyday Lived Islam in Europe*, ed. N.M. Dessing and L. Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2016), 92.

⁷⁸ However, Hauge was generally ecumenically minded and did not claim heaven exclusively for the friends. It was for anyone who lived “according to the Gospel,” as is evident from his correspondence with the Quakers, see below.

⁷⁹ Already in his first writing, Hauge makes a point of commending the king’s laws as “forwarding the kingdom of God,” cf. Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 83.

⁸⁰ Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 2, 234.

⁸¹ “Ellers forstaaes og Zion i større Herlighed end Ierusalem, da Ieruselems Bierge var Staden bygt paa, men paa Zions Bierg var Templen, hvilke var helligst og blev holdt Lovsang i, mere end i de andre Stæder.” Hauge and Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter*: 5, 251.

Here, it is not the antagonism between the Jerusalem in freedom and the Jerusalem in bondage which is emphasised, but rather the similarity between them. In analogy with the architectural plan of the Jewish temple, with an increasing degree of holiness towards the centre, Hauge described Zion and Jerusalem as essentially the same, but with Zion as “more glorious,” since it was the mountain upon which the temple was built. Applied to Hauge’s own society, the friends were living as a holy core (Zion) in the midst of society (Jerusalem); not in a society of infidels.

When Hauge claimed to be preparing stones and chalk for Zion, therefore, he was aware that he was doing it in a Christian society, in “Jerusalem.” The members of church and society were a valuable mission field and could even be supportive. This was in stark contrast both to some other contemporary religious groupings and to the ideas of earlier Lutheran theology. As for contemporary religious groupings, the Norwegian Quakers with whom Hauge was in contact after the trial had a much more hostile attitude to the church than Hauge. They apparently had the practice of demonstrably getting together for their own devotions while services were being held in the churches, a practice toward which Hauge objected in his correspondence with them. One of Hauge’s arguments was how people a number of times had come up to him in church to talk to him about matters of faith; people who would not otherwise have frequented the Haugean devotions.⁸²

Furthermore, However sharply Hauge might express himself against the ministers of the church, the idea of who “the others” were had changed over the centuries. Breaking with the church was not an option, not just because this was not practically possible during the absolutist monarchy, but because Hauge understood the rest of society as “Jerusalem,” not something completely different. Northrop Frye has, in his analysis of biblical metaphors, argued that biblical apocalyptic imagery occurs in positive types and corresponding demonic antitypes. The image of God has as its demonic antitype; Satan. The garden of Eden has as its demonic antitype; the desert or the Dead Sea. Jerusalem has as its antitype Babylon or Rome.⁸³ A century earlier, Danish and Norwegian theologians would have recognised their own society in this setup. To them, their own society could be equalled to Jerusalem, just as countries under Catholic domination would be “Rome” or “Babylon.”⁸⁴ To Hauge, however,

⁸² Hauge further explained that just as Jesus had gone to the temple to pray, so also believers should go to church. Getting together in separate gatherings during the church service could provoke people to hatred, which in turn could cause unnecessary suffering to the believers. Hauge’s point was that, although God does not live in the churches, one should not provoke authorities unnecessarily, Andreas Seierstad, “Hans Nielsen Hauge Og Kvekerane,” *TTK* (1943), 148–51; Hauge and Kvame, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 2*, 117.

⁸³ Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982), 167; Jan Inge Sørbo, *Essay om teologi og litteratur* (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1994), 305–310.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 12 (Eivor A. Oftestad), vol. 2, 235–57; Chapter 15 (Marius Timmann Mjaaland), vol.2, 282–97; Chapter 16 (Otfried Czaika), vol. 2, 298–313.

living towards the end of the eighteenth century, the dualism took a different form. The antitype of the believers was no longer Rome or Babylon, as the friends were part of a *per definition* Christian society of Denmark-Norway. The antitype of the friends was not anything outside society, but society itself. Jerusalem was society in general, and the friends lived in it as Zion.

Concluding Remarks

Through his interpretation of the Bible and by way of a considerable effort in expounding the biblical text to his friends, Hauge developed a comprehensive theological understanding of Jerusalem. This understanding was frequently expressed in addressing the friends’ situation in relation to society. Hauge’s extensive application of Jerusalem as a metaphor further meant that his theological contribution also made its influence on the friends in several ways.

Morally speaking, Hauge’s emphasis on the heavenly Jerusalem as a place without impurity seems to have provided important impetus for the inflated attention to expressions of piety among the friends. Further, the allegorical identification of the destroyed Jewish temple with the church buildings of his time served as a convenient rationale for the movement’s mission strategy of conducting religious assemblies in people’s homes. But perhaps most importantly, the understanding of the friends as Zion, living in the middle of Jerusalem, helps explain why breaking with the church was not an alternative for Hauge. Hauge’s understanding of society as Jerusalem meant that he saw church and society more as a mission field than an enemy or counterpart. As much as Hauge encouraged his friends to be “the true temple of God,” he was aware that he they were all the time living in “Jerusalem.” And just as it was Jerusalem that had rejected Jesus, and not the other way around, so also Hauge never rejected society, but strove to “prepare stones and chalk for Zion,” while living in “Jerusalem.”

Kristin Norseth

Chapter 9

The Prayer House as Promised Land

Following the many revivals during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century more than two thousand “prayer houses” – freestanding meeting houses for religious and social activities run by lay people – were built throughout Norway. One after the other received biblical place-names such as Bethel, Bethany, Salem, and Zion. This article concerns Norwegian prayer houses and their names, with a special focus on those with Biblical place-names. It sheds light on their symbolic meaning, naming customs, and the use of names in a historical, theological, social, and cultural context. The premise of the discussion is that place-names are historical sources that convey tendencies within cultural history and the history of mentalities.

Sunday, October 18, 1914 was a celebratory day in the small coastal village of Ekerhovd on the island of Sotra, west of the city of Bergen, in Norway.¹ This was the consecration of Bedehuset Zion – The Prayer House Zion (Fig. 9.1). The Norwegian word *bedehus*, which translates as “prayer house,” is specific to Norway and it refers to a distinct group of houses known in Denmark, Sweden, and England as “mission halls.”² With Zion the village now had a meeting house where old and young could gather for religious and social events of different kinds. A church visit was rare. The parish church was located mid-island and it could only be reached by foot. The prayer house was a supplement to the church; it was a meeting house where the lay people themselves were in charge. In economic terms the house was a joint effort, and the house belonged to the local community. The funds were raised locally and the plot was a gift from local landowners.³

1 Sotra is the largest of the isles belonging to the municipality of Fjell in Hordaland County. For maps, pictures and updated information see: Wikipedia, “Fjell,” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fjell>.

2 Kurt E. Larsen, “De 1073 danske missionshuse, deres internationale baggrund og særpræg,” in *Vekkelsens møtesteder*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Kirkehistorisk arkiv, 2014), 105–7. In Sweden the term “bönehus” – equivalent to the Norwegian “bedehus” – designates houses/churches that belong to the independent non-Lutheran churches/congregations.

3 Thor Bernhard Tobiassen, *Huset midt i Bygda. Ekerhovd bedehus 1914–1989* (Ekerhovd: Bedehuset, 1989), 3–4, 7; Jakob Straume, *Kristenliv i Bjørgvin. Frå Selje til Sund. Eit festkrift* (Bergen: Lunde, 1952), 92–5; Odd Thormodsæter, Johann Vannes and Nils Ove Torsvik, eds., *Misjon i bedehusland. Fjell indremisjon 100 år 1896–1996* (Straume: Fjell indremisjon, 1996), 9. The number of seats is today 80, with an additional 20 seats in the gallery.

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Fig. 9.1: Ekerhovd Prayer House, Hordaland, Norway. Photo: Johann Vannes, 2018.

In outward appearance the prayer house did not distinguish itself as monument that architecturally marked the space, like a church would have done. It was built in wood by a local craftsman, and, apart from the somewhat larger size and larger windows, it resembled most residential homes. The name Zion was painted above the main entry, in large, Gothic script. The sources do not explain why the board of the prayer house chose this name, but today's users believe it was derived from the meaning of the word;⁴ Zion was the name of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, the place where God resided. The name made the Prayer House Zion in Ekerhovd holy and proclaimed to the world that it was a house of God, where his people came together to hear his word be preached on Sundays and weekdays. Today, it still says Zion above the main entrance, but the house is just called Ekerhovd bedehus [Ekerhovd prayer house].

The Storyworld of Salvation

Following the nationwide revivals during the early twentieth century countless prayer houses were built, and one after the other received biblical place-names. Bethel,

⁴ Johann Vannes, personal correspondence, December 27, 2017, email.

Bethany, Salem, and Zion are at the top of the list, but there are also prayer houses called Emmaus, Bethlehem, Elim, Hebron, and The Plains of Mamre [Mamrelund], Sarepta, Sharon, Eben-Ezer, Ephphatha,⁵ and Zoar, Nain, Berea, Bethesda, Sychem, Rephidim, Carmel, and Tabor, Nazareth, and Gethsemane; yes, even Pella, but never Jerusalem. These names were rooted deep in Norwegian culture. They were mentioned in churches, classrooms, and meeting houses, in hymns and devotional literature. The names – apart from the church-historical Pella – are all taken from central episodes in Salvation History, as it is developed in the Old and New Testament. In the nineteenth century, it was something of a fashion to name a place after foreign cities and states. The naming custom of the layman's movement can be regarded as an aspect of this trend. The names are not chosen out of love for the Holy Land as a geographical area as such,⁶ but out of love for the land where the Biblical incidents took place. A beach, a farm, a homestead, a tavern might colloquially be called Jerusalem.⁷ But never a prayer house. This may indicate that the prayer house community had an ambivalent relationship to the earthly Jerusalem. It was the city Jesus wept over because its citizens had rejected and killed the prophets, and finally Messiah (Luke 19:41–44). If interpreted allegorically the city represented a negative example of the rejection of Christ.⁸ But Jerusalem was also the city where salvation and the new kingdom of God were brought to light, in and of Jesus's death and resurrection. For the prayer-house community it was not the earthly, but the heavenly Jerusalem that was important. They looked forward to “the New Jerusalem,” that God had promised the believers at the end of the world. Even if the name Jerusalem was not used for prayer houses, the city is present in poetic and symbolically charged names such as Salem and Zion. But the use of the other place-names cannot be conceived of as independent of the Holy City. Jerusalem is the fulcrum of salvation history, and therefore also the key that opens and adds deeper meaning to the other place-names.

5 *Ephphatha* is not a place-name but the Greek transliteration of an Aramaic word, which means “Be (thou) opened.” Christ spoke this word when healing a man who was deaf and dumb (Mark 7:34). Aramaic was the main language of Jesus and his Disciples. James Barr, “Which Language Did Jesus Speak? Some Remarks of a Semitist,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 5, no. 53 (1970), 133.

6 As claimed erroneously by Astrid Lunde, “Solglytt og Blidensol. Nasjonalromantiske villanavn i Rogaland 1906–1950,” (Master's thesis, University of Oslo, 2005), 32.

7 Kåre Magnus Holsbøvåg, “Lånte Stadnamn,” in *Romsdal Sogelag. Årsskrift 2002*, eds. Bjørn Austigard, Dag Skarstein and Rolf Strand (Molde: Romsdal Sogelag, 2002), 49–51; Leif Gjerland, *Oslonavn* (Oslo: Dreyer, 2017), 152.

8 Josef Tungland, *Sven Foldøen. “Ryfylkebispem”* (Oslo: Lunde, 1978), 63.

On Names and Naming

This article concerns Norwegian prayer houses and their names, with a special focus on those with Biblical place-names. This naming custom is interesting as it interpolates biblical names upon the Norwegian cultural landscape and into the people's imaginary. There is a vast literature in Norwegian and Nordic languages that concerns the emissaries, the revivals, the associations, and organizations that throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth centuries established the prayer houses and prayer house culture. But this particular naming-tradition has not been examined, to my knowledge, by neither name researchers, nor church historians, or cultural historians. The research presented in this article therefore breaks new ground. The intention is to shed light on the names of prayer houses: their symbolic meaning, naming customs, and the use of names in a given historical, theological, social, and cultural context. The premise of my discussion is that place-names are historical sources that convey tendencies within cultural history and the history of mentalities. Place-names are practical communication tools that in written or oral form identify a place, or a location. However, within onomastics – the study of proper names – there is a broad consensus that proper names are not only referential, they also convey meaning and content. Then: “A place-name not only points out a place, it also mediates a cluster of qualities and meanings attached to the place, partly valid for a single individual, partly shared by a given group.”⁹ Place-names connect us to the past and inform us about customs, traditions, and fashions in naming; about social affiliations and the name-givers' faith, ideals, and values; they express feelings, reflect conflicts, demarcate borders, and bear witness to conquests and power relations.¹⁰ To bestow a Biblical place name to a Norwegian prayer house is thus to “perform an act of signification as proper names exhibit a variety of meanings of cognitive, emotive, ideological and social character.”¹¹ The name-givers of the prayer houses chose names that already had, and might be filled with, content. The names they chose were literary,¹² and they were taken from a

9 Botolv Helleland, “Place Names and Identity,” in *Names and Identities*, eds. Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wickström (Oslo Studies in Language, Oslo: University of Oslo, 2012), 100.

10 Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Places: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education, 2000), 3–4; Benedicta Windt, “Personnavn i litteraturen. En kort presentasjon av fagfeltet litterær onomastikk,” *Norsk litterær årbok 2006* (2006), 208–9; Oliviu Felecan, *Name and Naming. Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), XII; Inge Særheim, “Official Naming in Hå, Klepp and Time,” in *Names and Identities*, eds. Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wickström (Oslo Studies in Language, Oslo: University of Oslo, 2012), 235.

11 Thorsten Andersson, “Onomastiska Grundfrågor,” in *Den ellefte nordiske navneforskerkongressen. Sundvollen 19–23. juni, 1994*, ed. Kristoffer Kruken (Uppsala: Norna-Förlaget, 1996), 8.

12 Ola Stemshaug, “Namnebruk i skjønnlitteraturen. Nokre metodiske synspunkt,” *Studier i nordisk filologi* (1982), 174–85; Benedicta Windt, “Personal Names and Identity in Literary Contexts,” in *Names and*

frame of reference that the nineteenth- and twentieth century Norwegians were well versed in: the Bible and the history of salvation.

There is a specific, biblical onomastic that has philological as well as anthropological and theological meaning. Biblical name-giving states something essential or characteristic regarding the object receiving the name. In the Scriptures, names and name-giving of places and persons have connotative and associative meaning, as well as semantic-etymological meaning. The names open up for secondary meanings and associations to “something” – an event or an important statement – which is worth remembering. The name is a text that refers to and plays on other biblical texts.¹³ The knowledge of the name’s immediate textual context, and its wider biblical context, as well as its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century socio-cultural context, in addition to the experiences gained in the house that bears the name, gives birth to notions, associations, and emotions which endow the name with more than it states, in and of itself. In a circumscribed society Zion identifies a particular house. The name also bespeaks the function of the house, and it imparts meaning relative to the activities and people who frequent the Prayer House Zion.

The Norwegian Prayer House: Background Notes

A prayer house means, in its most straightforward sense, “a house for prayer.” The term is used for freestanding meeting houses where there are religious and social activities run by individuals or local associations that are associated with national, Lutheran lay movements for foreign missions and home missions, which work within the bounds of the Lutheran state Church of Norway. In the Norwegian context, the term “prayer house” therefore has confessional implications: A prayer house – *et bedehus* – is always Lutheran. The statutes of the prayer houses confirm, more or less without exception, that all activities within and beyond the prayer house should be run “in compliance with the Evangelical Lutheran Church’s confession.” The prayer house served not only for edification, but it also aided in the fight against “sectarianism,” liberal theology, and secularization.¹⁴

Identities, eds. Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wickström (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2011), 278–9.

¹³ Hertz Baltz, ed., “Name/Namengebung III,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 23 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 743–65. Herbart Marks is of the opinion that the etymological explanations in the Old Testament are very sophisticated and that they have ironic, double meanings; Herbart Marks, “Biblical Naming and Poetic Etymology,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1, no. 114 (1995): 21–42.

¹⁴ Peder Simonsen Eikrem, *Bergens indremisjon gjennom 75 år. Et bidrag til Guds-rikets historie: 1863–1938* (Bergen: Bergens indremisjons forlag, 1938), 95.

The first prayer houses were built in the 1840s and 1850s,¹⁵ during the decades when the modernization of Norway began in earnest; the dominance of state religion was weakened, and laypeople organized themselves in associations and national organizations for foreign- and home mission. As the lay movement gained momentum, there was a distinct rise in the number of prayer houses. Their numbers grew at a steady pace from the middle of the 1870s, and further accelerated in the first half of the twentieth century, when the home mission movement became one of Norway's most dominant popular movements. The expansion continued after World War II and reached a high point in the 1970s.

Every prayer house was formally consecrated, and there was a large attendance which also included visitors from outside the village.¹⁶ All sources provide a consecration date for the individual prayer houses. The name of the prayer house was decided upon beforehand, usually by the prayer-house board, or in a members meeting.¹⁷ Individuals might also have the final word.¹⁸ The name-choices are not justified in the sources I have considered and they therefore appear somewhat arbitrary. It is clear that a selection of socially conventioned stock names was available. In the consecration speech of a prayer house, that was given by a specially invited guest, the speaker would often link their speech to the name of the house. If the house was reconstructed or expanded, a new consecration would follow. If a prayer house gained status as a “prayer house chapel,” it would be consecrated and fitted with church furniture, like an altar and an altar rail (often semi-circular). Some houses also saw the addition of a small church tower and a bell.¹⁹

Considering the tensions between the radical wing of the Low Church movement and the state church's clergy – the tension became particularly pronounced

15 The very first prayer house dates to 1837. Kristoffer Fjelde, *Det fyste bedehuset i Noreg* (Sandnes: Kristoffer Fjelde, 1995), 146.

16 Eikrem, *Bergens indremisjon gjennom 75 år*, 95, 117; Reimunn Førsvoll, “Bedehusene i Åkra sogn. En sammenligning og vurdering av statuttene gjennom 100 år,” (Misjonshøgskolen, 2004), 27; Magne Mestad, *Haukeland Indremisjon 75 År 1904–1979* (Bergen: Indremisjonen, 1979), 18–9; Kjartan Rødland, *Nytt liv i gammalt hus. Bolstadøyri bedehus 1889–2014* (Bolstadøyri: Styret, 2014), 29; Kåre Olav Solhjell, *Huset ved vegen. Osmarka bedehus og kapell 1909–2009* (Osmarka: Osmarka bedehus og kapell, 2009), 15; Reidar Sørli, *Så kom de til Elim. Om bedehusene i Grue, Hof, Åsnes og Våler* (Våler: Reidar Sørli, 1997), 45; Ragnar Ørstavik, *Volda bedehus “Zion” 1887–1987* (Volda: Styret for Volda bedehus, 1987), 14–5.

17 Mestad, *Haukeland Indremisjon 75 År 1904–1979*, 20.

18 Enok Lauvås, “Bedehusmiljø. En studie av bedehusmiljøet på Lauvås,” (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1993), 6.

19 K. Alvhheim, *Sandvikens Indremisjon Gjennom 50 År 1915–1965* (Bergen: Sandvikens Indremisjon, 1965), 11; Johannes Kleppa and Alf Henry Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland* (Bergen: Sambåndet, 2001), 24, 126, 136, 149, 174; Johannes Kleppa and Alf Henry Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland* (Bergen: Sambåndet, 2003), 157, 208; Solhjell, *Huset ved vegen*, 221; Rødland, *Nytt liv i gammalt hus*, 213; Norske kirkebygg, Nydalen kapell, accessed February 20, 2018, http://norske-kirkebygg.origo.no/-/bulletin/show/644397_nydalen-kapell?ref=checkpoint.

when radical groups practiced the Eucharist (Holy Communion) in private – it might come as a surprise that the parish priest, more often than not, participated and was the first to speak when a prayer house was consecrated. The visiting emissaries and local leaders were next in line. According to some accounts, the liturgy for the consecration of churches was adapted for use in prayer house consecrations.²⁰ This underscores the idea that the prayer house belonged to the whole parish as a community, not only to “the believers.”²¹ It also reflects the rather harmonious relations between the local Low Church associations/groups, the local community, and – until 2012 – the Evangelical Lutheran state church; the Church of Norway.²² Until recently, the overall majority of the Norwegian population were members of the state church, but the percentage is now dwindling.²³ The Low Church movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries thus operated within the national frame of Lutheranism, conventional loyalty to the church, and confessional religious instruction.

Religious education had been compulsory in elementary schools since 1739,²⁴ and from the mid-nineteenth century Bible history was increasingly emphasized at the expense of dogma. In 1858, *Bibelhistorie med lidt av kirkens historie [Bible History with some Church History]*, by Principal Volrath Vogt, was introduced into elementary

20 *Alterbok for Den norske kirke* (Kristiania: Beyers forlag, 1889), 149–65; Helge Fæhn, *Gudstjenestelivet i Den norske kirke. Fra reformasjonstiden til våre dager* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1994), 415–26; Sverre Jakobsen, *Feda Bedehus 100 År 1883–1983* (Feda, 1993), 6–7; Ola Storhaugen, *Røsmælen bedehus. Møteplass i 100 år 1904–2004* (Røsmælen: Styret for Røsmælen bedehus, 2004), 223; Sørliie, *Så kom de til Elim*, 232; Trygve Vasvik, *Jubileumsskrift Saron, Bryne 100 år 1878–1978* (Bryne: Saron, 1978), 244.

21 Andreas Ropeid, “Bygda eig bedehuset,” in *Bedehuskulturen. Bedehus og bygdeliv i Ryfylke*, ed. Njål Tjeltveit (Stavanger: Dreyer, 1987), 47–9.

22 In 2012, the original § 2 in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 was amended, and the State of Norway is no longer a confessional state based on the Evangelical Lutheran religion. The original § 2 states: “Den evangelisk-lutterske Religion forbliver Statens offentlige Religion. De Indvaanere, der bekjende sig til den, ere forpligtede til at opdrage sine Børn i samme. . .” “The Evangelical Lutheran religion remains the State’s public religion. The inhabitants that confess to it are committed to raise their children in the same. . .” <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Lover-og-instrukser/Grunnloven-fra-1814>. The revised § 2 states: “Our values will remain our Christian and humanist heritage. This Constitution shall ensure democracy, a state based on the rule of law and human rights.” As a constitutional church, however, the Church of Norway still holds a privileged position compared to other religious groups/communities. According to the amendments of § 16 in 2012, it “will remain the Established Church of Norway and will as such be supported by the State.” This implies that the Church of Norway is not “free” or independent from the state in the same sense as other religious groups/communities. <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/1814-05-17>.

23 Population 1900: 2 217 971; 1940: 2 832 599; 1970: 3 863 221; 2017: 5 258 317. Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), accessed October 11, 2017, www.ssb.no/300132/. Today 3 758 070 individuals, 71, 5 % of the population, belongs to the (state) Church of Norway (2016). Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), accessed May 1, 2018, www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/statstikker/kirke-kostra/aar.2018.01.05.

24 Compulsory public schooling for all children aged 7 to 15 was introduced in 1739 and revised during the 1800s.

schools [*folkeskolen*]. The first edition and all editions thereafter, contained a map of “Canaan” wherein the names of biblical places were included. Several of these biblical place-names feature as prayer house names. The book was used until the late 1960s and it has been read by millions of school children.²⁵ The map of Canaan included in the schoolbooks attests to a pre-occupation with the Holy Land, which increased during the nineteenth century. At home and in school children learnt so much about the Holy Land that some were said to believe that they lived there.²⁶ In common culture there was a biblical literacy, that is, a reading skill which consisted not only of pulling letters together to form words, but also the ability to decode the text and to understand context, symbols, and imagery.

A survey conducted in 1973, counted 2621 Lutheran prayer houses and 1658 churches and chapels belonging to the Church of Norway.²⁷ The numbers underscore the strength and prevalence of the Lutheran lay movements. This was not a marginal movement. With prayer houses and associations in town and country – yes, even in the smallest of outposts – we are faced with a popular movement that has exercised a broad religious, social, and cultural, as well as a political influence.²⁸

The distribution of prayer houses, geographically speaking, was and still is more varied than that of churches. Some have periodically served as interim churches or chapels, thus complementing the public church. Southern and Western Norway had twice to thrice as many prayer houses than churches. Most prayer houses are found along the coast and in the countryside in villages and smaller towns. In major cities there were fewer, but larger prayer houses. More often than not they were the first and largest communal meeting houses in their respective communities.²⁹ A variety of local Lutheran associations, as well as groups in pursuit of the common good, were allowed to use the premises as long as it did not interfere with the owner’s use, and was otherwise in accordance with religious and moral conduct. In compliance with Pietistic norms and ethos, the house rules stated that playing, dancing, and the

25 1889: 26 editions, 1 mill. copies. 1931: 61 editions, 2,8 mill. copies. Store norske leksikon “Volrath Vogt,” accessed March 16, 2018, https://nbl.snl.no/Volrath_Vogt. Classroom maps and biblical charts were not introduced into Norwegian schools until the 1920s. See also Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409.

26 Kåre Magne Holsbøvåg, “Lånte Stadnamn,” in *Romsdal Sogelag. Årsskrift 2002*, eds. Bjørn Austigard, Dag Skarstein and Rolf Strand (Molde: Romsdal sogelag, 2002), 51.

27 Andreas Ropeid, “Vi fant 2621 bedehus,” in *Årbok for Den norske kirke 1974* (Oslo: Kirkenes informasjonstjeneste, 1974), 74–8.

28 An example in point: the Christiania (Oslo) Home Mission Association (1855) founded Norway’s first nursing education (1868), and they also organized social work among the poorest in the city. Bernt T. Oftestad, Tarald Rasmussen and Jan Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005), 206–10.

29 E.g. Hans Torgny, *Nærbø bedehus. Eit historisk oversyn* (Nærbø: Indremisjonsforeningen, 2009), 24–9.

drinking of alcohol was prohibited. Music and instruments were subject to dispute.³⁰ Even though the lay people and the Low Church movement were staunch supporters of the politics of democratization and liberalization, political meetings and propaganda were generally not permitted. Politics divided. The source material provides examples, however, of prayer-house boards that made exceptions to this rule. In such cases, two criteria had to be met: the speaker had to hail from the village, and the speaker in question could not represent anti-Christian parties and groups.³¹

On an individual level, prayer-house members were of course free to engage in politics. Leading Low Church personalities served as elected mayors, members of local municipal councils (*kommunestyrrer*), and the Parliament, as well as cabinet ministers, and they represented different political parties. During the interwar period, the ideological conflicts escalated. In 1933, leading members of the lay movement in the Bergen area founded a new political party, Kristelig Folkeparti (The Christian Democrats; KrF).³² KrF emphasized cultural and spiritual values and aimed to be an alternative to secularist parties. The KrF party had roots in the Low Church movement, and many of its representatives belonged to local home-mission associations and prayer-house boards. Hence, many prayer houses opened their doors to this party, despite contentions.

Since the 1990s, the number of prayer houses that have been disposed of has accelerated. They are sold and turned into private homes, shops, restaurants, churches, and so forth. Some are bought by the local community to serve as community houses. This can be explained by the centralization and depopulation of rural areas, the decreased participation in organized popular movements, the use of modern communications, and, finally, the secularization and privatization of religion which has been detrimental to communal religious life; whether in churches or prayer houses. Today young people ask what was once obvious: What does Zion mean?

30 Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland*, 17; Tone Alice Årtun, "Lekmannsrørsla og bedehusa i Ryfylke," in *Folk i Ryfylke 2011. Årbok for Ryfylkemuseet*, eds. Roy Høibo and Trygve Brandal (Sand: Ryfylkemuseet, 2011), 73.

31 Torgny, *Nærbø bedehus*, 24–6. The municipal council as well as organizations associated with the political party Venstre [The Left] held meetings in the prayer house. Between 1908 and 1910 the board permitted lectures on trade unions and socialist politics. The radicalization of the Labour Party [Arbeiderpartiet] led to a ban on these activities in 1930.

32 Odd Jostein Sæter, ed., *Kristelig folkepartis historie 1933–1983. Samling om verdier* (Oslo: Valo, 1985), 1–16. www.krf.no/partiorganisasjonen/krfs-historie. KrF's first leader, Nils Lavik, was elected member of the Parliament just a couple of months after the party was founded. In 1945, KrF had its national breakthrough and obtained 8 representatives. For the conflicts between the lay movement/Church of Norway and the Labour party, see Nils-Ivar Agøy, *Kirken og arbeiderbevegelsen. Spenninger, skuffelser, håp. Tiden fram til 1940* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2011), 122.

Documenting the Prayer House Movement

Local associations and prayer house boards have released numerous publications that expound upon the history of the associations and the buildings; their ownership, use, aesthetics, and architecture. They often cite primary sources such as protocols, statutes, annual reports, and account books. They may also contain oral accounts, song lyrics, plan drawings, and photographs, as well as quotes from newspapers, letters, and speeches. I have employed roughly sixty publications of this kind, and they provide knowledge of name-use, naming customs, and the interpretation of names.³³ The historical information contained in this body of texts concerns more than one hundred prayer houses across Norway.

Norwegian prayer houses were the subject of three books published at the turn of the twenty-first century, and I have employed these to gain an overview of the names that were/are used for prayer houses, and their frequency of use.³⁴ The material for these three books has been collected systematically and the books provide information regarding 688 Lutheran prayer houses, which are all presented by name, both past and present. The prayer houses included at the time of publication were located in the counties of Østfold (164), Rogaland (254), and Hordaland (268). These three counties have an especially high density of prayer houses, and the presence of evangelical revivalist movements and Christian organizations are strong; leaving a distinct imprint. The three books that survey the prayer houses of these counties are still considered representative. Altogether, this material demonstrates that names and name-customs were widespread geographically. This may be explained by the fact that the prayer house name-givers belonged to an organized network, and a socio-cultural space where religious journals, traveling emissaries, secretaries – as well as an association with subsidiaries³⁵ – all have contributed to promote and sustain naming customs.

Groups of Names

The material demonstrates that naming a prayer house was common across the board, and somewhat fashionable, during the same period that name researchers

³³ See bibliography.

³⁴ Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 171; Kleppa and Rasmussen *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland*, 172; Kai Ørebech, *Bedehus i Østfold* (Oslo: Lunde forlag, 2006), 253.

³⁵ The Home Mission Association at Bethel (1887) in Fredrikstad instigated the building of 12 prayer houses. All were given biblical place-names. Ørebech, *Bedehus i Østfold*, 57.

have labelled “the Nordic Name-Renaissance.”³⁶ The names of prayer houses can be divided into four categories, based on the three survey books discussed above. The first and dominant category today, consists of the geographical place-name and the appellative “prayer house”.³⁷ In a circumscribed area the appellative can take on a “weak” name-character, so that the prayer house in everyday conversation becomes simply *the* Prayer House.³⁸

The second category, which is pertinent to this article, consists of so-called transferred place-names.³⁹ The places are authentic, geographically and/or historically speaking, but the names are literary, and are taken from a written source in which they are part of a narrative context. Prayer houses with biblical place-names are mainly built in the period 1875–1950. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, 208 of 688 (approximately 30 %) prayer houses described in the survey books still had a biblical place-name.⁴⁰ Usually the name was, and still is, featured on an outer wall or above the entrance door. Today, it is impossible to obtain a full overview of how wide-ranging this practice once was, but there is reason to believe that many more prayer houses built before 1950 have had a biblical place-name.⁴¹ The isles belonging to Fjell municipality, in which Sotra is the largest island, can serve as an indicator. In 2001, 15 of 20 (75 %) prayer houses built between 1906 and 1962 were endowed with a biblical place-name.⁴²

The third category, which comprises 72 of the 688 (approximately 10 %) prayer houses, demonstrates great variations in names. They may, with some reserve, be grouped under the umbrella term “national romantic names”⁴³ and they include names such as Fredheim [Peace(ful) Home], Fredtun [Peace(ful) Yard], Ljosheim [Light(-filled) Home], and Tryggheim [Safe Home]. These examples may have biblical connotations when used for prayer houses, but, clearly, they have been perceived as

36 The term was originally coined for proper names, but several claim that place-names should also be included. Lunde, “Solglytt og blidensol,” 23–5.

37 The common name *Bedehus* [prayer house] can be combined with, or substituted with, “*misjonshus/-senter*” [“mission house/centre”] or “*menighetshus/-senter*” [congregation house/centre] or similar names. The latter is introduced in the 1970s and it signals co-use, and that the Church of Norway has assimilated some of the prayer houses’ diverse activities.

38 Staffan Nyström, Eva Brylla, Märit Frädén, Mats Wahlberg and Per Vikstrand, eds. *Namn och namnforskning. Ett levande läromedel om ortnamn, personnamn och andra namn.*, Version 1 (2013–02–19), (Uppsala universitet, 2013), 11–12, www.diva-portal.se/smash/get/diva2:606610/FULLTEXT01.pdf. Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 61; Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland*, 96, 194.

39 Lunde, “Solglytt og blidensol,” 31.

40 In Østfold: 43 of 176. In Rogaland: 65 of 244. In Hordaland: 100 of 268.

41 Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 5; Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland*, 5–6, 130.

42 Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 78–92; Ørebech, *Bedehus i Østfold*, 57.

43 For a definition of the term and an overview of the names, see Lunde, “Solglytt og blidensol,” 183.

more “neutral.”⁴⁴ These names are used by other non-religious organizations and they also appear as names for residential villas.⁴⁵

The fourth category consists of names given in memory of one or more important persons. Among 688 prayer houses only six have memorial names. All, but one, date to the period pre-1950. In an egalitarian society such as Norway this naming custom was not widespread.

The First Prayer House Named Prayer House

Meeting houses and conventicle Christianity are like Siamese twins; they are conjoined. In the early nineteenth century, the conventicle, or the “friends,” gathered for edification in private cottages [*stuer*]. In Norwegian cities the Moravians held their meetings in larger *saler* [rooms or meeting halls] in private homes. These were named after the owner or the congregation’s leader, for example Duesalen [Due Hall] in Stavanger (1843) and Tippmannsalen [Tippmann Hall]. The Norwegian term *salen* [meeting room or hall] – in German *Betsal* – is taken from the Bible, and it alludes to the place where the first Christian congregation convened for prayer after the Ascension of Jesus (Acts 1:13), and to the site where Jesus instituted the Last Supper (Matt 26, Mark 14, Luke 22).⁴⁶

The first assembly house that was officially named a “prayer house,” was inaugurated in the trading town of Skien, on September 1, 1850, in conjunction with a revival that would become divisive in the Church of Norway a few years later. The term prayer house must have been new and unknown. In the journal *For Fattig og Rig* [*For the Poor and the Rich*] the reporter notes that *forsamlingshus* [assembly house] would be a more appropriate designation considering the purpose of the building.⁴⁷ *Forsamlingshus* [assembly house] was the common name for this type of freestanding house, which could also be called “a meeting house,” “a gathering house,” “an edification house,” and “a cottage” [*stue*].⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Sørli, *Så kom de til Elim*, 29.

⁴⁵ In terms of percentage the county of Østfold has most names in this third category (32 of 176 prayer houses). When the numbers are compared for the counties of Rogaland (20 of 244) and Hordaland (20 of 268) they may indicate a difference in culture and mentality.

⁴⁶ Ola Rudvin, *Indremisjonsselskapets historie. Den norske Lutherstiftelse 1868–1891*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1967), 173, n. 9; Carsten Hansteen, *Kristiania indremisjon 1855–1904. Et festskrift til femtiårsjubilæet* (Kristiania: Foreningen for indre mission i Kristiania, 1905), 60; Bjarne Kvam, *Nytt liv på gammel grunn. Stavanger indremisjon gjennom 75 år 1876–1951* (Stavanger: Stavanger indremisjon, 1951), 52.

⁴⁷ Jacob J. Solgaard, *Bedehuset ‘Hauges Minde’ Skien. 75 Aars Jubileum 1850–1925* (Skien: Skiens Indremisjon, 1925), 11.

⁴⁸ *Stue* [cottage] is an abbreviation of *bondestue* [farmer’s cottage], *skolestue* [school cottage] and probably also *kirkestue* [church cottage]. *Kirkestuer* [church cottages] were small houses right by

The appellative “prayer house” is used in the Bible about the Temple in Jerusalem (Isa 56:7, Matt 21:13, Mark 11:17, Luke 19:46). Using the term “prayer house” thus identified the Norwegian prayer house as a house of God, and it reminded people about what Jesus himself said his house should be.⁴⁹ This term is associated especially with the story of Jesus cleansing the Temple. In light of this story the term may be understood as a critique of the church, but, more importantly, it also points to the human need for conversion and concentration on the inner, spiritual life.

The vicar in Skien, Gustav A. Lammers (1802–1878), was one of the great revival preachers of the 1850s.⁵⁰ In his opinion the Norwegian state church needed to be cleansed of dead faith and rote Christianity. The new religious life could only be awakened by preaching penitence and conversion. This new life would unfold in the assembly of the faithful, who now received their own house (Isa 56:7). The prayer house should be a house for God’s people, where the boundary between the faithful and the infidels would not be blurred. The house, which henceforth was called *Vennesamfunnets bedehus* [The Prayer House of the Community of Friends], gave material form to the invisible boundary between the two groups. The name signalizes a circumscribed, intimate community, based on voluntary participation, not convention. The name included and excluded. In December 1850, the journal *For Fattig og Rig* [For the Poor and the Rich] could report to their 30 000 subscribers that there was a large influx of people to the vicar’s weekly Bible study. According to the reporter, those who came had been taught by Mary to yearn for the “the one needful thing” (Luke 10:38–42); that is, to detach oneself from “worldly pursuits” in order to sit by Jesus’s feet and listen to his word – also in a hectic everyday life.⁵¹ Half a century later, Betania [Bethany] would become one of the most popular names for a prayer house. The name alludes to the prayer house as a home where Christ speaks to his congregation through the person who preaches His Word. The congregation is hence comparable to Mary, who, contrary to her busy sister Martha, sat by Jesus’s feet and listened to his teachings like a disciple.

the church, and they were found all over the country. In these cottages people who had travelled far could change their clothes, and eat before and after the service. The prayer house in Skien is supposedly the fourth prayer house that was built. Arne Berge, “Bedehus og misjonsforening,” in *Bedehuskulturen. Bedehus og bygdeliv i Ryfylke*, ed. Njål Tjeltveit (Stavanger: Dreyer, 1987), 11–6; Johan Veka, *Glytt frå kristenliv i Rogaland. Gamal og ny tid* (Stavanger: Dreyer, 1952), 86; Arne Lund, “Herre lutherske bedehus. En flyttedokumentasjon 2004/2005,” in *Bamble historielag. Årbok 2005* (Bamble: Bamble historielag, 2005), 157.

⁴⁹ Kvam, *Nytt liv på gammel grunn*, 131.

⁵⁰ Rudvin, *Indremisjonsselskapets historie*, 166–72; Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 198, 206, 211; Solgaard, *Bedehuset ‘Hauges Minde’ Skien. 75 Aars Jubileum 1850–1925*, 11–2.

⁵¹ Anonymous, *Bedehuset Hauges Minde og Skien indremisjon 100 år 1850–1950* (Skien: Skien indremisjon, 1950), 32; Solgaard, *Bedehuset ‘Hauges Minde’ Skien. 75 Aars Jubileum 1850–1925*, 12. See also Store norske leksikon, “Honoratus Halling,” accessed March 28, 2018, https://snl.no/Honoratus_Halling.

In 1856, Lammers broke with the Lutheran view on baptism, resigned as priest in the Norwegian state church, and established an independent congregation that practiced believers' baptism.⁵² It was as if an earthquake shook the whole country. The religious situation in Skien was out of hand and the turbulence spread, amongst other to the northern city of Tromsø. In Skien, Lammers was replaced with a new vicar named Andreas Hauge (1815–1892). Hauge's task was to harmonize and stabilize the turbulent situation in Skien. For thirty-five years, Hauge led the town's prayer house board and home mission association. When the prayer house from the 1850s was demolished and a new one consecrated on January 11, 1903, the board's unanimous decision was to confer the name Hagues Minde [In Memory of Hauge] to the new prayer house.⁵³ The name was honorary and it signaled Hauge's high status both locally and nationally. But memories fade away. For most people, the name would function today as a label signifying the named object. There are a few more prayer houses called Hagues Minde. They are named after the father of Andreas Hauge, the farmer and lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824),⁵⁴ whom towards the end of the nineteenth century had become something of a national icon.⁵⁵ At the turn of the nineteenth century, Hans Nielsen Hauge had caused a nationwide revival, which later revivals and the home mission movement would come to identify with.⁵⁶ The name-givers knew that the Haugeians [the followers of H. N. Hauge], in their day, were among those who took the initiative to build the prayer house in Skien. When the proper name was left out, it opened up for an association of the family name with both father and son. Otherwise, memorial names for prayer houses are highly unusual. The few that exist honour local donors of prayer houses, and they include the first name. Some of these have today changed names.⁵⁷

On January 22, 1854, a new prayer house was inaugurated in Herre, some twenty kilometres from Skien. It was called Samlingshuset [The Gathering House],

52 The Parliament of Norway passed the *Dissenter Act* on July 16, 1845, allowing Christian churches and congregations outside the state Church of Norway to be established. From then on Norwegians above the age of 15 were free to leave the Lutheran state church for another Christian denomination. In the 1850s, it was inconceivable that a state-church priest would go thus far as denying infant baptism and joining the non-conformists.

53 Ørebech, *Bedehus i Østfold*, 85–6; Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 152.

54 One is located at H. N. Hauge's birth place in Østfold, which also houses a museum. See Muséet Hans Nielsen Hauge Minde, "Front page," accessed February 4, 2018, <http://www.haugesminde.no>.

55 See Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

56 In 1875, the Home Mission Association in Kristiania (Oslo) built a prayer house named Hagues Minde (sold 1917). See Artemisia, "Arkitektur og historie i Oslo. Hagues Minde, Olaf Ryes plass 2," accessed February 25, 2018, <http://www.artemisia.no/arc/historisk/oslo/bygninger2/olaf.ryes.plass.2.html>.

57 Kleppa and Rasmussen *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Rogaland*, 142, 147; Kleppa and Rasmussen, *Reise i Bedehusland. Bedehusene i Hordaland*, 152.

or Stua [The Cottage], but after a while it was called Herre Lutherske bedehus [The Lutheran Prayer House of Herre]. In an area known for its independent congregations, with meeting houses that from the outside could resemble a prayer house, the name was a confessional and social marker. The name change happened before 1890, when the prayer house was put to use as an interim Church.⁵⁸ This indicates that the term prayer house [*bedehus*] was now becoming dominant. Names used as confessional (ideological) markers are also found in Tromsø, where there was raised a prayer house which was named Det Lutherske Forsamlingshus [The Lutheran Assembly House] in 1857. The name is as strategic as the act of building the house: It was raised and named as a bulwark against the non-conformists that had acquired a meeting house the year before.⁵⁹

Sacred Geography

The first known prayer house with a biblical place-name was built in Stavanger and it was consecrated on January 5, 1875, in the presence of 2000 people. The year after, the house was expanded. It could now house 3500 people and it was consecrated again.⁶⁰ The instigator for this prayer house was the controversial state-church priest, revival preacher, social entrepreneur, editor, and politician Lars Oftedal (1838–1900). He had been a seamen’s priest in Cardiff (1866–1868), and had made his first preaching tour in North America in the spring of 1875.⁶¹ The prayer house was named Bethania Forsamlingshus [Bethany Assembly House]. The name is a hybrid, which points to the fact that the term “prayer house” had not yet made a complete break through. Bethany housed a printing press, which Oftedal used to issue numerous publications, and the prayer house also became the base for wide-ranging philanthropic work. On the wall above the podium stood Ephesians 2:10 in gilded Gothic script: “For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.”⁶² From the rostrum Oftedal spoke on the passage “but one thing is needful” (Luke 10:42) to those he called “the reborn flock,” “the

⁵⁸ Lund, “Herre Lutherske Bedehus. En Flyttedokumentasjon 2004/2005,” 182.

⁵⁹ Sev Ytreberg, *Tromsø Indremission i 60 Aar* (Tromsø: Tromsø indremission, 1918), 18.

⁶⁰ The city had 23 500 inhabitants. See Store norske leksikon, “Stavanger – historie,” accessed March 21, 2018, https://snl.no/Stavanger_-_historie.

⁶¹ Berge Furre, *Soga om Lars Oftedal*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Samlaget, 1990), 84, 210, 219–20.

⁶² From King James Bible Online, “And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God,” www.kingjamesbibleonline.org. The original, Norwegian Bible verse reads as follows: “Vi ere hans Værk, skabte i Kristo Jesu til gode Gjæringer, hvortil Gud forud har beredte os, at vi skulle vandre i dem.”

congregation of the saved,” and “the community of friends.”⁶³ The terminology has eschatological overtones (Rev 7:9–16). In this house of God you were uplifted, but also anchored in reality. In capital letters the reborn were reminded that faith birthed deeds in this world. Faith had practical, tangible consequences.

Bethany was only the first in a row of prayer houses and philanthropic institutions that Lars Oftedal instigated. In the New Testament, Bethany is the name of a village just outside Jerusalem. About five kilometres south of Stavanger Oftedal founded Bethlehem (1876), named after the place where Jesus was born (Luke 2:1–7). Nazareth, the name of the childhood town of Jesus (Luke 2:39), was built a few kilometres north of the city. A boathouse north-east of Stavanger was transformed into Kapernaum [Capernaum]. It was named after the fishing village at the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee, which played an important role in the life of Jesus (Matt 4:13, 18:22; Mark 1:21; Luke 4:31). In 1877, Oftedal inaugurated the first of several orphanages, Bethania Vaisenhus [Bethany Orphanage].⁶⁴ This “home” for orphans was next door to the prayer house, and he also purchased the farm Emmaus, which would supply the orphanage with agricultural products and serve as a vacation home for children. Emmaus was located a few “furlongs off,” a fifteen-minute walk away from the city of Stavanger. It was on the short stretch between Jerusalem and Emmaus that the resurrected Christ explained to two of his disciples what the Scriptures (the Old Testament) had foretold about the suffering, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, and later revealed to them who he was (Luke 24:13–35). In 1878, Oftedal consecrated the prayer house Saron (at Bryne), which was located strategically by the new railway station and traffic hub of the fertile Jæren district, on the coast southeast of Stavanger. The placement of the house, its size *and* its name, was decided by Oftedal. In the source material this is a rare instance where the name-choice is explained. In his consecration speech he explained that the house was named after a green plain in the Holy Land. Here, he makes an explicit connection between the name and the actual landscape, but it is interpreted symbolically and it expresses a wish. He hoped that the new railway would become a means for cultivating and fertilizing the area. In addition, he hoped that the activity in the prayer house would contribute to the “edification, the expansion, and the fertility of the congregation” in the area.⁶⁵ The same year the prayer house Bethel on the island Finnøy, just north of Stavanger, was consecrated. While laying the foundation stone of Bethel in 1876, Lars Oftedal had spoken upon the scripture passage “my house shall be called the house of prayer” (Matt 21:13).⁶⁶

⁶³ “Den gjenfødte skare,” “de frelstes menighet,” and “vennefolket.” Furre, *Soga om Lars Oftedal*, vol. 1, 193–5, 265–74.

⁶⁴ After the German *Waisenhaus*: *Waise*–orphan; *Haus*–house.

⁶⁵ “Menighetens oppbyggelse, forøkelse og frodighet.” Furre, *Soga om Lars Oftedal*, vol. 1, 330.

⁶⁶ Nils Ladstein Vestbø, *Bethel. Judaberg 100 år 1878–1978* (Stavanger: Tou Trykk, 1978), 9.

If you consult a biblical map it appears that Oftedal has named the prayer houses according to their placement relative to Jerusalem. It is as if he, through his choice of names, literally imprints, more or less, the geography of the Holy Land upon the cultural landscape of Jæren. Bethany in Stavanger was now the central shrine and, as such, the New Jerusalem. When Bethany was consecrated in 1876, he saw it as the fulfilment of Isaiah 54:2: “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes.”⁶⁷ For Oftedal and the revivalists it was a matter of “taking land” for the greater “Kingdom of God.” Naming, then, is also an act of power.

The prayer house movement must also be considered in the context of social classes. Those who joined Oftedal were people from the lower strata of society. Oftedal published a newspaper *Vestlandsposten* (1878), and this paper, added to the prayer house and the vigorous revival movement that Oftedal spearheaded, became the starting point for a political awareness that mobilized the common people; not only in the Stavanger region, but along the whole southwest coastline of Norway. Oftedal – the priest, preacher, and politician – the prayer house, and the revival gave them clout and power to influence society in their chosen direction. The prayer house, including the naming tradition, was both of the people and for the people.

Heaven on Earth

The prayer houses were usually simple buildings. They had a longitudinal plan like a church, but instead of a choir with an altar, there was a windowless wall with a rostrum upon a podium. Many also had galleries. Originally the decorations would usually consist of framed bible verses.⁶⁸ Jesus’s name or a cross was often featured on the roster. This underlines the prayer houses’ focus on Scripture and the living Word; preached and read. The decoration can also be interpreted as an expansion of the prayer house’s name. Inside, in Ekerhovd’s Zion (Fig. 9.2), for example, the following text beamed towards whomever that entered: “And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.”⁶⁹ The scriptural passage is from Revelation 22:17, where the New Jerusalem descends from heaven and the individual and the community as “the bride” goes forth to meet Christ, “the

⁶⁷ Furre, *Soga om Lars Oftedal*, vol. 1, 194–5. In Norwegian Isa. 54:2 reads as follows: “Udvid dit Pauluns Sted, og lad dem berede dine Boligers Gardiner, forhindre det ikke! Stræk dine Snorer ud og befest dine Nagler.”

⁶⁸ Paintings similar to altarpieces became more common from the 1960s and onwards.

⁶⁹ In Norwegian the verse reads as follows: “Aanden og Bruden siger Kom og den som hører det, sige kom! Og den som tørster, han komme og den som vil, han tage Livsens vand uforskyldt!”



Fig. 9.2: Interior, Ekerhovd Prayer House, Hordaland, Norway. Photo: Johann Vannes, 2018. The shields with bible verses are quite old but not original. The painting is of a more recent date.

groom.” The passage, like the preaching, is appellative. The prayer house was a consecrated and holy place that made heaven present on earth through the preaching of the Gospel. The individual was called into the Kingdom of God and the community of the faithful. Life now had a goal and there was a future on the horizon.

The prayer house was a place where heaven and earth met. This was also signaled by the frequently used name Bethel which recalled Genesis 35:15: “And Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him, Bethel.” At the consecration of a prayer house one might use a hymn based on the story of Jacob’s dream (Gen 28): “Here is God’s house and the gate of heaven, from this place a ladder rises.”⁷⁰ In the dream Jacob saw a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and on it the angels of God were ascending and descending. Then the Lord appeared above it and promised Jacob that he and his descendants would receive the earth he laid upon, and that Jacob would become a blessing to the world. Both the church and the prayer house were Bethany-like places where God would, through preaching, speak to

⁷⁰ Magnus Brostrup Landstad: “Her er Guds hus og himlens port, herfra det går en stige,” in *Kirkesalmebog* 1869, no. 6. *Norsk Salmebok* (Stavanger: Eide, 2013), no. 552; Irene Leland, *3 bedehus på Byremo. Historie og forteljingar frå det kristne arbeidet i bygda* (Byremo: Byremo bedehus – Betania 2012), 166.

“the sleeping” and cause their spiritual awakening. Like Jacob the faithful also took part in a promise of land and blessings. In this world they were “homeless wanderers”; pilgrims who prayed to be led safely to their new and real fatherland. This also sheds light on a name such as Elim, which needed to be interpreted in its scriptural context, as an author noted.⁷¹ Elim was an oasis where the Israelites camped during their long wandering in the desert, and where their longing for water and shade was stilled (Exod 15:27). In the same manner the prayer house was a “resting place” for the “descendants of the Israelites” when they were wandering towards the Promised Land. The same author further demonstrates the emotive power of the prayer house’s name. The word *Ephphatha* that was spoken by Jesus when healing a man who was deaf and dumb, means “open up,” he explains (Mark 7:31–37). It reminded him of the fact that it was at the prayer house Ephphatha he himself first spoke in public and professed his faith in public.⁷²

Cathedral and Home

The prayer house was the “cathedral of everyday life.”⁷³ Ekerhovd’s Zion is described in the following manner: “When you step inside the door from the hallway, the ceiling vault rises above the room and you have the feeling that you are in a place that seeks towards the sky. At the same time the wall defines clear boundaries towards the world outside. Strong, clear beams lie stoutly and protect against intrusive impressions.”⁷⁴ The roof had a barrel vault construction, similar to many churches. And like a church the prayer house lifted you and protected you. The prayer-house community built God’s Kingdom and regarded themselves as “the guards on Zion’s walls.” Like Nehemiah in the Old Testament, they built their temple with “sword by their side” (Exod 32:27). They fought like Elijah on Carmel, and they battled apostasy, heresy, liberal theology, secularization, and everything in society that might corrupt the church and Christian customs.⁷⁵ The prayer house should be “the village’s shining beacon of

⁷¹ Sørliie, *Så kom de til Elim*, 8–9. He writes about 25 prayer houses close to the Swedish border in Hedmark County.

⁷² Sørliie, *Så kom de til Elim*, 16–7, n.5.

⁷³ “Hverdagens katedral.” Sørliie, *Så kom de til Elim*, 8.

⁷⁴ “Når ein stig innfor døra frå gangen, reiser takkvelvingen seg over rommet og gir ei kjensle av å vere ein stad som søker mot himmelen. Samstundes set veggene klåre grenser mot verda utanfor. Kraftig, markert tømmer ligg traust og vernar mot påtrengjande inntrykk.” Tobiassen, *Huset midt i Bygda. Ekerhovd bedehus 1914–1989*, 4.

⁷⁵ Anonymous, *Kristenliv i Marnar- og Audna-bygdene, Indremisjonens fellesforening gjennom 75 år* (Mandal: Samlerens boktrykkeri, 1952), 29. Leland, *3 bedehus på Byremo*, 166; Kåre Johan Hamre, *Soga til Ulvik indremisjon og bedehuset Betel* (Ulvik: Ulvik indremisjon, 1989), 117.

Christian faith, moral, and lifestyle.”⁷⁶ Ljosheim [Home of the Light] was not in the least an improper name for a prayer house. The name alludes to Jesus’s statement “I am the light of the world” (John 9:5) and God’s word as a lamp and a light upon the path of the faithful (Ps 119:105).

Next to Bethel, Bethany [Bethania] is the most common name for a prayer house. The name refers to the stories of the siblings Martha, Mary, and Lazarus (Luke 10: 38–42; John 11), who received Jesus and made him the centre of their home in the village of Bethany. A prayer house should be “something of a Bethany where Martha served Jesus, Mary sat by his feet and listened and Lazarus, in a spiritual sense, rose from the dead.”⁷⁷ This statement incorporates some of the distinctive aspects of the prayer house’s mission. Evangelization was focused on Christ’s person and actions (the second article of faith). The scripture passage from John 1:29, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world” was often to be seen on prayer house walls. The prayer house was a spiritual home, where one should be revived, edified, and enter into service for the Kingdom of God.⁷⁸ The name Bethany reflects the Protestant emphasis on individual, fervent, and activist piety.

The name also reflects the domestic and familial ideology that became generalized in society from the 1880s and onward.⁷⁹ This ideology impacted the plan of the prayer house. The bourgeois home, adopted as cultural ideal, with its larger and smaller rooms, was also transferred to the prayer house wherein there was a large assembly hall, a small meeting room, a kitchen, a toilet, and a hallway. Within public religion, then, the design provided space for men’s and women’s activities according to what was understood as their specific gender characteristics. “The prayer houses should be as fine as our homes,” it was said.⁸⁰ Much like evangelical churches in North America, the Norwegian prayer houses also gained an aura of homely holiness and intimacy.⁸¹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the prayer houses diversified their activities directed towards children and youth. In

76 “Være et lys for bygda for kristen tro, moral og livsstil,” Leland, *3 bedehus på Byremo*, 166.

77 “Noe av et Betania, der Marta tjente Jesus, Maria satt ved føttene hans og lyttet, og der Lasarus i åndelig mening stod opp fra de døde”; Leland, *3 bedehus på Byremo*, 163. Daniel A. Csányi, “Optima Pars. Die Auslegungsgeschichte Von Lk 10, 38–42 Bei Den Kirkchenvätern Der Ersten Vier Jahrhunderte,” *Studia Monastica* II (1960), 140; Kristin Norseth, “Herrens tjenerinner. Jomfru Maria i lutherske Norge,” In *Kirke, politikk, kultur. Festskrift til professor dr. theol. Bernt T. Oftestad på 70-årsdagen*, eds., Birger Løvlie, Kristin Norseth and Jan Schumacher (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk, 2012), 198.

78 Kvam, *Nytt liv på gammel grunn*, 90.

79 Kristin Norseth, “La os Bryte over Tvert med vor Stumhet! Kvinner ve til myndighet i de kristelige organisasjonene 1842–1912,” (PhD diss., MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, 2007), 402–22. The reflections upon *-heim* components in Lunde are not adequate, Lunde, “Solglytt og blidensol,” 29–30.

80 “Bedehusene bør være like pene som våre hjem.” Leland, *3 bedehus på Byremo*, 166.

81 Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 146–59.

this manner the prayer house could be a “home” to which one could belong from the crib to the grave. It also became a civil arena where women and men shared the responsibilities and tasks in accordance to what was common practice in bourgeois homes. Women assumed the main responsibility for the “inner life” of the prayer house: they were in charge of the kitchen and hospitality, ran women’s associations, children’s programs, and Sunday schools, in accordance with the principle that women lead women. Men also engaged in the “inner life” as Sunday school teachers, but they were mainly responsible for the “outer life” of the prayer house. The men maintained the outside of the prayer house, they organized voluntary group efforts for maintenance, they supervised building projects and renovations, they purchased goods, and they were in charge of transportation and the heavy lifting. Leadership and preaching were also their domain. The Norwegian practices are varied, however, and sometimes surprising.⁸² This is in part due to population distribution, and in part demographics. One aspect is conspicuous: From the late 1890s, female members had the right to vote and speak at the annual meetings of the prayer house and local association, and they could also be chosen as members of prayer-house boards and association boards.⁸³

Religious Naming Traditions

The naming customs are somewhat analogous to the old tradition of giving names to churches. In medieval times the churches were named first and foremost after apostles, saints, and the Virgin Mary – Vår Frue [Our Lady], Maria-kirken [Mary’s Church] – but also after the deity – Kristkirken [Christ Church], Vår Frelzers Kirke [Our Saviors Church], Trefoldighetskirken [Trinity Church].⁸⁴ The name choice reflects the notion of a *communio sanctorum*; that is, the Church understood as a community of the living and the dead, and the saints’ importance as protectors, intercessors, and examples for the Christian life. After the introduction of the Evangelical Lutheran faith in Denmark-Norway in 1537, the naming custom was continued, but for theological reasons saints’ names were avoided. New Lutheran churches were often named after the deity – Vår Frelzers Kirke [Our Saviors Church], Trefoldighetskirken [Trinity Church] – a naming

⁸² Sørliie notes, for example, that a female consecrated and preached at the prayer houses in the area, already before 1940, Sørliie, *Så kom de til Elim*, 232.

⁸³ Norseth, ‘La Os Bryte over Tvert Med Vor Stumhet!,’ 196.

⁸⁴ See “Vestfolds vakre middelalderkirker” [“The Beautiful Medieval Churches of Vestfold County”]; accessed May 15, 2018 <https://kirken.no/globalassets/bispedommer/tunsberg/dokumenter/tema-om-bispedommet/middelalderkirker-i-vestfold.pdf>.

practice which agrees with the Lutheran focus on Christ and salvation.⁸⁵ From 1859 to 1910, Norwegian authorities built 720 new Lutheran state churches.⁸⁶ Across the entire country new churches were consecrated, and the new churches were named, among other, after the apostles.⁸⁷ The names have cultic relevance and they signalize confessional affiliation. Separately, and in relation to each other, they create a system of meaning that outlines a theological profile and religious mentality.

This is true also for the lay movements' use of biblical place-names. In a symbolic manner the naming custom reflects the central importance of the Holy Land, and the importance that the Christian faith has had in, and for, modern Norway. It is an active use of Scripture that expresses the high status of the Bible and Bible history among the lay people. It also reflects a Biblicist orientation in an age of staunch biblical critique. In their own manner the lay people make the same hermeneutic leap as did the nineteenth-century's great Norwegian hymn writers, such as the priest Magnus Brostrup Landstad (1802–1880) and the professor of theology Elias Blix (1836–1902): they wrote the history of salvation into the Norwegian landscape and imaginary. Executing this hermeneutic leap made the history of salvation present and alive, and it also affirmed the Christian character of Norway.⁸⁸

Naming Customs and Fashionable Names

Biblical place-names were given to meeting houses not only by the Lutheran lay people's movement, but also by Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostals. The support for nonconformist churches grew from the 1870s and onward, around the same time that the Norwegian layman's movement reached out to Anglo-American revival movements and organizations. The contact between North America – “the promised land” – and Norway was otherwise close due to emigration.⁸⁹ This indicates that this type of name-giving was not only a Norwegian or Nordic fashion, but an international one that followed in the wake of Anglo-American revivals and reformed Christendom. It is hardly a coincidence that Lars Oftedal had spent time in England and North America, where

⁸⁵ Despite the considerable material concerning Norwegian churches built after the Reformation, there is only sporadic information about names. It may be that sources have been lost, but it might also be that this topic has not been examined.

⁸⁶ Jens Christian Eldal and Jiri Havran, *Kirker i Norge. Med historiske forbilder*, vol. 3 (Oslo: Arfo, 2002), 11–2.

⁸⁷ For example Mark, Peter, John, Paul, and Jacob in Oslo.

⁸⁸ Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 206.

⁸⁹ Between 1830–1910, 800 000 Norwegians immigrated to America. See Jan Eivind Myhre, “Utvandring fra Norge,” accessed March 16, 2018. <http://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/artikler/1537-utvandring-fra-norge.html>.

one was “taking land,” and had been giving cities and places Biblical names ever since the Pilgrim Fathers stepped on shore in the seventeenth century.⁹⁰

In Norway, the names that are used are shared property between the Lutheran Low Church movements and the independent churches/congregations (Baptist, Pentecostal, the Mission Covenant Church, and so forth). If only the proper name is used, it is not always possible to determine if the venue is a Lutheran prayer house or if it belongs to an independent congregation. But Berøa [Berea] seems to be used more often among independent churches than in Lutheran contexts. The name is taken from Acts 17:10–12, which recounts that the Jews in Berea “were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the Word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so.” Pentecostalism came to Norway in 1906, and the Pentecostals are the only ones who use the name Filadelfia [Philadelphia] (Rev 3:7–13). Semantically this name underlines the strong emphasis on brotherhood and the equality between the true believers in the congregation. The Scripture passage, from which the name is taken, has eschatological overtones and bespeaks “the New Jerusalem,” which will soon come down from heaven. The congregation in Philadelphia was unique in guarding the word of God and they were therefore given the promise of victory. In a symbolic way the name expresses the congregation’s and the movement’s self-consciousness and religious ethos. Both this and also the name Berea reflect a critique of “the other.” As shown in the case of Tromsø, they were not alone in this.

Family Names

The prayer house’s building type belongs to the age of popular movements and the nation building phase of Norwegian history. The layman’s movement, the temperance movement, the free-spirited youth movement, and the labour movement all influenced modern society. All of these movements built meeting houses, but none had as many as the layman’s movement. The meeting houses were similar in style and they were constructed in accordance with the building traditions of the common people.⁹¹ They were undistinguishable in exterior appearance and their ground plans were similar. Only the name announced which community presided over the building. Just as “prayer house” signalized home mission and Christendom, the term *Folkets hus* [The People’s House] was used for meeting houses that belonged to the labour movement. Proper names have seldom been used for these houses. But *Folkets hus*

⁹⁰ For examples, see Wikipedia, “List of biblical place names in North America,” accessed May 29, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_biblical_place_names_in_North_America.

⁹¹ Arne Lie Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken. Hus og bolig på landsbygda fra middelalder til vår egen tid* (Oslo: Pax, 1995), 23–32.

[The People's House] and a proper name like Fremtiden [The Future] designate the movement's political and utopian profile. Ideologically the two movements were starkly opposed, especially during the years between World War I and II.

The houses of the temperance movement often had names that referred to the organization, such as for example Losjen [The Lodge], or Totalen [The Total].⁹² Many teetotalers used prayer houses for their meetings. The layman's movement and the temperance movement engaged many of the same people. The free-spirited youth associations, which were strong in many rural communities, and which were often an ideological counter point to the pietistic layman's movement, gave their houses names of more popular, national character. They often used the controversial "free-thinkers language" of nynorsk [New Norwegian]⁹³ and chose names for their houses that were associated with nature and culture. The names Solvang [sunny, grassy mound] and Trudvang [name of the Norse God Thor's home] have been the most common, but about every fifth *ungdomshus* [youth house] have had names that end in *-heim* [home].⁹⁴ In 1890, when it was decided that the only meeting house in Nærbø (in Jæren) was to be called "prayer house," the temperance association and the youth association stopped using it and built their own house, Jadarheim [*Jadar* means "edge" in Old Norse].⁹⁵ The common name "meeting house" apparently invited to a freer use than prayer house. It is still worth noting that approximately 10% of the prayer houses in the county of Østfold use the same type of names as the free-spirited youth movement. In the layman's movement there was also a pre-occupation with the meaning of the mother tongue, considered as a language of the heart, and the idea of the nation as a *folkehjem* [the home of the people].

The names of the meeting houses are addresses that signalise organizational affiliation, purpose, and ideological profile. In this manner they mirror the religious, socio-cultural, and political tensions, as well as societal divides that occur on a macro and micro level.

⁹² In 1906: 95 houses. Anders Halvorsen, *Det norske Totalavholdsselskap 1859–1909* (Kristiania: Det norske Totalavholdsselskap, 1909), 96.

⁹³ *Nynorsk* (literally New Norwegian) was constructed during the 1840s. It is based on spoken, regional dialects. It is one of the two written standards of the Norwegian language, the other being *Bokmål*. In 1885 the Parliament declared them official and equal. They are so close to each other linguistically that they may be regarded as "written dialects" that are completely intelligible mutually. See Språkrådet, "Norwegian: Bokmål vs. Nynorsk," accessed April 20, 2018, <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/norwegian-bokmal-vs.-nynorsk/>.

⁹⁴ Jan Kløvstad, "Kjært Barn," in *Ungdomshuset. Eit kultursenter i bygde-Noreg*, eds. Lillian Eltvik Dyrnes, Gunvor Hals and Jan Kløvstad (Oslo: Det norske Samlaget, 1986), 174.

⁹⁵ Torgny, *Nærbø bedehus*, 16–17. *Jadar* is the root of the name for the district of Jæren, in Rogaland county.

Concluding Remarks

“If place-names did not have a meaning there would not be any point in using them.”⁹⁶ This is said with poetry in mind, but it is also relevant for names of meeting houses. Such a house materializes ideas that people in a given place have rallied around, in the past or in the present. The name of the house tells us about the context in which it belongs. Every prayer house was consecrated by prayer and Scripture readings. This act is comparable to baptism, in which a person – visibly and invisibly – is admitted into Christ’s earthly and heavenly body; that is, the church and congregation as a visible and invisible unity. Consecrating a prayer house is somewhat similar. A house in the local community becomes a holy place, a piece of God’s arable earth. This is made explicit when a prayer house is given a biblical place-name. When taken from Scripture the biblical names gain an intertextual and expressive function. Whether named Bethel or Bethany, the prayer house was conceived of as a place where the Triune God called individuals to convert and believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world. To believe in Him meant taking part in the promise of blessings and an eternal fatherland. In this manner the prayer house opened up towards the Promised Land – the New Jerusalem – and it was also an oasis that could give the faithful nourishment and strength on their pilgrimage towards the eternal home. The biblical names and the common name “prayer house” sets the house, the village, and the users into a context that transcended the local and the national, the historical, and the earthly. Without biblical literacy and vital, Christian associations the names are drained of meaning – they become exotic labels for special houses – and the houses with their peculiar names become interesting cultural heritage.

⁹⁶ Astri Sann Evensen, *Mellom Blåbjøllbakken og Pompeij. Stadnamn, minne og identitet i Tor Jonssons poesi* (Hovedfagsoppgave, University of Tromsø, 2007), 148.

Vidar L. Haanes

Chapter 10

In Search of the New Jerusalem: Millennial Hopes and Scandinavian Immigrants to America

The immigration from Scandinavia to America started in the seventeenth century, with the establishment of a Swedish colony near today's Philadelphia. A large number of dissident groups followed, leaving their homelands for religious, political, or economic reasons. Utopian and millenarian ideas were exported to America and flourished, partly in a sectarian, religious form, partly in a secularized, communitarian form. Scandinavians arriving with later waves of immigration were often motivated by the ideals of "the Land of Promise," and some by "the Promised Land." Many Scandinavians also joined the religious community who succeeded in establishing their Zion on the American continent, the Latter Days Saints. This chapter traces some of the connections and networks that constitute a Jerusalem code amid Scandinavian immigrants to America.

Where did it come from, this idea of building Zion in America? In this chapter we trace the Jerusalem code through the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries among immigrants to America, and focus on the Scandinavians. Traditional Norwegian-American and Swedish-American studies in history will hardly see the Jerusalem code as especially relevant for immigration, as the emphasis has been on the Lutheran heritage of those who left Scandinavia with the hope of a better future in America (Fig. 10.1). But we will trace some of the connections and networks that constitute a Jerusalem code amid immigrants to America, especially among German Lutheran Pietists, mystic and visionary Separatists, and utopian millenarians.

Separatists is the common word for those groups that leave the established or national churches, for theological or spiritual reasons. Until religious freedom was established in an increasing number of European nations in the nineteenth century, suppression and persecution of religious minorities were among the factors involved in immigration to America. Many of the Separatists were *millenarians*. The millenarians read the Biblical prophecies carefully, in order to find out what was going to happen in the near future. They believed that the establishment of the New Jerusalem would introduce the millennium during which the members of their

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specific religious community would reign with Christ for a thousand years. Some believed that the place was important, that Christ would establish his kingdom in Jerusalem, in the Holy Land. Others believed that the New Jerusalem would come somewhere else, a location usually revealed through a vision or prophecy. For many, Jerusalem was not necessarily a holy place, but a holy community. In America we find combinations of these interpretations of the Biblical Scriptures.

The Protestant Separatists had roots in the Reformation, not only reading the Bible, but reading themselves into the Biblical stories and promises. They commonly saw themselves as the remnant of the Church, keeping faithful to the true Word of God: “in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord has said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call” (Joel 2:32).

Philadelphia is mentioned in the Book of Revelation (chapters 2–3), where we find letters written in the name of Christ to the congregations of seven cities in Asia Minor. We can follow the name of *Philadelphia* together with Jerusalem and Zion through the centuries, as a common Separatist name of congregations and cities. The letter to the congregation in Philadelphia is historically of great significance for the understanding of the ideas about the New Jerusalem. It underscores, among other, how the Philadelphia community was asked to remain steadfast during persecution and not deny the name of Jesus (Rev 3:8–11): Thus the later millenarian groups growing out of persecution, identified themselves with the Philadelphians, the beloved of Christ who were uncompromising in loyalty. The Philadelphians became the prototype of those who will inherit “the New Jerusalem, which is coming down out of heaven from my God” (Rev 3:12).¹

The First Scandinavian Colony in America: New Sweden

New Sweden was established along the Delaware River in 1638, in a place where Swedish traders had been visiting as early as 1610. During the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) Sweden was among the European Great Powers. The New Sweden Company was established to trade for furs and tobacco in North America. The settlers built a fort at the site of present-day Wilmington, and named it Fort Christina after Sweden’s young queen. It was the first permanent European settlement in the Delaware Valley and the first Scandinavian colony in America, except for the Norse colonization of North America in the late tenth century.

More than 600 Swedes and Finns settled in the area, but New Sweden remained under the Swedish flag for only seventeen years. Still, this enabled the

¹ *New International Version* of the Bible.

Swedish-Americans to claim that their people were “colonists” rather than “immigrants.”² The settlement continued to exist after 1655, when Swedish colonial ambitions had subsided and the Dutch took over. In 1669, the Swedish settlers built a log blockhouse in the area, which in 1682 was established by the English Quaker William Penn as the city of Philadelphia, capital of Pennsylvania. The blockhouse was used as a Lutheran church until 1698, when the Old Swedes’ Gloria Dei Church of Philadelphia was built. This is the oldest Lutheran congregation in America.

In Philadelphia the first colonial immigration and the establishment of an official church in the name of the king, is followed by an immigration of separatist groups leaving their European homelands for religious, political or economic reasons. Among those, some were searching for the “Land of Promise,”³ others for “The Promised Land.” For those in search of the Promised Land the building of Zion in America became important.

The Swedes meet the Separatist’s longing for Zion

The first immigration that can (presumably) be interpreted within the “Jerusalem code” was a group of some forty people arriving in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1694. The original leader of the group immigrating to America was the Lutheran minister, astronomer, and mathematician from Württemberg, Professor Johan Jakob Zimmermann. He was removed from his ministry in 1685 due to his prediction of the advent of the New Jerusalem in 1693, as well as his attachment to the ideas of the German philosopher, mystic, and Lutheran theologian Jakob Böhme. The group gathered in Hamburg in 1693, determined to migrate to the wilderness of Pennsylvania; the best place to be when the New Jerusalem would appear during that year.

Several members of this group were theologians who as students participated in August Hermann Francke’s Pietistic collegium in Erfurt.⁴ For theological and political reasons, the Pietistic group was banned in 1691, and Francke lost his position. This connection to Germany is noteworthy, because Francke and German Lutheran Pietism had a significant and long-lasting influence on Scandinavian religion as well as politics, in the established churches and in the lay movements and revivals. Pietism made a strong impact on the Danish Court as well as the University in

2 Hildor Arnold Barton, “Swedish Americans and the Viking Discovery of America,” in *Interpreting the Promise of America*, ed. Todd W. Nichol (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2002).

3 Odd Lovold, *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

4 Rosalind J. Beiler, “Migration and the loss of spiritual community: the case of Daniel Falckner and Anna Maria Schuchart,” in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 369.

Copenhagen, which led to a form of “State-Pietism” under which Pietism influenced legislation and public morality in Denmark-Norway (1735–1746).

We are in the early phase of Pietism. In Frankfurt, Germany, Philipp Jakob Spener wrote his *Pia Desideria* in 1675; the book that launched and formed Lutheran Pietism, with its emphasis on personal transformation through spiritual rebirth and renewal. Under his influence, the University of Halle was founded in 1694, replacing Wittenberg University as the Lutheran “mother-university.” Due to Spener, Francke was called to Halle. After the death of Spener in 1705, Francke became the main figure in what is called “Halle-Pietism.” Both Spener and Francke were well informed about Zimmermann’s search for the New Jerusalem, and discussed this case in a letter of May 1693.⁵

Not only among the radical Pietists, but also among the Pietists connected with the University of Halle – whom can be regarded as mainstream-Lutherans in the first decades of the eighteenth century – we see a combination of apocalyptic-chiliasm ideas and critique of the established Church and its order.

Zimmermann died before they embarked in Rotterdam. Under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius the rest of the Zimmermann group first sailed to London, before continuing for Pennsylvania. They became known as the *Society of the Woman in the Wilderness*.⁶ In London they had arranged meetings with the spiritual leader Jane Leade, and members of the group “*The Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Piety and Divine Philosophy*.” The founder of this group, the so-called “Philadelphians,” was John Pordage, an Anglican priest and mystic. He was, like Zimmermann, inspired by Jacob Böhme’s belief of a transcendent spirit and “millennial harmony.” Jane Leade, who led the Philadelphians after 1681, claimed to have visions of Virgin Sophia, the Feminine Aspect of God, who taught her how the spirits that are born of God are representing the New Jerusalem on earth, and these spirits can ascend to Jerusalem above in a spiritual way.⁷ Her visions were recorded in a series of publications, and they have influenced mystics and millenarians to this day. The common interest in and spiritual speculations about the New Jerusalem, make this meeting understandable and significant. This demonstrates the well-established networks and personal connections between German Pietists and English mystics, as well as other Separatists.

5 Beiler, “Migration and the loss of spiritual community: the case of Daniel Falckner and Anna Maria Schuchart,” 373, n.15.

6 The Book of Revelation (ch. 12) describes a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars on her head, who “fled into the wilderness to a place prepared for her by God,” and her offspring are “those who keep God’s commands and hold fast their testimony about Jesus” (Rev 12:17, NIV).

7 Stacey Searl-Chapin, “Francis Lee and the French Prophets: The History of Montanism (1709),” in *Histories of Heresy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration*, ed. J. Laursen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 41.

In 1701 Daniel and Justus Falckner, Francke's students from Erfurt, arranged the sale of 40 square kilometres of William Penn's land in Pennsylvania to the Swedish Lutheran Pastor Andreas Rudman and other Swedish settlers. Daniel Falckner wrote an account of Pennsylvania which inspired many German Pietistic groups to migrate to America.⁸ Justus Falckner was convinced by Pastor Rudman to enter into ministry and in 1703 he was the first Lutheran to be ordained in America, at the Swedish Lutheran church at Wicaco, Philadelphia.

The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness made an impact on the early religious history of Pennsylvania, among Lutherans, Quakers, Seventh Day Baptists, and other Separatists. The connection between this Society and the Swedish Lutherans is especially striking. When Justus Falckner was ordained, Johannes Kelpius and other members of the Society attended. An observer wrote that the group came, "partly clad in the habit of German University students," and they "occupied the front benches . . . while the rear of the church was filled with a number of Swedes and a sprinkling of English Churchmen and Dissenters. . . . even a few Quakers and Indians . . ." There was "instrumental music by the Mystics [Kelpius and friends] on the viol, hautboy, trumpets (*Posaunen*) and kettle-drums (*Pauken*)."⁹ The Swedish Lutheran congregation would definitely associate the hymns and even the instruments with biblical texts about Jerusalem and the watchmen of Zion.¹⁰ The Jerusalem code was understandable for Lutherans as well as Separatists. Hymns and poems reflected the same biblical universe.¹¹

8 Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Work and Hope: The Spirituality of the Radical Pietist Communitarians," *Church History* 39, no. 1 (1970): 73.

9 Julius Friedrich Sachse, "Justus Falckner, mystic and scholar, devout Pietist in Germany, hermit on the Wissahickon, missionary on the Hudson; a bi-centennial memorial of the first regular ordination of an orthodox pastor in America, done November 24, 1703, at Gloria Dei, the Swedish Lutheran church at Wicaco, Philadelphia," accessed January 10, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/justusfalcknermy00sach>, 63–4.

10 Cf. Jeremiah 6: 17 ("Jerusalem under Siege" NIV): "I appointed watchmen over you and said, 'Listen to the sound of the trumpet!' But you said, 'We will not listen.'" Especially important is Jesus' Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt 25:1–13) and 1 Corinthians 15: 52 "In the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." The same texts were used in hymns, cantatas and oratories, like "Zion Hears the Watchmen's Voices," Cantata No.140 "Wachet Auf" (J.S.Bach) or "The Trumpet shall Sound," recitative in "Messiah" (G.F.Händel).

11 The Church of the True Inspiration in Germany published in 1718 a hymnal (hymnbook) called: *Davidisches Psalterspiel Der Kinder Zions [Davidic Hymnal for the Children of Zion]*. This was the first hymnal for the use of the Separatists: it has had a remarkable historical influence and it has been published as a paperback even in the twenty-first century. In the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a copy of this hymnal is bound together with the (poem) book: *Eine hellposauende Zionitische Wächter-Stimme . . . Im Jahr Christi 1718 [The Trumpet Sound of the Voice of Zion's Watchmen . . . In the Year of Our Lord 1718]*. The Ephrata community in America published in 1738 the hymnal *Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg [The Incense Hill or Myrrha Mountain of Zion]*, while the Brethren Church in Philadelphia in 1744 published the hymnal: *Das*

In 1704, King Carl XII of Sweden formally confirmed Andreas Rudman as Bishop of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America. The German Lutherans attended the Swedish Lutheran church, since they did not yet have their own church. This Church became a point of contact between Scandinavians and Germans in America the following years.

In 1714 Falckner and the Germans established their own congregation, and named it Evangelisch-Lutherische Zionsgemeinde [Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church] in Oldwick, the oldest Lutheran church in New Jersey. This is the first of many Lutheran congregations in America to be named Zion.

Inspired Networks and Utopian Dreams

The early Christian concept of the New Jerusalem was to have implications beyond strictly religious concerns during the centuries to come. Utopian ideas were combined with the concept of the New Jerusalem and elaborated upon. When millenarian ideas flourished in America, it was partly in a sectarian, religious form, or in a secularized communitarian form. It was part of the millenarian ethos of cataclysm that pervades the Book of Revelation, and it was consistent with Protestant ideas of the small elect group to be redeemed. Although religious, the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants arriving with later waves of immigration were often motivated by the utopian and communitarian ideals of “the Land of Promise,” rather than by purely religious reasons.

There are references to early millennial thought, such as the idea of Three Ages as it was developed and formulated by the Italian monk Joachim of Fiore (died 1202). Fiore claimed that human history was a succession of three ages or “economies”: The Economy of the Father (the Old Testament), the Economy of the Son (the New Testament), and the Economy of the Holy Spirit. In the Age of the Holy Spirit all believers would be living as monks in harmony for a thousand years until the final return of Christ. Millenarian and communitarian ideas were thus mixed, as evidenced by the names of many communitarian communities in America – such as *Harmony* or *Economy* – as well as by the names of many Shaker communities.

Utopia is the name of the ideal society devised by Thomas More in his socio-political satire from 1516. He uses the monastery and monastic life as a model in his description of Utopia.¹² But more important for later millenarians – as a model for Christian utopias or a materialization of the New Jerusalem – was the description

Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel Der Kinder Zions [The Small Davidic Hymnal for the Children of Zion] (Germantown, Pennsylvania); partly consisting of the original from 1718.

¹² Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter-Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1987), 58.

and printed visualization of Christianapolis, by the Lutheran theologian Johannes Valentinus Andreae. The book *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (1619) is the mother of Pietist utopias. The city of Christianapolis is built on the island Capharsalama, the Greek word for “city of peace” and the seventeenth century interpretation of Jeru-Schalem as the peace of Jehova, the New Jerusalem of the millennial expectations. The book is dedicated to Johann Arndt, Andreae’s spiritual father, and is designated “ex magna illa Hierosolyma, quam ingenti spiritu, invitissimis Sophistis, Arndtius exstruxit deducta.”¹³

In the following we will mention some millenarian groups, who became influential for later emigration and establishment of communities in America, building on a vision of the New Jerusalem. In 1694, “The Philadelphian Society” and Jane Leade’s visions reached the Netherlands and became known in wider circles, even in Scandinavia.¹⁴ In 1706 a group of “French Prophets” (Huguenots escaping from France) came to London, bringing inspiration to the Philadelphian Society.¹⁵ They were known as *The True Church of Inspiration*, and the English prophets soon outnumbered the French. One leading prophet was John Lacy, and his “Prophetical Warnings” were written down consecutively and published in three volumes. On the June 27, 1707, Lacy prophesized: “there are Palaces to adorn that Jerusalem that is coming down from above, to be here the Joy of the whole earth, beautiful for situation.”¹⁶ And a little later: “Behold Jerusalem, I tell you: This is she; I repeat it to you. It is the Place of the gatherings of his Servants. It is the Place chosen by him. . . .”¹⁷

All these groups and societies were part of a continuous, evolutionary tradition of transatlantic radical Protestantism. International correspondence networks among nonconformists and millenarians were established, showing how shared tenets were debated and developed in the discursive space of these epistolary networks; including Scandinavians.

The Scriptures became more important for Church life than the confessional writings of the Reformation, which explains the appearance of separatist movements in Lutheran churches in Germany and Scandinavia, focusing on biblical

13 August Tholuck, “Arndt, Johann,” in *Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1877), 691. A wooden translation would be “this great Jerusalem that was destroyed, Arndt – oh, what a grand spirit – has rebuilt, against the will of the Sophists. . . .”

14 Searl-Chapin, “Francis Lee and the French Prophets: The History of Montanism (1709),” 41.

15 Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

16 John Lacy, *The Prophetical Warnings of John Lacy, Esq: Pronounced under the Operation of the Spirit, and Faithfully Taken in Writing, when They Were Spoken*, vol. 1 (London: B. Bragge, at the Black Raven in Pater-noster Row 1707), 37.

17 John Lacy, *Warnings of the Eternal Spirit by the Mouth of his Servant John, simam’d Lacy, the Second Part*, vol. 2 (London; Printed for B. Bragge at the Black Raven in Pater-noster Row, 1707), 193.

prophecies and millenarianism. In addition, French and English Separatists had a direct influence. The great Lutheran biblical scholar Johann Albrecht Bengel from Württemberg was read widely in Scandinavia. In his *Ordo Temporum*, on the chronology of Scripture, and his *Exposition of the Apocalypse* (1742), Bengel calculated the exact time of the Second Coming of Christ and the start of the Millennium, and instead of mitigating separatist tendencies among the Lutherans in Württemberg, he encouraged them.¹⁸

After 1711, several groups of “the Inspired” were founded in Germany, due to French Prophets visiting Lutheran Pietistic congregations in Wetterau (near Frankfurt) as well as radical Pietists in Württemberg. In 1713, three of Francke’s students were enthralled by the message that people should abandon Babylon and strive to reach Zion. They travelled around in Prussia to proclaim the inspired revelations of the French Prophets.¹⁹ Another Lutheran student, Johan Friedrich Rock, was convinced by the message of the inspired and he became the most influential of the “prophets” in Germany in the years to come, as well as the leader of the Church of True Inspiration. Rock was a close friend of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of Herrnhut and the Moravian Brethren. In 1732, Zinzendorf explicitly wrote that he honoured Rock as a father, and that he wished that the group of the Inspired and his own congregation in Herrnhut could form one congregation.²⁰ Count Zinzendorf visited Copenhagen in 1731 to attend the coronation of King Christian VI, and during his stay he met with theological students and ministers in the city. Norwegian ministers, as well as the Danish, were educated in Copenhagen until 1813, and were thus influenced by Zinzendorf, the Halle Pietism, and radical Pietism.

Establishing Zion in Norway and Germany

In the 1730s and -40s there are several examples of the establishment of religious communities to whom the idea of Zion was important. Søren Bølle from Jutland in Denmark was a theological student in Copenhagen at the time (1734–1737). This was the era of official state-Pietism and Bølle was additionally influenced by Zinzendorf and the Community of the Inspired. In 1737 he moved to Drammen in Norway, to work as a farmer. Three years later he returned to Copenhagen to complete his theological degree. Back in Drammen in 1741 he re-baptized a group of

¹⁸ Bengel held that the Millennium would start in 1836.

¹⁹ Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* I (Bonn: Adolph Marcus Sachse, 1880), 423.

²⁰ August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn Zinzendorf und Pottendorf III* (n.p.: Barby Brüdergemeinde, 1775), 636.

people in the local river and established his own congregation: The New Zion. This was, according to himself, the process of “Separation” from Babylon. Søren Bølle became Zion’s Apostle, and his followers were called Zionites, wearing a white armlet with Zion in red letters. The members of the congregation were given offices as Zion’s prophets and prophetesses. Visions and revelations were important to decision-making.²¹ In 1742 Bølle was sentenced and sent to Fredericia (in Southern Denmark), one of the three cities in the Kingdom where Separatists, due to a Rescript of 1655, were allowed to live. In 1744, Bølle received permission to travel to Altona (today a part of Hamburg), another of the “Free cities,” and the rest of the Zionites in Norway, consisting of 48 people, immigrated to Altona. They even had printed passports for the members of the congregation, stating that they were members of the Kingdom of Zion, issued “in our King’s City Zion, in the year 17XX after our King and Lord’s birth in the flesh.”²²

The Norwegian theologian and historian Søren A. Sørensen, who wrote the history of the Zionites in Norway, explains to his readers that “Zion is the Temple Mountain in Jerusalem, which in these days (the eighteenth century) was used as a notion for God’s true congregation, and in the various religious groups the true congregation more often consisted only of those who shared the ideas and dogmas of that specific group. The use of Zion in this respect is also known in Norway.”²³ Sørensen also mentions a letter by provost Jens Renord in Bergen, where Renord wrote about Pietistic revivalist ministers in Norway, whom were seeking “the best for Zion.”²⁴

A probable inspiration for the Zionites in Norway was the Zionites of Ronsdorf in Wuppertal. This community was founded by Elias Eller, Anna Büchel, and Pastor Daniel Schleiermacher²⁵ in 1737, inspired by the Philadelphian Society and Jane Leade.²⁶ All houses in the village were placed so that people from their window could see The New Zion, which meant the house of Elias Eller and Anna Büchel. The village was understood as an image of the Jerusalem Temple, where the “Betlers” (the seeking members) lived in the part called the “Outer Court,” the persons of rank lived in the “Inner Court,” while the initiated, sacred few lived in the “Holy Place.” “Babel muss

21 Søren Anton Sørensen, *Zioniterne. En religiøs Bevægelse i Drammen og Omegn i Midten af det 18de Aarh.* (Kristiania: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1904), 61. See also Chapter 7 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 127–37.

22 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 175.

23 My translation. The original Danish: “‘Zion’ (Tempelbjerget i Jerusalem) brugtes i Tiden som Betegnelse for Guds sande Menighed. Af de forskellige religiøse Retninger indskrænkedes nu oftere denne sande Menighed kun til dem, der delte den enkelte Retnings-Opfatning. Ogsaa i Norge var Udtryket kjendt.” Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 5, fn. ***

24 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 5, citing a letter in the Danske Rigsarkiv: “Breve til Kirkekollegiet.”

25 He was the grandfather of the famous Berlin-Professor Friedrich Schleiermacher.

26 Ariel Hessayon, ed., *Jane Lead and her Transnational Legacy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

untergehen. Jerusalem muss aufgebaut werden” [Babel must go under, Jerusalem must be rebuilt], he claimed. They called themselves “Zionitten”: Elias Eller was the “Zions-Vater” and Anna Büchel the “Zions-Mutter.”²⁷ The New Jerusalem of Ronsdorf consisted of more than a thousand members, and had influence in higher circles. The Zionites sent missionaries to Holland and the Nordic Countries.

Georg Rapp and the American Harmony

We will now discuss the most important and long-lasting millenarian group searching for the New Jerusalem in America. This group also had a direct influence on the first wave of Norwegian immigrants. In 1787, Johann Georg Rapp from Württemberg began preaching and he encouraged people to separate from the Church. In reference to chapter eighteen in the Book of Revelation, Rapp exclaimed: “Fallen is Babylon the Great! Come out of her, my people, so that you will not share in her sins, so that you will not receive any of her plagues.”²⁸ Rapp was imprisoned in 1791 and threatened with exile if he did not cease preaching. In response he claimed to be a prophet.²⁹ In the years that followed he became the outspoken leader of several thousand Separatists in Württemberg, and he was imprisoned several times.

By 1802, the Separatists had grown in number, to about 12,000, and the Württemberg government decided that they were a threat to social order. Rapp was imprisoned again in 1802 and Separatist books were confiscated. When released, Rapp told his followers to follow him to the Promised Land; the New Jerusalem was to be established as a perfect society in the American wilderness. They should have nothing to do with the “Whore of Babylon” (*i.e.* the state church). The Generalreskript of December 27, 1803, mentions especially the chiliastic hope of the imminent thousand year’s reign of Christ.³⁰ Rapp refused to withdraw a single word; instead he, like the prodigal son (Luke 15), would turn around and leave the pig trough, set out, and go home to his father’s house. The association with the prodigal son is not coincidental. One of the more popular hymns among the separatists was “Jerusalem, mein Vaterland.” Verses four and five are about the prodigal son who eats with the pigs, but repents, leaves the “Sautrog” [the pig feeding trough] and runs to *Jerusalem, mein Vaterland*.³¹

²⁷ G. H. Klippett, “Ronsdorfer Sekte,” in *Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 3rd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906).

²⁸ Citation from Revelation 18:1,4. Julian Rauscher, “Des Separatisten G. Rapp Leben und Treiben,” *Theologische Studien aus Württemberg* 6 (1885), 269.

²⁹ Rauscher, “Des Separatisten G. Rapp Leben und Treiben,” 272.

³⁰ Rauscher, “Des Separatisten G. Rapp Leben und Treiben,” 286.

³¹ The text is taken from the eighteenth-century German translation of Augustine’s Confessions (12:6): “O Jerusalem! Mein Herz zu Dir erheben, Jerusalem, mein Vaterland! Jerusalem, meine Mutter!” Aurelius Augustin, Des heiligen Kirchenlehrers Aurelius Augustinus Bischofes zu Hippon.

In 1803, when Rapp and his followers decided to immigrate to America, land was bought in Pennsylvania. Here, the *Harmony Society* was formally organized in 1805, and about 125 families agreed to put all their possessions into a common stock, to live and dress simply, to hold all things in common, and to labour for the good of the whole body. Harmony developed as a communitarian society. In 1807, celibacy was advocated as the preferred custom in order to purify for the coming Millennium. The group should live in Harmony as did the first congregation in Jerusalem.³² Harmony was the most successful of all those religious communitarian ventures in nineteenth century America.³³ In 1814, the Harmony Society moved to Indiana Territory, and began to attract new arrivals, including emigrants from Germany.³⁴ Friedrich Engels writes about the Rappites and the Shakers in America, as the first examples of working communist societies which proved that communism was possible; even if he disliked the religious background of these sects.³⁵

In 1820, Rapp seized all property, with the explanation from Acts 4:32: “In Jerusalem no one claimed that any of their possessions was their own.”³⁶ By 1824, the decision had been made to sell their property in Indiana and search for land to the east. In 1825, the industrialist and social reformer Robert Owen bought the Society’s land and buildings in Indiana for \$150,000, and named it *New Harmony*. Rapp purchased land for a new community back in Pennsylvania.³⁷ The Harmonites named their third settlement *Economy*, after the spiritual notion of the Divine Economy: “a city in which God would dwell among men” and where perfection would be attained.³⁸

Rapp predicted that on September 15, 1829, the three and a half years of the Sun Woman [i.e. Society of the Woman in the Wilderness, cf. note 5] would end, and Christ

Bekenntnisse in dreizehn Büchern aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von P. Fridericus von Jesu (Augsburg: Mattheus Riegers sel. Söhnen, 1783), 502.

32 Rauscher, “Des Separatisten G. Rapp Leben und Treiben,” 292.

33 The celibacy practice in Harmony was well known in Europe, and mentioned in Lord Byron’s Canto XV in his *Don Juan*: “Why calls he ‘Harmony’ a state sans wedlock? / Now here I’ve got the preacher at a dead lock.” Lord Byron, *Don Juan: In Sixteen Cantos, with notes. By Lord Byron. Complete Edition* (Halifax: Milner and Sowerby 1837).

34 Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp’s Harmony Society, 1785–1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 182–8.

35 Friedrich Engels, “Beschreibung der in neuerer Zeit entstandenen und noch bestehenden kommunistischen Ansiedlungen,” in *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*, ed. H. Püttmann (Darmstadt: C. W. Leske, 1845); Vidar L. Haanes, “Norsk lekmannskristendom i USA,” *DIN – Tidsskrift for religion og kultur* 1 (2006): 19.

36 Rauscher, “Des Separatisten G. Rapp Leben und Treiben,” 296.

37 Arndt, *George Rapp’s Harmony Society, 1785–1847*, 298.

38 Arndt, *George Rapp’s Harmony Society, 1785–1847*, 306.

would begin his millennial reign on earth.³⁹ Opposition mounted when Rapp's predictions did not come to pass. In 1832, the Society underwent a serious upheaval that led to division when Bernhard Müller, who claimed to be the Lion of Judah, left Economy together with one-third of the Society; mainly the younger members who did not want to maintain celibacy. We meet the "one-third" many places in the Book of Revelation, so the number was seen as significant. In Revelation 12:4 they read: "And [the dragon's] tail swept away a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth." Rapp continued to lead the rest of the group until he died on August 7, 1847, without – to his own surprise – having seen the coming of the New Jerusalem.⁴⁰

A Decisive Encounter in Bergen

In the autumn of 1817 a Dutch vessel sought refuge in Norway, north of Bergen, due to a storm in the North Sea. Aboard were about 500 emigrants from Württemberg; many of them separatist followers of Johann Georg Rapp. The emigrants had to spend the winter in Bergen, and they had to be provided with housing. The German emigrants did not leave Bergen until the summer of 1818. Followers of the Norwegian lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge, participated wholeheartedly in helping the Rappites. Some leading Haugeans from Stavanger wrote in a letter that they had become acquainted with some of the Germans, whom had arrived with that ship last fall; and among them there were some who kept together for devotions. "And it turned out to be a great joy for them and for our friends when they realized – as far as they could understand each other – that they built on sound foundations . . . It gave us extreme joy to realize that the foundation of your faith accords with the true word of God."⁴¹ Many of the Germans had learned to speak Norwegian during the long stay in Bergen, and they promised that they would never forget dear Norway or "the kindly disposed citizens of Bergen."⁴²

Hans Nielsen Hauge, born 1771, was an influential lay revivalist, social reformer and entrepreneur. His influence on Norwegian religious and economic history is profound. In Hauge's interpretation of the Gospel there were obvious elements of both Moravian and Halle-pietism, attacking the spiritual rationalism of the state church and its ministers. He was imprisoned several times, and for many years. One of the charges levelled against Hauge was that he had sought to create a

³⁹ Fredric J. Baumgartner, *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 166.

⁴⁰ William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), 11.

⁴¹ Ingrid Semmingsen, "Haugeans, Rappites, and the Emigration of 1825," *Norwegian-American Studies* 29 (1983): 12.

⁴² "De tyske emigranter" [The German Emigrants]; in "*Morgenbladet*," July 11, 13, and 14, 1826.

separate, independent, religious and economic community within the state. During the early phase of his activity, Hauge leaned toward the idea that there should be joint ownership among the “friends” covering both property and income.

A number of Norwegians had been converted to Quakerism while they were held as prisoners of war in England during the latter years of the Napoleonic era. Hans Nielsen Hauge met some of the prisoners in October, 1814, when they were returned to Christiania [Oslo]. He states in a letter that he had learned a lot by conversing with the Norwegian Quakers, and that they were deeply moved by the same Spirit, even though there were some outward differences.⁴³ Hauge’s sister was married to a leading Quaker in Norway.

The following years Norwegian Haugeans corresponded with the Rappites, as they settled in Harmony, the new Zion in America. The Germans remembered Bergen with joy, especially the Haugeans. “Ach, how we miss not being able to gather together now with the children of God. Our hearts have often longed for your loving and edifying company since we came to America. We have longed more for Bergen than for Germany because of the love with which you received us and refreshed us in body and spirit.”⁴⁴ There was a feeling of religious fellowship and an agreement in fundamentals between the Haugeans and the Rappites. The “brothers and sisters” in Bergen were interested in the Harmony colony. The German letter writers answer questions concerning the community in careful terms.

The American Land of Promise

In 1825, the first organized Norwegian immigration to America took place, consisting of Quakers and Haugeans from the Stavanger area. Cleng Peerson was the agent for the group. A small sloop was purchased and fifty-two Norwegians sailed for The Land of Promise. The emigrants, referred to as *the sloopers*, moved onward to their first settlement in Kendall, Orleans County, New York. The sloop “Restoration” became the symbol of Norwegian emigration; often referred to as the Norwegian Mayflower.

There is a certain utopian element in every emigration movement that is as deeply imbued with religion as this first Norwegian exodus. Many of the sloopers were Separatists, some of them communitarians. After the founding of the Kendall settlement, Cleng Peerson became inspired by communitarian or utopian ideas.

⁴³ Hauge’s Letter no. 211, of 4. Nov. 1814. Ingolf Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge II, 1805–1814* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1972), 84. On Hauge, see also Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

⁴⁴ German emigrants to “God’s Society in Bergen,” May 14, 1819. Haugean Letter-book, manuscript in Norsk historisk kjeldeskiftituttt, Oslo. Citation from Semmingsen, “Haugeans, Rappites, and the Emigration of 1825,” 18.

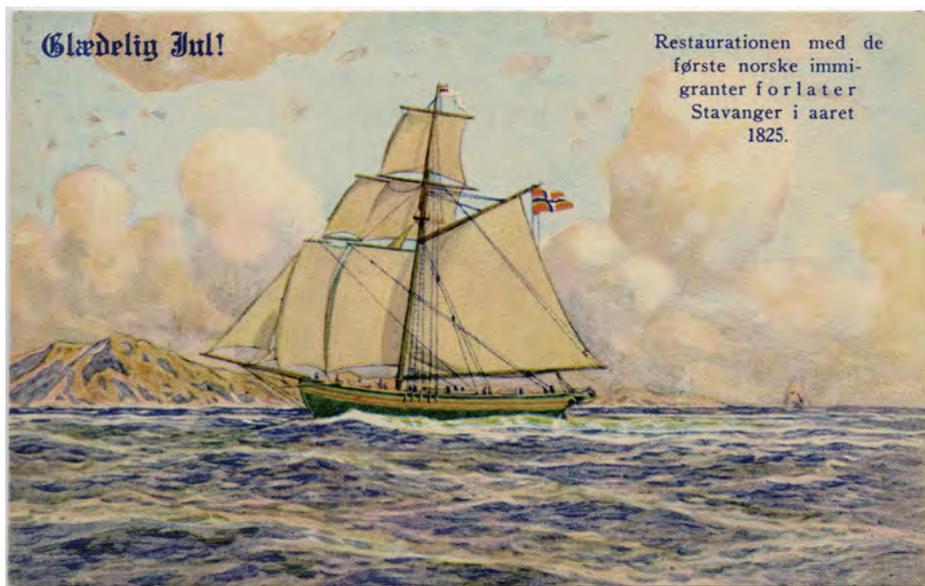


Fig. 10.1: Christmas card with the inscription “Restaurationen with the first Norwegian emigrants leaves Stavanger [in Norway] in the year 1825.”

One day in Illinois, Ole Rynning tells us, “Peerson lay down under a tree and, falling asleep, beheld the wild prairie transformed into a great fruitful garden with herds of fat cattle peacefully grazing between splendid fields of waving grain. This vision he took as a sign from God that the Fox River Valley was to be the Norwegian Land of Promise and he its Moses.”⁴⁵ Ole Rynning wrote from Illinois in 1838, that Cleng Peerson’s “endeavor was then [1821–25], to unite all Norwegians into one community owning all its property in common.”⁴⁶

For a few years Cleng Peerson, among a few other Norwegians, joined the community founded by Eric Jansson at Bishop Hill, Illinois (from Biskopskulla in Uppland, Sweden). Bishop Hill was the most successful of the Scandinavian millenarian communities, and the community distinctly perceived itself as the New Jerusalem. Just like Rapp in Germany, Eric Jansson came into conflict with the state authorities after he claimed to be a prophet.⁴⁷ As Jansson’s teachings became more radical, he began to lose support from many of his sympathizers and was forced to leave Sweden. First he escaped to Norway, and in 1846 he immigrated to America; bringing 1200 or more followers with him of which only 500 survived the journey.

⁴⁵ T. C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America 1825–1860* (Northfield, Minnesota: NAHA, 1931), 61.

⁴⁶ Mario S. De Pillis, “Cleng Peerson and the Communitarian Background of Norwegian Immigration,” *Norwegian-American Studies* 21 (1962): 141.

⁴⁷ Haanes, “Norsk lekmannskristendom i USA,” 22.

His plan was to set up a utopian community, a New Jerusalem “brimming with milk and honey.” People continued to join the community, even after Jansson was shot in 1850 due to an internal conflict.

The debate concerning the reasons behind the first Norwegian emigration has been going on for decades. The impetus has been ascribed to either religious or economic circumstances, with a focus on “pull-factors” and “push-factors,” or to psychological factors.⁴⁸ Obviously, the sloopers’ relation to the Rappites in Bergen is important, and the reports about the good society in Harmony, where all property was held in common, became the most important pull-factor.⁴⁹

The international network of the Norwegian Quakers was also important. The extremely engaged and influential Quaker philanthropist William Allen (1770–1843) became the mentor of Lars Larsen, the leading Norwegian sloop, as well as “a warm friend of the Haugean.”⁵⁰

Allen was a pronounced communitarian and a former associate of Robert Owen, the new owner of Harmony. In 1817, while Allen was visiting an experimental Quaker community near Avignon in France, his fellow Quakers in England were helping the Zoarites – a communitarian group very similar to the Rappites – to immigrate to the United States. In 1818, Allen and Stephen Grellet, a Quaker missionary who had lived in the United States, visited the Norwegian town of Stavanger and “greatly strengthened” the Norwegian Quakers living there. In 1819, Allen was in Eastern Europe visiting the communities of the Mennonites, and in 1822 he visited the True Inspirationists, who, like the sloopers, were to settle in western New York.

There are also parallels between the two Pietist lay preachers, Hans Nielsen Hauge and Johann Georg Rapp. The Rappites, living in the households of Haugeans in Bergen during the winter of 1817, must most certainly have told stories and compared the struggles and imprisonments of Rapp between 1791 and 1803, and the persecution and imprisonments of Hauge in Norway during the same period. The persecution and imprisonments were caused by Rapp and Hauge’s preaching and their gatherings of groups of followers for Bible readings, without the permission of the official minister, as well as by their communitarian ideas.

48 Nils Olav Østrem, “The ‘Psychological Factor’ in Norwegian Emigration,” in *Norwegian-American Essays XI*, eds. Orm Øverland and Harry T. Cleven (Oslo and Hamar: NAHA-Norway and The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, 2005), 235. Hans Eirik Aarek, “The significance of Norwegian Quakers for Early Emigration from Norway to America: How true are the Traditional Views?” in *Norwegian-American Essays*, eds. Harry T. Kleven, Knut Djupedal, Ingeborg Kongslien and Dina Tølsby (Oslo: NAHA-Norway, 2001), 2001.

49 Haanes, “Norsk lekmannskristendom i USA,” 20.

50 De Pillis, “Cleng Peerson and the Communitarian Background of Norwegian Immigration,” 143–4.

Zion in America: an Old Story

In this last part of this chapter we will look into the religious community that succeeded in establishing Zion in America. This Zion was built on the Biblical books, but had new holy scriptures, a new mythology and a new eschatology located on the American continent: “We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this continent (America); that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and, that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.”⁵¹

The Mormon history, according to the Book of Mormon, is also a history of immigration. Other religious Separatists were breaking up from Europe, leaving State and Church authorities representing “Babylon” to build a New Jerusalem in America. But long before the Pilgrim Fathers came with *Mayflower* and the Norwegians came with *Restoration*, America had sheltered refugees from the Old World according to Mormon doctrine: the Jaredites from the actual Babylon, after the building of the Tower of Babel and the Mulekites from Jerusalem in the days of Zedekiah. The survivors of the lost Jewish tribes were the Lamanites (the Native Americans), who were to be won back to true religion.⁵² America had been reserved for the righteous in the past, and was now fulfilling its role as a sanctuary. For the redeemed, America would provide an eternal inheritance: The City of Zion. Every Mormon child knew by heart the words of Father Lehi, a refugee from Babylon immigrating to America in 600 B.C.: “We have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands . . . Yea, the Lord hath covenanted this land unto me, and to my children forever, and also all those who should be led out of other countries by the hand of the Lord.”⁵³

Joseph Smith established The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in April 1830, the same year the *Book of Mormon* was published.⁵⁴ Smith’s early revelations were collected and authorized by Smith, and published as *Doctrine and Covenants* (D&C).⁵⁵ In 1830, Joseph Smith first specified a gathering of the elect “in

⁵¹ Mormon Articles of Faith X. The Articles of Faith were written by the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1842. Mormon FAQ, “Mormon Beliefs: The 13 Articles of Faith,” accessed April 5, 2019, <https://mormonfaq.com/3025/mormon-beliefs-13-articles-faith>.

⁵² William Mulder, “Mormonism’s ‘Gathering,’ An American Doctrine with a Difference,” *Church History* 23, no. 3 (1954): 253.

⁵³ Book of Mormon: 2 Nephi 1:5. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, “The Book of Mormon. Another Testament of Jesus Christ,” accessed April 5, 2019, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bofm?lang=eng>.

⁵⁴ Mone S. Nyman, “Book of Mormon”. Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* I, 1st ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 140.

⁵⁵ First published in 1835, with a new edition in 1844: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, “The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet with Some Additions by His Successors in the

unto one place upon the face of this land,” and, though “no man knoweth where the city of Zion shall be built,” it was to be “on the borders of the Lamanites.”⁵⁶ This meant the border to the Indian land, the line running between Lamanites (Jews) and Gentiles.

In 1831, the Mormons moved from Palmyra to Kirtland, Ohio. The same year Joseph Smith prophesied that “from this place ye shall go forth into the regions westwards; an inasmuch as ye shall find them that will receive you, ye shall build up my church in every region, until the time shall come when it shall be revealed to you from on high, where the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in one.”⁵⁷

Later that year they established a new, parallel settlement in Independence, Missouri. Joseph Smith laid cornerstones for the City of Zion and the Temple. This was to be the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety.⁵⁸ According to Smith, Missouri was the original Garden of Eden; the valley of the Mississippi had been the cradle of mankind and here was even the grave of Adam. In 1838, the rest of the community left Ohio, and moved to Missouri. But the next year they were driven out of Missouri and moved on to Illinois, where they founded the city of Nauvoo on the bank of Mississippi River. They immediately laid the cornerstone of a new temple.

The early Mormons did not differ from contemporary members of other religious communities with roots in European Separatism. Many had been Methodists, Baptists, and Shakers, radical Pietists, or members of the Restoration Movement (Campbellites). The converts embraced Mormonism presumably because it had everything other religions had, but more. “Those who bought the package,” Stegner comments, “revealed a susceptibility that was characteristically 19th century America. And they bought it more eagerly because the package also contained the promise of the Kingdom of God on earth, the New Jerusalem.”⁵⁹

While other millenarians set a time, the Mormons appointed a place. Joseph Smith split the Hebrew metaphor of Zion and Jerusalem: he saw the Jews returning to Jerusalem; Israel to Zion. And America was the land of Zion. Orson Hyde, the Mormon Elder and member of the First Quorum of the Apostles (1835), was sent to Palestine by Joseph Smith in 1841. In the Holy Land, Hyde offered a prayer, asking the Lord to inspire kings and the powers of the earth to help restore the kingdom unto Israel, and he

Presidency of the Church (D&C),” accessed April 5, 2019, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament?lang=eng>.

⁵⁶ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, “Doctrine and Covenants,” 28–9.

⁵⁷ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, “Doctrine and Covenants,” 42.

⁵⁸ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, “Doctrine and Covenants,” 52.

⁵⁹ Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 18.

dedicated the city of Jerusalem to the Jews from atop the Mount of Olives.⁶⁰ According to Mormon doctrine, two separate Jerusalems, the old and the new, will serve as headquarters of the millennial kingdom from which Jesus will rule.⁶¹ Old Jerusalem will be rebuilt by Judah, the New Jerusalem, or Zion, will be built by Ephraim (the Latter Day Saints) in Jackson County, Missouri. But to accommodate the final gathering of the Saints in America, it would require both continents, North and South. For this, all history had been mere prologue. The discovery of America by Columbus, the Reformation, the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, the founding of the Republic, and the raising of the Constitution, were all preliminary to this design. “The Mormons,” said William Mulder, “made this common Protestant view of providence controlling America’s destiny peculiarly their own.”⁶²

The vision of Zion was not new in America, as we have seen among the Separatists and the many communitarian societies, both secular and religious. What was different was the magnitude of the Prophet’s dream, and its nativism. Joseph Smith naturalized Biblical prophecies and events to the American scene. America was the Promised Land and Missouri remains the site of the New Jerusalem. Utah would become the resting place of Israel for the last days and “the ultimate joy of the whole earth is the State of Zion established in the mountains.”⁶³

Mormon Mission among Norwegian Immigrants

One of Joseph Smith’s elders, George P. Dykes, visited the Norwegian settlement Fox River in La Salle County, Illinois, in March 1842. Within a few weeks Dykes had convinced a number of respected Haugean lay leaders of the Mormon doctrine. Among these were Ole Heier, “a winning personality and gifted speaker,” who in Telemark, back home in Norway, had been considered a pious reader; the schoolteacher Jørgen Pedersen; Endre Dahl, one of the sloopers of 1825 and a first settler at Fox River; and another sloop, Gudmund Haugaas from Tysvær in Norway.⁶⁴ The latter, Gudmund Haugaas, was ordained an elder by Dykes, and described in a letter to Joseph Smith as “a man of strong mind, and well skilled in the scriptures; he can preach in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, having an understanding of their languages.”⁶⁵

⁶⁰ David B. Galbraight, “Orson Hyde’s 1841 Mission to the Holy Land,” *Ensign*, accessed January 19, 2018, <https://www.lds.org/ensign/1991/10/orson-hydes-1841-mission-to-the-holy-land?lang=eng>.

⁶¹ Ludlow, *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* II, 723.

⁶² Mulder, “Mormonism’s ‘Gathering,’ An American Doctrine with a Difference,” 251.

⁶³ Dan Erickson, “As a Thief in the Night” *The Mormon Quest for Millennial Deliverance* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 152.

⁶⁴ Haanes, “Norsk lekmannskristendom i USA,” 22.

⁶⁵ William Mulder, “Norwegian Forerunners among the early Mormons,” *Norwegian-American Studies and Records* XIX (1956), 46.

Joseph Smith hoped to recruit missionaries for Scandinavia who would persuade converts to settle in Nauvoo to strengthen Zion.⁶⁶ Knud Peterson of Hardanger (in Norway), an immigrant of 1837, better known as Canute, was baptized soon afterward. Canute remembered Elder Dykes as a very able man: “Many of our most intelligent men, including the minister, came to his meetings and opposed him, but none were successful in argument against him, or the doctrine he was advocating.” Another convert was Aagaata Sondra Ystensdatter, an immigrant of 1837 from Telemark, Norway. She took the name Ellen Sanders Kimball, after she married Brigham Young’s counselor Heber C. Kimball. Gudmund Haugaas, reached the rank of “High Priest after the Order of Melchisedek in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,” while Ole Heier and Canute Peterson became Mormon Bishops. Peterson eventually became a Patriarch and a member of the “Council of Fifty.”

In the following we will see that the Mormon preaching of the gathering for the millennial Kingdom and establishment of Zion in America was central to their mission. In May 1843, Dykes wrote to Joseph Smith, in review of the year’s work among the Norwegians, that the La Salle congregation numbered fifty-eight “in good standing.” In the Wisconsin territory “there are fifty-seven members of the church from Norway and the time is not far distant when the saying of Micah 4: 2 will be fulfilled.”⁶⁷ Micah 4:2 was a favourite Mormon quotation: “Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”

Fourteen-year-old Goudy Hogan (Gaute Eriksson Haugen) frequently travelled by foot the eight miles from Fox River, alongside his father, to hear Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. Hogan wrote in his diary of 1844: “On one occasion when I went with my father to Nauvoo to a meeting on April 6th, the same year of the martyrdom, while they held meetings in the grove not far from the Temple, a very large congregation was gathered having come a long way on foot . . . sitting close behind the Prophet Joseph Smith so that I nearly touched his clothes . . . In this meeting he said that North and South America would be Mount Zion and that the constitution would hang on a simple untwisted thread and that the Latter Day Saints would save it.”⁶⁸

Most of the Norwegian immigrants had little experience to equip them for leadership in the local congregation. From 1825 to 1844 no ordained clergy from the Church of Norway accompanied emigrants to their new homes in America. After several years of informal association under the leadership of a number of lay leaders, Norwegian immigrants began organizing permanent congregations and

⁶⁶ Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America 1825–1860*, 248.

⁶⁷ Mulder, “Norwegian Forerunners among the early Mormons,” 47.

⁶⁸ Manuscript: Goudy E. Hogan, *Goudy E. Hogan biography, 1837–1880*, Digital History Collections, Utah State University, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/Diaries/id/14701>, 5–6.

denominations in 1843.⁶⁹ The Norwegian Lutheran minister J.W.C. Dietrichson visited the Fox River settlement in Illinois, a few miles from Nauvoo, in 1844. He wrote a detailed travel narrative which was published in Norway in 1846.⁷⁰ One chapter concerns the Mormons and describes the ongoing construction of the temple; a splendid building of stone with interior dimensions of 140 by 80 feet. The baptismal font was designed like the molten sea in Solomon's temple (1 Kings 7:23), and supported by a beautifully sculptured and gilded oxen. The Mormons payed tithe toward the building of the temple, with money or with labour, as in the old Israel, Dietrichson writes.

When the Norwegian Saints at Fox River sent Endre Dahl to Nauvoo with one hundred sheep, cattle, and a little money as a contribution toward building the temple, Dahl met the Prophet Joseph Smith on the street. The Prophet invited Dahl to come home with him, but Dahl protested that he was a simple Norwegian, unworthy to enter a prophet's dwelling. The Prophet, who finally prevailed on Dahl to accompany him, was much impressed. Soon afterward the Prophet told the Apostle George A. Smith that the Scandinavians would in time come to play a significant role in the church.⁷¹ Glorious promises were linked with the completion of the Nauvoo temple, when The Lord would come to reign in this Jerusalem for a thousand years on earth with his Latter Day Saints.⁷²

After the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in 1844, tensions grew in Illinois. The "Mormon Trail" – the trail they used to go west from Nauvoo to Utah – was established in 1847. The first group, the "Spies into Kanaan" who were in search of the new Promised Land, consisted of 143 men and three women. The women were the wives of the new Mormon leadership: Brigham Young, Lorenzo Young, and H.C. Kimball; Kimball's wife being the Norwegian Ellen Sanders Kimball. They arrived in Salt Lake Valley in July 1847.

Mormon Mission in Europe and the Gathering

The Mormon journal "The Millennial Star," first published in Manchester, England, in May 1840, is a good source for early Mormon preaching in Europe. In an essay

⁶⁹ Vidar L. Haanes, "Pastors for the Congregations: Transatlantic Impulses," in *Crossings: Norwegian-American Lutheranism as a Transatlantic Tradition*, ed. Todd W. Nichol (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2003), 94–6.

⁷⁰ Johan W.C. Dietrichson, *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i "De forenede nordamerikanske Fristater"* (Stavanger: Kielland, 1846). Translation in: E. C. Nelson, *A Pioneer Churchman. J. W. C. Dietrichson in Wisconsin, 1844–1850* (New York: Twayne, 1973), 45–145.

⁷¹ Mulder, "Norwegian Forerunners among the early Mormons," 48.

⁷² Nelson, *A Pioneer Churchman. J. W. C. Dietrichson in Wisconsin, 1844–1850*, 123.

printed in the first issue we can read about the millennium: “the seventh or last thousand years.”⁷³ God will first restore the Jews to their own land, and will then judge the nations according to the help or hindrance they gave to the gathering of the people of Israel. The Second Coming of Christ will then be connected with the restoration; it will be personal and visible. All the former denominations and religious organizations will be part of the one and same universal kingdom of Christ. All will follow God’s laws, the saints will have risen from their graves, and Christ shall rule from the rebuilt Jerusalem. Those alive at the Second Coming will not be immortal, but will possess the earth with all its riches and blessings. The earth will be fertile as in the beginning and illness, sorrows, and tribulations will not exist. Peace, love, knowledge, glory, and the abundances of the good gifts of nature will fill the earth. “Robert Owen (New Harmony) would hardly have needed to alter any other phrases [in this sermon] except perhaps about Messiah and the Jews,” William H. Oliver comments.⁷⁴

The Mormon mission in England focused in the beginning on the gathering of the Jews in Israel, as demonstrated by the early editions of the Mormon magazine the “Star”. But after 1841 the focus shifted to the gathering of the gentile saints to the American Zion. The symbols and statements in the Mormon message are familiar to many Christian groups, especially Pietistic, millenarian Christians. But the arrangement of the elements, as well as to situate them in America, was novel. The new Zion was to be found in America, rooted on two former Jewish settlements, and untainted by the influence of the European Babylon. Hence emigration became a theological imperative. In addition to the familiar biblical language and the new theology of America, we may add the significant personal decision to break up from Babylon for Zion in America. This became the typical doctrine of the Latter Day Saints: the gathering to Zion.

William Mulder mentions several examples in his article “Mormonism’s Gathering”:⁷⁵ A Danish shoemaker toasts his friends on New Year’s Eve: “May next year find us together in Zion.” A Norwegian, released from his labours as a missionary, rejoices in his return to Zion: “My absence to me an exile.” The first Mormon missionaries to Norway sailed along the coast with their ship *Sions Løve* [The Lion of Zion], bringing “strength and light from Zion to all nations.”⁷⁶ In his article Mulder describes a universal yearning among the proselytes; an experience to which they loved to bear witness after their arrival in Zion. As he put it, the proselytes exhibited

⁷³ William H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: the Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1978), 223.

⁷⁴ Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists*, 223.

⁷⁵ Mulder, “Norwegian Forerunners among the early Mormons”.

⁷⁶ Hilmar Freidel, *Under Nordlysets himmel, Jesu Kristi kirke i Norge, den Norske misjons historie 1851–1966* (Oslo, 1966), 34–8.

“a strange and irresistible longing which ravished them and filled them with nostalgia for Zion, their common home:

Oh Zion when I think of thee
I long for pinions like the dove
And mourn to think that I should be
So distant from the land I love.”⁷⁷

Citations from the history of the Danish Mormon emigration present similar testimonies: “I do not *believe* that this is Zion, but I *know* that here is Zion. I live as a citizen of Zion, and I own a small part of the free land of America.” “I know that here is Zion and the place for the gathering of Israel in the last days and that a millennium is at hand, when Christ the Son of God will come to the earth and dwell among his holy and the New Jerusalem will be built with all its glory, as the Scripture witnesses.” “The time for the emigration of the holy is at hand, and all that receive the Gospel in these days will have an irresistible longing to gather in one place.”⁷⁸

Jens Vahl, a Danish Lutheran pastor, voiced critique against such sentiments in 1857:

When they speak about Zion, they don't mean the first Jerusalem or the spiritual Zion in Heaven, but a place they have given the name of Zion, a voluptuous paradise. And this place, which they have given the name of Zion, they transfer God's promises on the spiritual Zion. This is as if the King of Denmark should name his country England, and thereafter insist that all England's colonies belonged to him.⁷⁹

Across the Atlantic Mormonism's predominant missionary message continued to include hope of an imminent millennium.⁸⁰ But in Europe the first step in preparing for Christ's return was to get to Zion in America. As one writer affirms, for Mormons “crossing the ocean became an act of obedience to the command to come out of Babylon” and join the Saints awaiting Christ's return.⁸¹ The preaching of the millennium underwent development and change in Mormonism. From 1851 until the 1880s, the Mormon leadership preached a millennial doctrine based on “the gathering” in Zion, encouraging converts to emigrate from their home countries and gather in the American Zion. The “gathering” was gradually de-emphasized, and by 1907 church authorities had begun urging converts to remain in their own countries to build the kingdom there. As

⁷⁷ Mulder, “Mormonism's ‘Gathering.’ An American Doctrine with a Difference,” 250.

⁷⁸ Jørgen W. Schmidt, *Oh, Du Zion I Vest. Den danske mormon-emigrasjon 1850–1900* (København: Roskilde og Bagger, 1965), 106, 135, 138.

⁷⁹ Schmidt, *Oh, Du Zion I Vest. Den danske mormon-emigrasjon 1850–1900*, 80.

⁸⁰ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter-Day Saints in Wales and Zion*, 14.

⁸¹ Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists*, 221.

a Mormon historian put it, “Zion was moving to the scattered members rather than the scattered members to Zion.”⁸²

Conclusion

We have seen that the idea of building Zion in America was rooted in earlier millenarian traditions and was widespread among European Separatists in the seventeenth century. Early Scandinavian immigration was inspired by German and English Separatists, some of them communitarians. Utopian and millenarian ideas were exported to America and flourished, partly in a sectarian, religious form, partly in a secularized, communitarian form. Scandinavians arriving in America with later waves of immigration were often motivated by the ideals of “the Land of Promise,” and some by “the Promised Land.” Many Scandinavians also joined the religious community who succeeded in establishing Zion on the American continent, the Latter Days Saints. Thus, we end where we started. In 1882, five Swedish immigrants founded Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church in Salt Lake City, the city where the Temple of the Mormon Zion in America was under construction, oriented towards Jerusalem.

⁸² Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 140.



Fig. 11.0: *Christ*, c.1821/39, by Bertel Thorvaldsen. The Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen.
© The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

Part II: The Promised Land: Renewal of the National Church

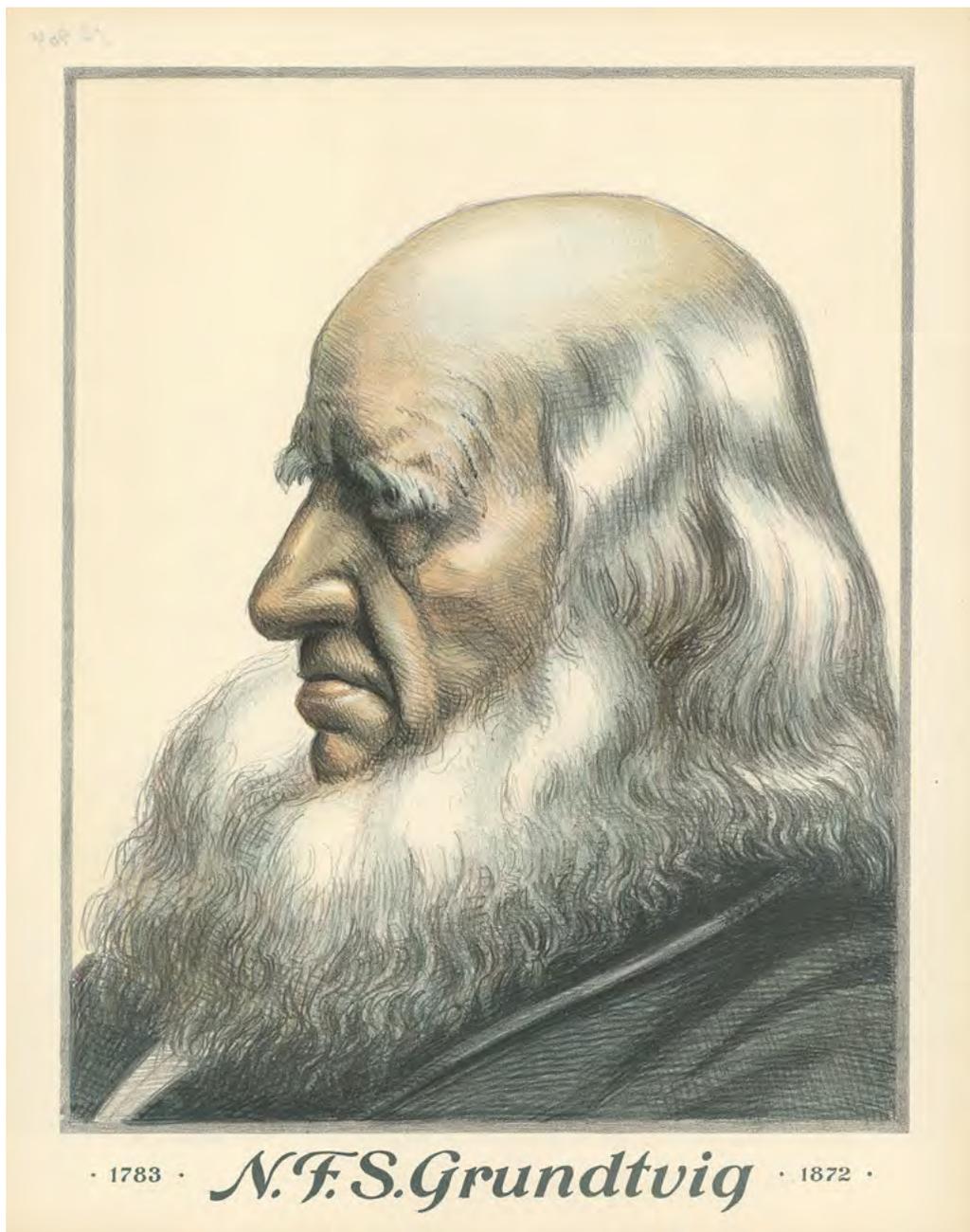


Fig. 11.1: Portrait of N.F.S. Grundtvig. Reproduced by courtesy of www.skolehistorie.au.dk.

Joar Haga

Chapter 11

Three Delineations of Jerusalem Interpretations in Nineteenth-Century Scandinavia

This article provides a sketch of how different aspects of the Jerusalem metaphor were used by three of the most central church groups at the end of nineteenth-century Denmark; the Grundtvigians, the Inner Mission, and Kirkeligt Centrum.

In his widely used introduction to the church history of Denmark, Martin Schwartz Lausten identified three main groups or parties that emerged in the Danish church at the end of the nineteenth century. The first one he associated with Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872) and his followers (Fig. 11.1),¹ the second one with the Pietists in the Inner Mission, and, finally, the group who labelled themselves as the third option, the Church Centre [*Kirkeligt Centrum*].² Taken together, these three groups represented different visions of Jerusalem and the city's significance for life in the national church and society. This article seeks to present some core elements that characterised these visions.

The two first groups, in particular, transformed the post-Pietist, rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century into vibrant images of the future of Christianity.³ Grundtvig and his followers exploited the nationalistic mood and transferred the imagery of Jerusalem and the biblical landscape to the Nordic scene. The imagery was connected to a cluster of ideas – particularly to those ideas that demonstrated a close relation

1 The image is a so-called “perception board” or “object of perception” [*anskuelsestavle*], which was used in education at the beginning of the twentieth century. The pupils would connect abstract ideas to a concrete object, *i.e.* Grundtvig's teachings to his portrait.

2 Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Danmarks kirkehistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1987), 248–268.

3 As Ludvig Koch, one of the representatives of the third group wrote in his memoirs, commenting on his experiences as a student of theology. He was introduced to the radical critique of the biblical scriptures by F. C. Baur (Tübingen), who “continued the dismantling of the Canon of Scriptures that Semler started. . .” Still, the distinction between true and false authors of the New Testament “left both me and most other students untouched.” Koch could not disprove Baur's results, but the Bible was for him a unity, namely the promise of God's salvation and the fulfilment of that promise, encompassing history from creation to its end. Ludvig Koch, *En gammel præsts erindringer* (Copenhagen: Det Schönbergske forlag, 1912), 49–50. My translations.

between Nordic mythology and the spirit of Christianity – which proved to have an immense effect on schools and the nurturing of the national languages. The Inner Mission on the other hand, used the imagery of the Temple and the spatial distance to the most holy in order to distinguish between different believers and their levels of commitment. Those who regarded themselves as close to the Ark, and had experienced the personal encounter with Christ – the true believers, so to say – worked hard to do mission within the framework of the state church. They viewed other, less committed believers as subjects of mission. The third group reacted to Grundtvig and the Inner Mission in order to defend the traditional structures of the church, particularly the office of the pastor. These churchmen understood themselves as closer to the religious roots of Scandinavian Christianity: “We are the tree that carries the two branches,” one of its central figures, Dean P. G. Hansen, wrote, referring to the two other groups.⁴ By utilising the organic metaphor of the tree, a powerful image, Hansen sought to transcend the partiality he attributed to the followers of Grundtvig and the members of the Inner Mission.⁵

Grundtvig and a Jerusalem in the Nordic landscape

One of the most spectacular orchestrations of the Jerusalem code in Scandinavia happened when the 84-year-old Grundtvig entered his church, the Vartov Church in Copenhagen, on Palm Sunday morning in 1867. One of the attendees, the church historian Frederich Hammerich, referred to the sermon as “a remarkable mixture of madness and transcendent thoughts.”⁶ The charismatic pastor dwelled in the church for six hours, preaching and distributing the sacraments. In the pews sat the Queen Mother, a warm supporter of Grundtvig. The presence of a central member of the royal family added an air of national importance to the liturgical event; indeed, the significance of this moment did not escape Grundtvig. After he had held his penitential sermon and absolved the communicants of their sins, Grundtvig shouted to the congregation: “Where is the Queen of Denmark? The Queen of Sheba came to hear the Wisdom of Solomon, and – alas – here is more than Solomon.”⁷ As the Queen mother

⁴ “Vi er roden som bærer de to grene . . .” P. G. Lindhardt, *Den danske Kirkes Historie VII* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1958), 372.

⁵ Vilhelm Beck, the undisputed leader of the Inner Mission, referred to them – rather sarcastically – as “those not to be related” [de uævnelige]. Vilhelm Beck, *Når Gud går foran. Livserindringer* (Oslo: Indremisjonsforlaget, 1946), 163. It was “below their dignity to be a ‘party,’” the Church Historian P.G. Lindhardt wrote, as “they were ‘the church itself’.” Lindhardt, *Den danske Kirkes Historie VII*, 371.

⁶ “Prædikenen, der holdtes i en løftet stemming, var den underligste blanding af vanvid og åndfulde tanker.” Frederik Hammerich, *Et levnetsløb*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet, 1882), 205.

⁷ “men hvor er dog Danmarks dronning henne?” udbrød han. ‘Dronningen af Saba kom at høre på Salomons visdom, og her er sandelig mere end Salomon!’ Hammerich, *Et levnetsløb*, 204.

left her chair, knelt before the altar, and received the absolution of her sins, Grundtvig improvised over the liturgy, saying: “and herewith are all the sins of Denmark absolved. Now just let the King of Prussia come, because Denmark is now at peace.”⁸ By referring to the disastrous war with Prussia of 1864 – when Denmark lost Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg in the Second Schleswig War – Grundtvig made this national trauma the backdrop of his vision. In a glimpse, Grundtvig saw his whole speculative national narrative fulfilled on Danish soil in an apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem.⁹ Christ’s coming to Jerusalem was not understood in *analogy* to the situation in Vartov church. Grundtvig did not merely see salvation coming to sinners; rather he promoted a vision of a redeemed Jerusalem where the promises to the city of cities had been fulfilled, not in Palestine, but in Denmark.

At the time, according to S. A. J. Bradley, Grundtvig’s mind rested upon the different scriptural symbols of Jordan and Jerusalem; more precisely upon how these symbols could describe the successful moments of the spiritual mission of a nation,¹⁰ and now Grundtvig felt that the hour was come. In the sermon in Vartov Church, on Palm Sunday 1867, Grundtvig said:

What people through all the ages have puzzled over, the Lord had devised – a vital unstillness (*perpetuum mobile*) in the human heart, and the squaring of the circle (quadrature of the circle [*sirkelens kvadratur*]) in the foursquare heavenly Jerusalem, measured by the man’s measure. . . . There had been many impediments to the Lord’s coming, for the intellect [*Aanden*] and the heart [*Hjærtet*] had become separated. The intellect God had planted in the east on the hill of visions [*synernes høj*] and the heart here on the Danish islands. But now they have at last been reunited and now Jordan flows out into the Øresund, now the Lord is riding into his city. The foal of an ass which bears him has grown up among us, but first its mother must be set loose, and that is what I am doing today.¹¹

8 “Enkedronningen trådte derpå ud af sin stol og knælede ned for altaret, og idet han tilsagde hende syndernes forladelse, føjede han til: ‘og hermed er så alle Danmarks synder forladte’; efter et ophold, mens alteret fyldtes på ny, sagde han end videre; ‘lad nu Prøjserkongen kuns komme, for nu har Danmark fred!’” Hammerich, *Et levnetsløb*, 204.

9 The year before, in 1866, Grundtvig had emphasised that it was in the Nordic countries that the apostolic Church should be reborn. The Danish Church was the last stop on the way to the New Jerusalem. Ander Pontoppidan Thyssen, “Grundtvig’s Ideas on the Church and the People, 1848–72,” in *N.F.S. Grundtvig: Tradition and Renewal. Grundtvig’s Vision of Man and People, Education and the Church, in Relation to World Issues Today*, eds. Christian Thodberg and Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute, 1984), 359.

10 Sid A. J. Bradley, “Grundtvig’s Palm Sunday 1867 and the Anglo-Saxon Descent into Hell,” *Grundtvig-Studier (GStud)* 44 (1993), 199–200.

11 I have used the translation of Hammerich’s report in Sid A. J. Bradley, *N.F.S. Grundtvig: A Life Recalled* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2008), 310. An almost identical account is found in Helweg’s report to the Ministry of ecclesiastical Affairs. Cf. Bradley, “Grundtvig’s Palm Sunday 1867,” 208, note 2.

The perceived reconciliation between *Aanden* (the intellect, spirit) on the one hand, and *hjærtet* (the heart and body) on the other, was important to Grundtvig. The opposition between them runs like a common thread through most of his work, and this dichotomy was part of the double optics through which he saw the world, through opposites such as earth and heaven, dust and spirit, man and woman, etc.¹²

Grundtvig's idea of Christianity was closely connected to the idea of a national spirit, with a special emphasis on the mother tongue, due to the inherent capability of language to reconcile opposites. Unlike the pietist vision of a conventicle consisting of "friends" or a small church (*ecclesiola*) with an ascetic distance to the "world," Grundtvig developed a large cultural vision in which national languages served as a foundational ground for a history shaped by a particular reading of the Bible.¹³ It was essentially an idea of the world as a divine mirror; a world that displayed an ongoing process of revelation in history. The theory was dynamic and flexible, because the national "identities" he constructed were historically conditioned. Grundtvig was particularly interested in how man reflected God's image through language. When a new University was established in the capital of Norway in 1813, Grundtvig saw it as a sign of an eschatological fulfilment: "Should thou, Christiania / be called Philadelphia?" he wrote, referring to the Book of Revelation.¹⁴

For Grundtvig, the human being was not a finished product from the hand of the Maker. Man should rather grow up together with God, "in whose image he was created" and according to whose words – in their poetic and *national* linguistic expression – fulfilment could be created. When the nation discovered its own historical process, its identity as "the land of the living" could be further developed.¹⁵ An instrument for realising the vision of Man searching fulfilment was the *folk high school* [folkehøgskole] *movement*, intended to educate people who did not have the time or resources to embark on university studies. Grundtvig fought against Latin:

¹² A typical example was Grundtvig's framing of universal history through these glasses. Ancient history was characterised as a *male* era, whereas the Middle Ages was a *female* era. Why? In the ancient world of myth the *head* was used, in the Middle Ages the feelings appealed to the *heart*. Cf. Ole Vind, *Grundtvigs historiefilosofi* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1999).

¹³ Grundtvig's attempt at turning it into a political program failed, however, Cf. Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, "Grundtvig and Romanticism," in *Kierkegaard and his Contemporaries: The Culture of Golden Age Denmark*, ed. Jon Stewart (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 224. In addition, it is difficult to get a clear picture of his understanding. As one of his sympathetic contemporaries remarked in a letter: "Grundtvig is the personified Nordic spirit, the leader of the North, because no one has seen – as he does – where the Nordic spirit moves . . . Grundtvig has, however, the misfortune that almost nobody, not even his closest friends, knows his opinions." Cited from Jes Fabricius Møller, "Grundtvig, Danmark og Norden," in *Skandinavismen. Vision og virkning*, eds. Ruth Hemstad, Jes Fabricius Møller and Dag Thorkildsen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018), 99. My translation.

¹⁴ Holger Begtrup, ed., *Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvigs udvalgte skrifter*, Andet Bind (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1905), 606.

¹⁵ Dag Thorkildsen, *Nasjonalitet, identitet og moral* (Oslo: NFR, 1995), 46–7.

that dead, foreign element which threatened to eradicate the popular spirit [*folkelighed*]. As Grundtvig underlined in his poem “To the Fatherland” of 1813: “The lands of the South with their queasy heat, they pity the cold North with its snow and ice . . .”¹⁶ In spite of the sinking glory of Denmark, the Nordic tongue will be used for praise, he claimed. Grundtvig added a description of the peace that would follow if Denmark would “give God the glory”: “God will again be your mighty fortress / and you would become his Jerusalem.”¹⁷

Vilhelm Beck and his Allegory of the Temple

The Inner Mission was a Low Church movement within the church of Denmark that sought to guide people into a personal relation with Jesus Christ.¹⁸ The movement was founded in 1861 and had a built-in tension. On the one hand, it wanted to serve the church, on the other, it broke the church order by sending preachers across parochial borders. Vilhelm Beck (1829–1901), one of the most profiled leaders of the Inner Mission, used a theological model of the Temple in Jerusalem to integrate both concerns. Beck seldom used the concept “church” or “congregation,” but preferred to denote the church as “God’s parental home on earth.” The common use of “church” blurred the distinction between the faithful and the infidels, he claimed. This distinction was crucial to Beck. It divided the parochial congregation into X, Y, and Z, and it divided the people who were gathered in worship. The large folk church (*ecclesia*) was the outer court of the temple, with all the baptised members. The small church (*ecclesiola*), the inner circle of “those who have a living faith in communion with the Saviour and in communion with all the saved” represented the holy part of the temple on earth. Lastly, the most holy referred to the eternal bliss in heaven.¹⁹

Beck’s intention with this image was to state a direction. He wanted to lead the baptised members of the church from the outer court of the temple into the inner, most holy part, into heaven. It was not possible, however, to reach the most holy in heaven without passing through the holy on earth, where the small church of true believers resided. Therefore, his circles of Inner Mission represented a necessary step on the road to the heavenly Jerusalem. Only after the baptised had come to a

¹⁶ “I! Sydens Lande, med den kvalme Hede! / Som ynke Norden med sin Sne og Iis.” Begtrup, *Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvigs udvalgte skrifter*, Andet Bind, 701.

¹⁷ “Det skeer, naar kun du giver Ham Hans Ære, / Da vil igjen din faste Borg Han være, / Og du skal vorde Hans Jerusalem.” Begtrup, *Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvigs udvalgte skrifter*, Andet Bind, 709.

¹⁸ The Grundtvigians saw the Inner Mission as a movement that “had contempt for the Danish and regarded Denmark as a heathen nation.” Cf. P. G. Lindhardt, *Vækkelser og kirkelige retninger i Danmark* (Copenhagen: Det danske Forlag, 1951), 152–3. My translation.

¹⁹ Kurt E. Larsen, *Vilhelm Beck – missionspræsten* (Fredericia: Lohses Forlag, 2001), 213.

personal decision to receive nurture for their faith, found among the true believers, did they have the necessary requirements to reach the most holy. Hence, Beck proposed a movement within the church, so to speak. It went from the outer courts into the holy part of the temple on earth, which again made the believer fit to reach the most holy in heaven. Beck did not subscribe to the important article 7 in the Augsburg Confession. The Confession insisted that the church “is the assembly of all believers among who the Gospel is preached in its purity and the sacraments are administered according to the Gospel.”²⁰ For Beck, however, there existed no oneness between the preached Gospel and the assembly of saints. According to Beck, Luther had been unclear by mixing the two elements in the Creed, namely “Church” and “assembly of saints.”²¹ Such a confusion placed the holy ones in a circle larger than the true converts. It included the outer court of his temple-analogy and jeopardised the place of the converted – those with a living faith – at the strategically important junction between the outer court and the most holy. Therefore, Luther’s teaching needed clarification in this matter, Beck claimed.

Far from Grundtvig’s romantic vision of a nation that in its historical process had tasted the first fruits of a kingdom to come, the parochial structure of the Church of Denmark represented for Beck merely a remote element of the temple. He wanted the church to break away from traditional popular belief and rationalism, as well as the synthesis of Christianity and culture. Instead, Beck’s idea was that the required holiness could be realised *inside* the established church by establishing a distinct and separate dignity of the converted within the church. This rapture of holiness within the church was not merely connected to the individual’s conversion, but had its institutional expression in activities connected to the Mission Houses and to gatherings in private homes. These persons were referred to as “holy,” a label both used by the mission people themselves and as a pejorative term by detractors. The culture associated with “the saints” [*de hellige*] implied both an ascetic lifestyle and close ties with the other converted.²² Although Beck served as a minister in the Danish folk church, it was the “loving ties between the saints” that formed his life.²³

The difference between the Inner Mission and the Grundtvigians had political implications. For example, the close ties between nationalism and holiness in Grundtvig’s thought, made the Grundtvigians hostile towards the new German political

²⁰ Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *The book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Mühlenberg Press, 1959), 32.

²¹ Larsen, *Vilhelm Beck – missionspræsten*, 214–5.

²² A letter from the 1880s is telling of this culture. A mother, living close to Vilhelm Beck’s group, was anxious to send her daughter away. The mother did not want to expose her daughter to the influence of Beck, “because if she wants to attend a ball or go out with us, she will turn holy, too, and not enjoy the moment of youth.” Cited from Carl Trock, “Under Vilh. Becks prædikestol,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (1993), 99. My translation.

²³ Hans Aage, “Vilhelm Beck – omstridt gennem 133 år,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (2002), 70.

authorities in Schleswig Holstein after Denmark's loss of the territory in 1864. The Inner Mission, however, underscored that the Christian identity was of prime importance, and they could therefore employ a German as a preacher.

The Church Centre – a Lutheran Jerusalem?

For the pastors who neither adhered to the religious-national vision of Grundtvig, nor to the small-church holiness of Beck and the Inner Mission, a third option emerged: They could join the Church Centre [*Kirkeligt centrum*]. The Church Centre was originally a pastoral convent, and from 1904 onwards, it was an organisation within the state Church of Denmark. In a sense, its vision of the Danish church was not connected to physical buildings, to folk high schools or Mission houses, as in the case of Grundtvig or the Inner Mission. The Church Centre took the concrete Danish congregation [*menigheden*] as their vantage point, accentuating liturgical worship in the church as the centre of the life of the folk church.²⁴

The attempt was to reinvigorate the tradition from such personalities as the Zealand bishops Jacob Peter Mynster (1775–1854) and Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884). Martensen had been critical towards both Grundtvigians and the Inner Mission, because he regarded them as closed and exclusive movements. His understanding of the church as an organic body was linked to a vision of society where Christianity played a leading role, but he also underlined the church's identity as a community of faith. Martensen gave the heavenly Jerusalem an indirect role in his vision for the church and its role in society: It was not directly applicable as Grundtvig's national Jerusalem or Beck's understanding of holiness; Martensen's Jerusalem was rather framed as a meta-perspective on issues of importance for society.

One example of how Martensen employed such a meta-perspective is in his analysis of the social problems of the nineteenth century. In the 1870's, Martensen published several books treating ethical questions, among them a small booklet entitled *Socialism and Christianity* [*Socialisme og Christendom*] (1874).²⁵ His reasoning in this booklet followed the well-known dialectic argumentative structure from Hegel of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Martensen saw the emancipation from what he called the heathen slave-mentality as an important effect or implication of the Christian church's presence in people's

²⁴ Kaj Bollmann, "At pege på centrum," in *Udfordringer til kirken. En debatbog*, ed. Henning Nørhøj (Copenhagen: Eksistensen, 2019), 10.

²⁵ Hans L. Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom. Et Brudstykke af den specielle Ethik* (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1874).

lives. For a Christian, his or her main identity was not qualified by wealth or rank, but by the designation of *citizen of heaven*.²⁶ By placing the church in the hereafter, however, its present critical function was often lost in *quietism* (thesis).²⁷ Martensen argued that if the worker was reduced to a machine or a means of gain for the rich, as Martensen claimed that Adam Smith's work *The Wealth of Nations* did, then the Christian understanding of being *spiritually* determined for an eternal life in heaven was lost. In such a system, the essential elements from the old slave system are still present and working people instrumentalised.²⁸ Hence, he shared the critique of the socialists: the miserable social conditions were created by human beings and was not the result of a natural state.²⁹ However, Martensen added another element to the critique of the material conditions of the poor: In light of man's true destination – the heavenly Jerusalem – the poor should also be considered as a *spiritual* beings. Spiritual aspects made work noble, Martensen claimed, even if it did not directly feed the hungry.³⁰

On the other hand, Martensen criticised the *utopic* understanding of the projected communist society (antithesis) as formulated for example by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.³¹ "Christianity gives us no utopias, there is no state of perfection on earth," Martensen wrote; "perfection awaits on the other side."³² His defence of private property rested on the earthly conditions of this life, as opposed to the heavenly conditions of the Kingdom to come.³³ In addition, he argued that the godless agitation of communism dissolved the ethical and religious life of the workers.

Martensen's own intention was to balance liberalism and socialism (synthesis), albeit with a Christian qualification. One cannot appeal – as the agnostic political economists, such as John Stuart Mill – to frugality and moderation alone. Christianity has a vocation [*et kall*] to solve the concrete social challenges, Martensen argued. He complained about the church's lack of resources and its dependence on the state, but underlined that the Word was more than preaching. Jesus did not only give the 5000

26 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 14.

27 Martensen suggested the Church's failing response – and its acceptance of liberal *laissez-faire* theory – by referring to Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) and his theory of population and food supply. For Martensen, it was difficult to accept that the cleric Malthus "who once had preached the gospel for the poor," could claim that society should refrain from helping the poor and "make obstacles to how nature handles overpopulation." Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 29–30. My translation.

28 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 30.

29 Martensen cited Friedrich Engels description of the housing conditions of the workers in London, Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 25–6.

30 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 14.

31 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 26.

32 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 44.

33 Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 40.

people in the desert words; he fed them, too.³⁴ Martensen did not provide clear-cut answers to solve the social problems he observed in his society, but he used his theological resources to describe the problem and to point to some possible responses from the church. The Church Centre sought to promote this kind of reasoning which saw faith as including social commitment.

Conclusion

Three of the most influential parties in the nineteenth-century Church of Denmark employed the Jerusalem code with three different accentuations. The visionary Grundtvig charged his grand idea of the nation with parallels to Jerusalem, Beck used the temple metaphor to explain the strategic importance of the inner circle of true believers, whereas Martensen let the idea of the Christian as a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem shed light on problems in society. The manifold uses of the Jerusalem code demonstrate the metaphor's elastic quality, but also its centripetal force, which enabled it to hold together very different outlooks in the same church.

³⁴ Martensen, *Socialisme og Christendom*, 53.



Fig. 12.1: J. L. Lund, *Christ Blessing*, 1831. Søllerød Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

David Burmeister

Chapter 12

The Face of Salvation in Early Nineteenth-Century Danish Altar Painting

This chapter investigates a number of key innovations in Danish altar painting in the period 1815–1850. It demonstrates how the religious work of seminal artists such as J. L. Lund, C. W. Eckersberg, and Bertel Thorvaldsen strove to find an expression for contemporary religious sentiments; both by reinterpreting the traditional subject-matter of altar painting and by introducing entirely new themes, such as stories of his Ministry on Earth. The article aims to show how these new approaches transformed the altarpiece from serving a communal purpose to addressing the individual believer, and encouraging contemplation on one's personal relationship with Christ. It is argued that the concept of a heavenly Jerusalem and its iconography was employed in this process and in the new representations of Christ.

The role of the “New Jerusalem motif” in Danish art of the nineteenth century has not been the object of art historical studies. This lacuna can partly be explained by the fact that religious art has remained peripheral to both public and scholarly interest; even in spite of the general popularity of nineteenth century art. Furthermore, in line with the general characteristics of Danish art historical research of the twentieth century, the studies of nineteenth-century religious art have tended to focus on formal and biographical aspects of the paintings rather than meaning.¹ The single-most

¹ The pioneering article on religious painting of the Golden Age is Jette Kjærboe, “C. W. Eckersbergs altertavler,” *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift* (1975): 119–63. Kjærboe examined the paintings chronologically, by means of a formal analysis and examinations of archival documents pertaining to the pictures. Similarly, Nina Damsgaard approached the material through formal analysis, in her attempt to understand the relationship between the artistic trends in religious art of the nineteenth century and the different religious positions within the state church. Erik Fischer can probably be credited with focusing the art historical writing more towards the religious meaning of the paintings. Although Fischer was primarily interested in Eckersberg's life-long interest in perspective, the article also demonstrated that Eckersberg constructed the perspective of his *Last Supper* in such a way that it would stimulate the spectator to engage in the specific theological points of the Biblical passage chosen as the picture's subject matter. More recently, Ragni Linnet examined Søren Kierkegaard's theological thinking to better understand what was at stake in religious art of the 1840s. Nina Damsgaard, “Det danske altertavlemaleri i 1800-tallet og dets forhold til de samtidige religiøse strømninger” (Master's thesis, Aarhus University, 1979). Erik Fischer, “Om Eckersbergs altertavle

important reason why the use of the New Jerusalem motif in the nineteenth century has not been examined is probably that it functioned more as a subtext within the altar paintings than as the actual motif. There can be little doubt that the idea of a New Jerusalem still carried power in the nineteenth century. One need only to think of Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig's (1783–1872) hymn “On Jerusalem the New” [*På Jerusalem det ny*] (1837), or the many other allusions to the heavenly city in his poetry, to know that Grundtvig presumed that the average person was familiar with the idea and iconography of the New Jerusalem.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, several new approaches to the altar painting were developed; both with respect to its subject matter and to how the pictures addressed the spectator. The present chapter will focus on some of the key innovations in altar painting during the period ca. 1820–1850 by artists such as Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), Johan Ludwig Lund (1777–1867), and Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783–1853). This chapter will examine how faith and salvation were approached and how the New Jerusalem motif was utilized in the process as a metaphor of the future salvation and more importantly as a metaphor of the spiritual community of believers in this life/world. I will argue that the period saw an increased individualization of faith, which manifested itself in the altar paintings of the first half of the nineteenth century. The process transformed the metaphor of New Jerusalem from pointing out towards a spiritual community in the world, to pointing inwards towards an individual, spiritual state that found its primary visual expression in the figure of Christ addressing the spectator.

Background

Altar painting was radically transformed during the nineteenth century, as more than 1,000 churches were supplied with a new altar painting or sculpture. This development reflects, in part, the hundreds of church restorations that were carried out, and the erection of new buildings to accommodate the changed demography of industrialisation. The restorations and the new builds both offered ample opportunity to rethink the altar painting. The key factor that propelled the innovation within altar painting was, however, the fundamental change in the religious climate of Denmark. The rise of both Pietism and Enlightenment in the eighteenth century meant that the church lost its institutional grasp on religious life. From the 1790s, Denmark experienced its own Great Awakening with Pietist groups of laymen forming all over the country; insisting on their right to practice according to their own faith which was

i Frederiksberg kirke. Tydning og tolkning,” in *Billedtekster*, ed. Erik Fischer (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1984). Ragni Linnet, “Imitatio Christi. Søren Kierkegaards forhold til den religiøse kunst,” *Transfiguration* 6, no. 1 (2004).

more aligned with the old rituals than the new, rationalist rituals. These groups were founded on the personal experience of spiritual awakening which led to a turn towards Christ. The new spirituality affected the religious thinking of the day strongly, as is evident in Grundtvig's work and in particular in the famous theologian Søren Kierkegaard's (1813–1855) religious thinking.²

This development in spirituality strongly influenced the church. The Danish state church remained rooted in Rationalistic theology. By the 1820s, however, Reason was increasingly understood as Man's God-given capacity to grasp the divine truth of Christianity, which allowed for a deeper and more personal inner revelation of Christ.³ The key figure of this so-called Supranaturalist theology was Bishop Jacob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), who in 1834 rose to become the government's counsellor on religious questions. For artists, this development meant that the role of the altar painting shifted towards addressing the individual believer's inner experience of God. Inner revelation had to be addressed in accordance with Rationalist thinking, however; that is, the paintings were often expected to adhere to the laws of nature while still pointing the spectator towards the supernatural.

Jesus's Invitation

In a certain sense, the first important step towards defining a new type of altarpiece suited to accommodate modern religious sentiments was taken by Bertel Thorvaldsen. In 1820, he was tasked with producing the new altar decoration in the cathedral of Copenhagen, The Church of Our Lady, which was being rebuilt in those years.⁴ In 1821, Thorvaldsen delivered his model for the sculpture of *Christ*, which was finished and placed in The Church of Our Lady as late as 1839 (Fig. 11.0).⁵ In this sculpture, Thorvaldsen sought to present Christ as a divine being by means of his classical beauty, superhuman size, and static pose; that is, as an elevated ideal. At the same time Christ appears to be both present and accessible to the individual believer, opening his arms in a loving gesture and inviting her in. In Thorvaldsen's words, the

² Kyle A. Roberts, "The Living Word and the Word of God: The Pietist Impulse in Kierkegaard and Grundtvig," in *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*, eds. Christian T. Collins, Christopher Gehrz, G. William Carlson and Eric Holst (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2011), 120–8.

³ Jens Rasmussen, *En brydningstid, kirkelige holdninger i guldalderperioden 1800–1850* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2002), 22–4, 33–7.

⁴ The assignment was initially given to J. L. Lund, but Thorvaldsen's visit to Copenhagen in 1819–20 provided a unique opportunity to have one of the world's leading sculptors make the new altar decoration. Cf. Knud Børge Pedersen, "J. L. Lunds altertavle i Sankt Johannes Kirke i København," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (2013): 104–8.

⁵ The plaster models of 1821 are now in Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen (inv. A82 and A83).

sculpture “expresses that [Christ] loves, that is embraces Man. To my thinking that must be the essence of Christ.”⁶

On the pedestal below Thorvaldsen’s statue one read the words “Come to me” [“*Kommer til mig*”] that initiates Christ’s invitation to humankind: “Come to me, all you who are weary and burdened, and I will give you rest” (Matt 11:28). This quote appears to have spoken directly to the religious sentiments of the period. It frequently appears on altarpieces and it was developed into the leitmotif of Søren Kierkegaard’s *Indøvelse i Christendom [Practice in Christianity]* (1850). According to Kierkegaard Christ extends his invitation to each and everybody, and with Christ’s words “Come to me” he invites the believers into his arms and encourages them to remain there.⁷ Kierkegaard writes:

No, he who opens his arms and invites all – ah, if all, all you who labor and are burdened, were to come to him, he would embrace them all and say: Now remain with me, for to remain with me is to rest. The helper is the help. Amazing!⁸

To Kierkegaard this meant that the invitation is an offer to enter into a spiritual state of being *with* Christ that connects our lives in this world with our future lives in the next. The invitation “stands at the crossroads, where death distinguishes death from life.”⁹ Understood in this way, the invitation mirrors the Lutheran understanding of the heavenly Jerusalem as both a metaphor of a spiritual state of being in this world, and as an image of the Kingdom to come. The metaphor of the invitation, however, does not contain the communal aspect of Luther’s heavenly Jerusalem. It represents the believer’s personal relationship with Christ.

Looking at Thorvaldsen’s *Christ* with Kierkegaard transforms the sculpture into the very image of this invitation. Christ’s open arms become an expression of the idea of entering a privileged spiritual state in this life, that will grant us the eternal life to come. Indeed, this was how the art historian Julius Lange (1838–1896) perceived the statue. Writing in 1872 he felt well-nigh overwhelmed by the invitation, as Thorvaldsen’s Christ “assumes too much personal power, as it stretches its arms out towards me, the living human being, with an invitation, a beckoning, a calling that pertains to me personally for life and eternity.”¹⁰ Lange astutely describes the

⁶ Quoted from Julius Lange, “Thorvaldsens Fremstillinger af Kristus,” in *Kristelig Kalender for 1872*, eds. Harald Stein and Jakob Paulli (København: 1872), 38. “men saa udtrykker den, at han elsker, omfavner Menneskene, og det, har jeg tænkt mig, maa være Grundpræget i Kristus.” My translation.

⁷ Søren Kierkegaard, *Indføring i Christendom* (Copenhagen: Universitetsboghandler C. A. Reitzel, 1850), 12.

⁸ Kierkegaard, *Indføring i Christendom*, 16 (Quoted from Søren Kierkegaard *Practice in Christianity*, ed. and trans. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 23.

⁹ Kierkegaard, *Indføring i Christendom*, 19 (Quoted from Kierkegaard, *Practice in Christianity*, 25).

¹⁰ Lange, “Thorvaldsens Fremstillinger af Kristus,” 47. “om en Statue ikke tiltager sig for megen personlig Magt, idet den strækker Hænderne ud mod mig, det levende Menneske, med en Opfordring, en Kaldelse, der gjælder mig personlig for Liv og Evighed.” My translation.

physical sensation of being confronted with an invitation that affects both this life and the next.

Thorvaldsen's sculpture introduced a new type of relationship between the altarpiece and the congregation in which we are not merely beholding Christ, but also being seen by him. This direct, emotional interaction between Christ and the spectator was noted by the art historian Ragni Linnet in an important article of 2004. Linnet argued that Kierkegaard distinguished between *beholding* as an act of unengaged judgement of the world, from the position of oneself, and actual *seeing* as an act of reciprocity.¹¹ In the latter situation the person *seeing* engages herself compassionately in that which she sees, while at the same time allowing the world to see her. Kierkegaard points to Peter's denial of Christ and argues that Jesus reacted to Peter's denouncement of him by encompassing Peter with an accepting gaze.

To Linnet, Kierkegaard's understanding of Jesus's encompassing gaze, as a kind of sympathetic interaction of two bodies being presented to one another, is a highly useful analytical figure in our attempt at understanding the kind of visual interaction established in this type of representation of Christ.¹² She points to the considerable number of altar paintings which seek to engage Christ directly with the congregation assembled before the altar. Her analytical figure of Jesus's encompassing gaze is relevant to the first altar painting to adopt Thorvaldsen's schema: *Christ* (1831), painted by J. L. Lund for Søllerød Church (Fig. 12.1). Here we see Christ standing before us in full figure in an elegant room with a marble floor. Behind him are two columns that flank a green veil that alludes to the one that covered The Holy of Holies in the temple of Jerusalem; the veil serving as a symbol of how original sin had separated man from God. Christ is shown in full figure and crowned by a halo, and he faces the spectator directly while performing a blessing gesture towards the spectator. Following Linnet one can say that J. L. Lund activates the Kierkegaardian reciprocal act of *seeing*: we see Christ, but at the same time we realize that he not only sees us, but knows us, blesses us, and invites us in.

This sympathetic interaction between the spectator and the figure of Christ is seminal to the painting. Indeed, one could argue that the key function of the interior is to both stress Christ's proximity to the picture plane – most noticeably through the marbled floor – and to establish the pictorial space as an extension of the altarpiece. Indeed, the two columns behind Christ mirrors the columns of the old Renaissance altarpiece, and both stress the spatial depth of the picture and link the sacred space of the painting to the physical space of the altarpiece. Christ stands at the very threshold between the sacred space and our world; literally as the one who can bridge the two. This notion is further stressed by the green veil behind him, which by alluding to the veil covering the Holy of Holies points towards Christ as the one who atoned Original Sin

¹¹ Linnet, "Imitatio Christi," 73–4.

¹² Linnet, "Imitatio Christi," 75–9.

and bridged the gap between God and man. This notion of Christ as the path to the next state of being – that is, to the New Jerusalem – is further expanded upon by means of the open book Christ presents to us, as the pages read: “John 14,6. I am the way and the truth and the life” [“Joh: Ev: Cap 14 v6 - Jeg er Veyen, og Sandhed, og Livet”]. The quote would surely allow most of the congregation to finish the Biblical passage themselves: “No one comes to the Father except through me.” Quite literally then, J. L. Lund represents Christ as the very path to the eternal life in the Kingdom of Christ.

Although not explicitly referenced in the picture, the iconography of the New Jerusalem remains important. Indeed, one can argue that the interaction with the pillars of the altarpiece not only allowed Lund to establish his painting as a symbolic extension of the physical altarpiece; it also allowed him to let the Renaissance altarpiece accent the painting, as the temple-like structure of the frame alludes to the Church as a symbolic representation of the New Jerusalem. This set the stage for the main point of the painting: the representation of Christ as the path to both a privileged spiritual state of being in this world and ultimately to the future Kingdom.

It is significant that nineteenth-century altarpieces very often were modelled as a symbolic representation of the New Jerusalem. A good example of one such frame is the altarpiece in Ishøj Kirke made for Heinrich Eddelien’s (1802–1852) painting of *Christ* (1846) (Fig. 12.2). Its neo-gothic style obviously imitates the architecture of medieval cathedrals, and thus the general notion of the church as a symbolic representation of Christ’s congregation in the Kingdom to come, while the pinnacles may be understood as alluding to the traditional depiction of Jerusalem as a city with many towers. Furthermore, in adopting the appearance of an architectural opening – be it a window or a doorway – the frame establishes a sort of symbolic threshold between this world and the next, which becomes an active element in the picture’s depiction of Christ standing on the very threshold of the opening, as if present before our eyes and engaging us directly and reaching into our space. Finally, it is worth noting that whereas Lund, in 1831, felt it necessary to explicate that his painting represented Christ as our personal path to salvation, this was no longer necessary in 1840, when Heinrich Eddelien finished his altar painting. Apparently, no later than the 1840s the image of Christ being present to and before us was conventionally understood as representing the idea of entering a new, spiritual state of being through the acceptance of Christ as one’s Saviour. Presumably Thorvaldsen’s Christ was instrumental in establishing this pictorial convention, having stood in Copenhagen’s cathedral in the form of a plaster cast since 1829 before the marble sculpture was finally erected in 1839.¹³

¹³ It is worth mentioning that Thorvaldsen’s *Christ* became the model for many paintings of Christ standing before the congregation. One especially interesting adaption of the sculpture is F. L. Storch’s painting for Lumby kirke (1856) in which Christ has risen and now stands before the tomb – at the very edge of the painting – opening his arms in an invitation to the spectator, while the same Biblical passage as on the base of Thorvaldsen’s sculpture is quoted below: “Come to me.”

Excursus: Representing Christ

In light of the re-orientation of the altarpiece towards Christ it is hardly surprising that the key discussion of religious painting during this period centred on the representation of Christ. As has been pointed out by several scholars,¹⁴ the art critics of the 1830s were deeply engaged in the question of how art could truthfully represent Christ. A key figure in this debate was the young theologian Karsten Friis Wiborg (1813–1885). His primary concern was to ensure that the many paintings being produced for the Danish churches should be appropriate within a *Protestant* context. He considered it instrumental that protestant artists departed from the figurative traditions of the Middle Ages, and he was particularly critical of the influence of the German Nazarenes, who strove towards reviving religious spirituality in art by approaching late medieval art. Wiborg addressed the issue of truly Protestant painting in his review of the exhibition at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in 1844. Writing on C. W. Eckersberg's (1783–1853) "Jesus Tempted by the Pharisees" (1843) he praised Eckersberg for his historical approach to the Biblical stories:¹⁵

What Eckersberg has done in this as well as in his previous paintings, and what has not previously been recognized, although in hindsight it surely will, is this: He has departed from everything that was rooted in the fantasy of the Catholic Middle Ages . . . that the heavenly were portrayed in every conceivable glory and with a vision in which, as far as possible, each and every trace of their reality was annihilated. . . . Eckersberg will not paint Biblical persons as if they were heavenly, since the scenes he paints took place on Earth. He paints them not as abstract beings, as they were real persons belonging to a particular Nation What is important to him is to highlight that which is central to the biblical persons' actions and work¹⁶

Wiborg considered it to be of national importance that Eckersberg had moved religious art toward a new and truer expression, based on the understanding of Christ

¹⁴ This subject was first raised by Kjærboe, "C. W. Eckersbergs altertavler," 156–158. Subsequently it was discussed by Emma Salling, "Altertavler på udstilling. Guldalderens religiøse maleri i samtidige kunstanmeldelser," *Troens stil i guldalderens kunst*, exhibition catalogue (Nivå: Nivaagaards Malerisamling, 1999).

¹⁵ Reproduced in Kasper Monrad and Peter Michael Hornung, *C. W. Eckersberg – dansk malerkunsts fader* (Gylling: Narayana Press, 2005), 318.

¹⁶ Karsten Friis Wiborg, *Konstudstillingen i 1844, betragtet med stadigt Hensyn til den sig udfoldende danske kunst* (Copenhagen: Universitetsboghandler C. A. Reitzel, 1844), 95. "Hvad Eckersberg baade i dette og i sine tidligere bibelske Malerier har gjort, og hvad der endnu ikke er anerkjendt, skjøndt det visselig engang maa blive det, er Dette, at han har forladt alt Det i sin Fremstilling, som kun var hjemlet i den katholske Middelalders Phantasi At de Himmelske bleve fremstillede i al optænkelig Pragt og med Aasyn, hvori, saavidt muligt, ethvert Spor af deres Virkelighed var tilintetgjort Eckersberg vil ikke male de bibelske Personer som himmelske, efterdi de Scener, hvori han maler dem, foregik paa Jorden; han maler dem ikke som abstrakte Væsener, efterdi de vare virkelige Personer, der hørte til en bestemt Nation . . . ; det er ham derimod om at gjøre af fremhæve alt Det, som er væsentligt i de bibelske Personers Optræden og Virken . . ." My translation.



Fig. 12.2: Heinrich Eddelien, *Christ Blessing*, 1846. Ishøj Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

and his disciples as “real human beings.” Indeed, the only objection Wiborg could muster against Eckersberg’s painting was that some might perhaps understand Jesus as a “Godly human” [*Gudmenneske*], whereas we ought to understand his facial expression as a reflection of the particular situation depicted.¹⁷ Conversely, Wiborg was highly critical of Heinrich Eddelien’s Nazarene-inspired painting *Jesus Blesses the Children*, which was painted for Maarum Church (Fig. 12.3). Indeed, he was decidedly puzzled that an artist of Eddelien’s stature would “debase himself by painting a Catholic, ginger haired and exquisitely dressed Christ whose facial expression is entirely incomprehensible to anyone unfamiliar with the dogmas and world views of the Catholic church; a Christ who from top to bottom must be declared unreal and untrue.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Wiborg, *Konststillingen i 1844*, 97.

¹⁸ Wiborg, *Konststillingen i 1844*, 102–3.



Fig. 12.3: Heinrich Eddelien, *Christ Blessing the Children*, 1843. Maarum Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

Wiborg’s critique has been seen as a reflection of the advent of historical awareness associated in part with the rise of Nationalism during the early nineteenth century.¹⁹ While this is undoubtedly true, I will argue that it is not the main point of his critique. Rather, Wiborg’s insistence on historical correctness served to ensure that Jesus is represented as truthfully as possible; that is, as the *human being* whose life is recounted in Scripture, and not as a divine being “in every conceivable glory.” This position was mirrored by Søren Kierkegaard, who considered Jesus’s human nature as the pivotal aspect of Christian faith. It is because we cannot *know* that Jesus was indeed God, that we must *believe*. In other words: Christian faith grows from the very fact that Jesus was human and that his divinity is invisible to us. The only thing man can do, then, is to

¹⁹ Salling, “Altartavler på udstilling. Guldalderens religiøse maleri i samtidige kunstanmeldelser,” 49.

trust the most humbled of men, when he claims to be God. This seems to be what is at the heart of Wiborg's insistence that Jesus must be depicted as a human being.

Within this line of thinking the depiction of Christ as a mere human is not contrary to, but a prerequisite of our inner appropriating of Christ's dual nature. Even though neither Wiborg nor Kierkegaard approved of depicting Christ as if he is addressing us from his Glory, their ponderings over the truthful depiction of Christ, on Christ's nature, on our existential connection with the Savior, and on the limitation of visibility, lay bare just how much was at stake in paintings of Christ in the first half of the nineteenth century; and which associations were activated, both when Eddelien painted the glorious figure of Christ and when Eckersberg painted him as a human being.

Conversations with Jesus

The understanding of Christ as embodying salvation and the importance of establishing a personal, spiritual relationship with Christ is also highly pertinent to the second important type of altar painting developed in the 1830s, in which the spectator was encouraged to invest herself in an inner dialogue with Jesus and in doing so adopt the Word as if spoken directly to oneself. The type was introduced when C. W. Eckersberg, in 1836, received the commission for a new altar painting to Hornbæk Church and opted for the story of Jesus's conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well (Fig. 12.4).

The altar painting for Hornbæk kirke was completed in 1838. In this painting Christ, dressed in red garments, addresses the Samaritan woman with a speaking gesture, as she rests her arm on the water jar in contemplation of his words. When it was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts the same year, its innovative approach to religious painting was immediately recognized. The leading art historian and critic of the day, Niels Lauritz Høyen (1798–1870), was mainly favourable in his judgement. He noted that Eckersberg had abandoned the traditional narrative structure of religious painting and focused instead on the “life of the conversation,” which the spectator had to bring to its conclusion within her own mind.²⁰ Karsten Friis Wiborg agreed with Høyen's opinion of the painting, and praised Eckersberg for allowing us to read the entire story on the faces of the two figures: “Professor Eckersberg has portrayed Christ's face quite astonishingly and in my opinion genially and truthfully. The artist has abandoned the usual type for Christ's face in

²⁰ Niels Lauritz Høyen, “Udsigt over det Mærkeligste paa Konststillingen 1838,” in *Niels Lauritz Høyens Skrifter*, ed. J. L. Ussing (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1871), 105–6.

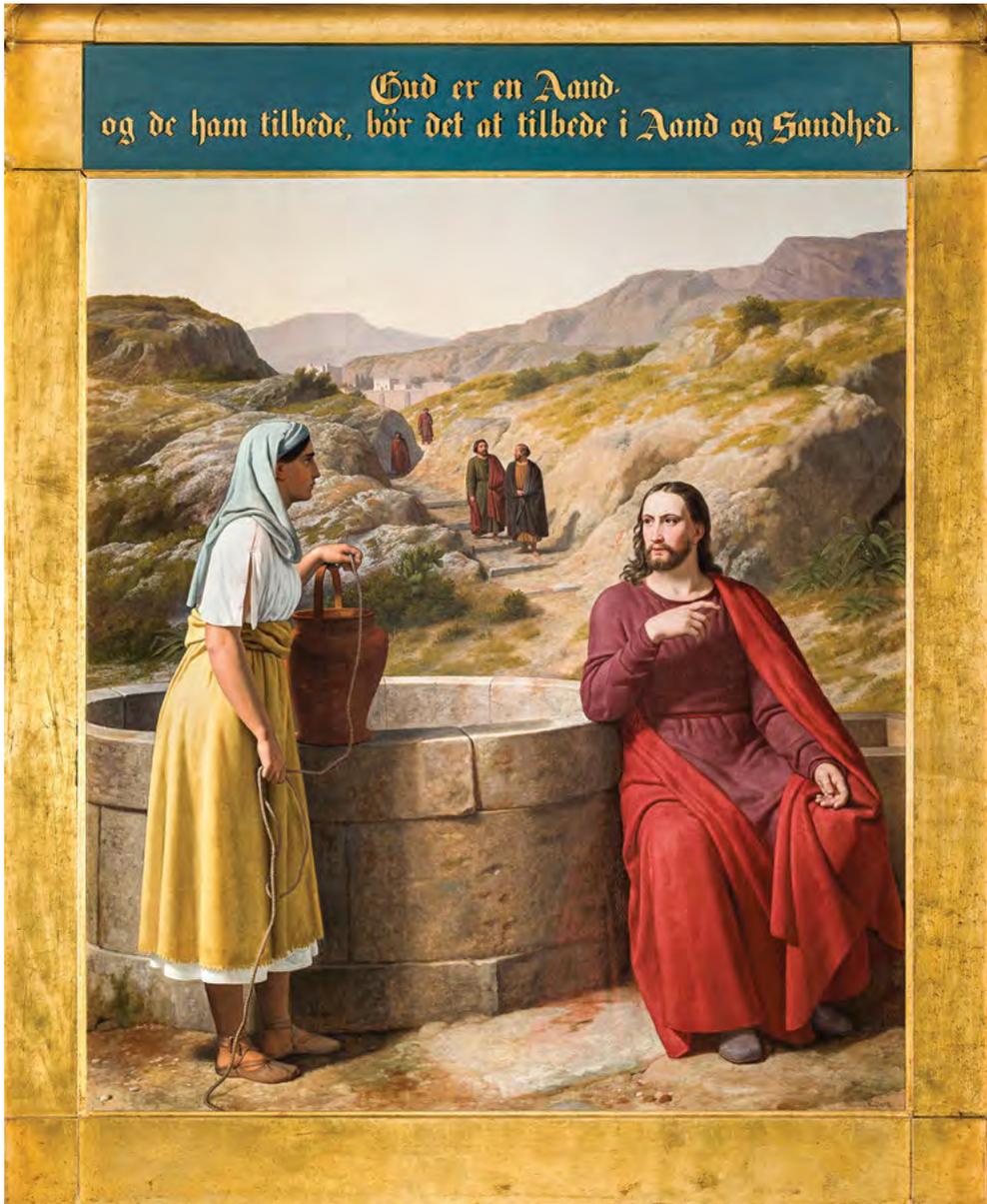


Fig. 12.4: C. W. Eckersberg, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, 1838. Hornbæk Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

which affection is the main trait . . . But in this painting it is different; it is the *thought*, which seems personified in this Christ.”²¹

Both Høyen and Wiborg recognized that Eckersberg’s picture marked an important shift in altar painting towards telling the Biblical story by means of the spectator’s contemplative investment in the conversation; that is, in Jesus’s words. It is surely no coincidence that this type of altar painting was introduced in the late 1830s, some twenty years after the foundation of The Danish Bible Society in 1814, and The Danish School Acts of the same year.²² The former had as its explicit goal to promote the reading of the Bible and distributed it by the thousands. Similarly, the Bible was frequently utilized in the schools’ reading lessons, and as a result, the generations growing up in the 1820s and 1830s not only had access to the Bible, but they were also capable of reading it and they were familiar with the stories.²³

Eckersberg introduced a type of altar painting that required the spectators to be intimately familiar with scripture and capable of not only recognizing the correct Biblical story, but even of recalling how the conversation unfolded. In this process Christ’s words were internalized, so to speak, as if spoken directly to you. It is, of course, interesting to note that with this type of altar painting Eckersberg’s not only severed the connection between the altar painting and the rituals of the church; he even seems to have made this the very point of the painting. The quote cited above the picture does not stress Christ’s offer of “a well of life,” as later paintings of the story would, but that worship of God takes place within the believer and is not bound to any specific location: “God is Spirit and his worshipers must worship in the Spirit and in truth” (John 4:24). While this choice may be in direct response to contemporary theological debates,²⁴ they also reflect a turn towards the individual and towards the inwardness of belief similar to what we found in Thorvaldsen and Lund. In a very literal sense the story of the Samaritan woman allowed Eckersberg

21 Karsten Friis Wiborg, *Kritik over de ved det kgl. Akademie for de skønne Kunster udstillede Malerier* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schiboths Boghandlings Forlag, 1838), 172. “Christi Ansigt har Prof. Eckersberg fremstillet aldeles eiendommeligt, og i mine Tanker høist genialt og sandt; kunstneren har forladt den sædvanlige Typus for Christushoveder, hvorved det Følelsesfulde stedse er Hovedpræget . . . Men i nærværende Maleri er det anderledes; det er Tanken, der ligesom er personificeret i denne Christus.” My translation.

22 The Danish School Acts of 1814 was a set of laws that established a national system of mass schooling by making school mandatory (and free) for children between the ages of 7 and 14.

23 Jens Rasmussen, *Vækkelser i dansk luthersk fælleskultur* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2016), 224–5.

24 The early nineteenth century, and in particular the 1830s, was marked by a fierce discussion over the church rituals; Rasmussen, *En brydningstid*, 71–92. In that context the quote of John 4:24 can possibly be seen as stressing a Lutheran tenet defined in the Augsburg Confession of 1530, articles 7–8, that the church is simply the community of all believers and that “the Word and the sacraments are able to produce their results because Christ instituted them and commanded us to use them. This is true even when they are given and administered by evil men.”

to point towards Christ's divinity from within the confines of the Rationalistic theology, by asking the spectator to perform the conversation, and in doing so internalize Christ's words and personally experience their divine truth.

Høyen voiced his doubts that an image of a conversation would be ideally suited for an altar painting.²⁵ Nonetheless, Christ's many conversations with his disciples and with individual believers were quickly established as an accepted and highly popular motif for altar painting; not least among Eckersberg's followers. Even before Eckersberg himself managed to finish *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, Christen Købke (1810–1848) had painted Christ's nightly conversation with Nicodemus for Ramløse Church (1838); Jørgen Roed (1808–1888) interpreted the story of the Samaritan woman for Nødebo Church in 1839; and Dankvart Dreyer (1816–1852) painted the first version of the story of the visit to Martha and Mary for Barløse Church in 1841. These paintings defined the conversation type and established its subject matter.

To illustrate what is at stake in these paintings we may look closer at a slightly later painting, Constantin Hansen's (1804–1880) *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* painted for Valby Church in 1846 (Fig. 12.5). On a raised terrace we find Jesus seated at a table standing before a doorway covered by a green veil. Mary sits at his feet, she has stopped sewing and is listening intently at Jesus's words, while Martha approaches them from the left. Martha has apparently paused while fetching water and she is still standing on the bare ground with only one foot raised onto the terrace, while she addresses Jesus with a gesture of the hand. Jesus replies by looking mildly at Martha as he seems to speak, while gesticulating towards Mary with one hand and pointing upwards with the other. The pointing finger obviously refer to the Heavens, but it takes on a much more specific meaning as Jesus literally refers both Martha and the spectator to the frieze of the altarpiece where a part of his reply is quoted: "One thing is needful" (Luke 10:42).

What we see is a painting of a conversation whose topic only becomes apparent through the picture's dialogue with the words Jesus points towards. These words, "One thing is needful," initiates the process Høyen noted: As the words do not properly explain the picture, each spectator must instead complete the painting within themselves by drawing on their personal knowledge of the Bible and virtually re-enact the story.

²⁵ There is a distinct discrepancy between Høyen's criticism of Eckersberg's attempt at transforming the altarpiece into a vehicle for the spectator's active engagement in Jesus's words and Høyen's definition that the Word is the very purpose of an altar painting; Niels Lauritz Høyen, "Om Kirkelig Konst. Foredrag paa det kirkehistoriske Selskabs Møde 1853," in *Niels Laurits Høyens Skrifter II*, ed. J. L. Ussing (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1874), 28. Considering that Høyen identified Rembrandt's *Christ in Emmaus* (now in Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen) as an ideal for religious painting, it would seem that he simply favoured a higher level of narrative and emotional drama that Eckersberg's painting did not deliver.



Fig. 12.5: Constantin Hansen, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, 1846. Valby Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

And in doing so the spectator internalizes Jesus’s words and his lesson about why Mary did right when she let chores be chores and concerned herself with the one needful thing: to know Christ the Saviour. In other words, the picture is not meant to demonstrate Jesus’s lesson to us, we must demonstrate that we understand and can apply Jesus’s lesson for the painting to truly work.

This approach reflects the understanding of religious painting that Constantin Hansen voiced in an undated draft for an unpublished speech “The Relationship between Faith and Art” [“Forholdet mellem Tro og Kunst”]. Picking up on the old discussion of how art can represent God’s divinity, Hansen argued that an artist can follow two paths. The artist may either “signify” God by means of symbols. Or the artist may focus on a single aspect of God that is particularly relevant to the given situation, and thereby “awaken the spectator’s imagination and inspire self-

activity.”²⁶ Hansen preferred the latter path. In an article of 1863, on religious works of art, he stated that art is a mere tool for the individual’s engagement with God.²⁷ This is exactly what the conversation-altar paintings aim to do. They present us with a scene designed to activate our knowledge of the Word and in doing so we complete the story by virtually reliving the conversation in our mind; thus bridging the gap between the picture and Jesus’s elliptically quoted lesson, and in doing so understanding its importance for our own lives.

It is important to note that among the many stories of Christ’s conversations, the artists of the 1830s and 1840s focused on those that stressed the importance of knowing Jesus as your saviour and of being *with* him. This is a key aspect of all the formative paintings of the conversational type. Jørgen Roed’s interpretation of the story of the Samaritan Woman, of 1839, stressed the first part of the conversation in which Christ offers the reward of believing in him: “The water that I will give him will become in him a well of life that lasts forever” (John 4:14). Similarly, Købke’s painting of Nicodemus resonates, of course, with both the lesson on the importance of spiritual rebirth and with Christ’s famous words: “For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life” (John 3:16). Similarly, in Eckersberg’s choice of *The Greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven* (Matt 18:1–5) for St. Nicholas’ Church in Middelfart (Fig. 12.6) he focused on individual belief and the importance of accepting the Savior with the immediacy and humility of a child if one is to enter Heaven. It would seem that during this period the Biblical conversations were selected for their ability to engage the spectator in reflections on her individual faith and relationship with Christ as the prerequisite of salvation.

If we return to Constantin Hansen’s painting, it becomes apparent that the picture is constructed to assist the spectator in engaging in contemplating her individual faith and her personal relationship with Christ. Most obviously, the wine growing on the wall would surely remind the spectator of the Eucharist. But perhaps it would also remind her of the parable of the vine and its lesson; that only the branches growing on the vine (Christ) bears fruit. It is equally significant that Hansen has carefully positioned Martha and Mary in different zones of the picture. Mary knows Christ and is placed on the raised terrace, whereas Martha has not yet devoted herself completely to Christ and is standing on the bare ground next to the terrace, but with a foot raised upon it to indicate that she will soon have understood Jesus’s words. Elaborating on this theme of hierarchical spaces Christ is placed before an opening covered by a green veil, which bears an uncanny resemblance to the one in J. L. Lund’s *Christ* (Fig. 12.1).

²⁶ Quoted after Kjærboe, “C. W. Eckersbergs altertavler,” 156–7. “Men Nutidens Kunst maae gaae til Værks paa lignende Maade, lægge hele sin Kraft paa en enkelt Side af det Gudommelige: . . . den Side, som især fremtræder ved den givne Situation og saaledes vækker Tilskuerens Fantasi til Selvvirksomhed . . .” My translation. Cf. Linnet, “Imitatio Christi,” 96–7.

²⁷ Constantin Hansen, “De skjøne Kunstners Enhed,” *Nordisk Universitetstidsskrift* 9, no. 1 (1863): 7–9.



Fig. 12.6: C. W. Eckersberg, *The Greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven*, 1842. St. Nicholas' Church, Middelfart. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2009.

Surely, this veil too alludes to the Holy of Holies and to the notion that only through Christ will we gain entrance to the sacred space behind him. This allusion is further amplified by the picture's frame, which is shaped as a Gothic cathedral window, further suggesting an opening into a sacred space. We might say, that in this painting the traditional motif of the New Jerusalem as a metaphor for salvation is utilized to strengthen the image of Jesus the Saviour.

Conclusion

The face of Danish altar painting changed considerably during the nineteenth century. I have sought to demonstrate how artists such as Bertel Thorvaldsen, C. W. Eckersberg, and J. L. Lund strove to develop new types of altar decorations – sculptures and painting – that allowed the spectator to engage in personal reflections

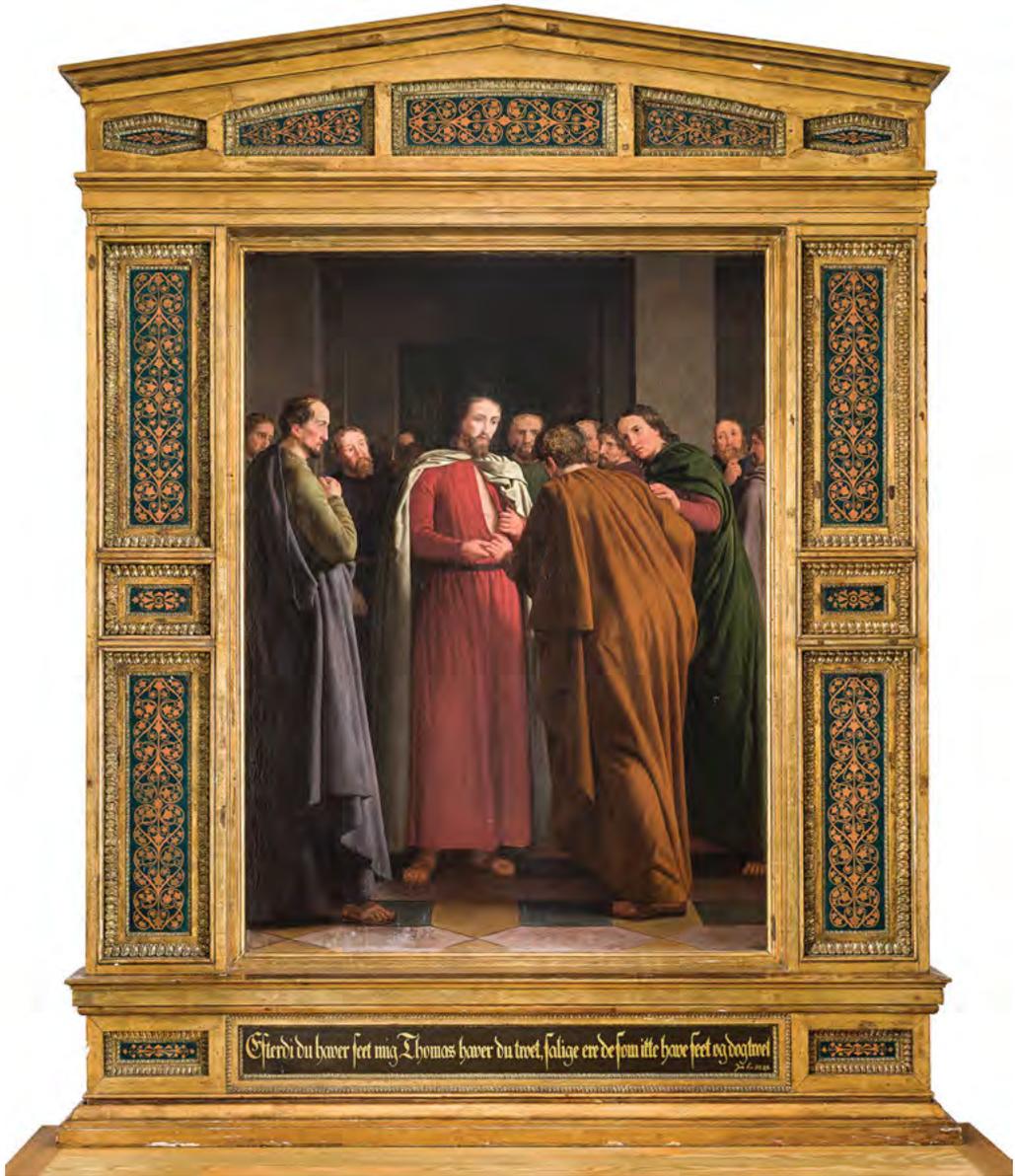


Fig. 12.7: C. W. Eckersberg, *The Incredulity of Thomas*, 1833. Skævinge Church. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, 2018.

on their own belief in Christ, from which a personal experience of Christ's divinity could spring. This change in approach reflects the religious thinking of the day. The Danish church was still firmly rooted in Rationalistic theological thought during the first decades of the nineteenth century, even as the church, during the 1820s, came to be dominated by Supranaturalist theologians. Like the older generation of theologians, the Supranaturalists understood human reason as a God-given means to acknowledge the truth of Christianity. For the Supranaturalists, however, the faculty of reason was only the starting point for a deeper and more individual revelation of Christ's divinity.

In the arts, the reorientation towards the believer's inner life transformed Christ's divinity from something to be expressed on the surface of the painting, to something the spectator experienced internally, and it transformed the way the idea of the New Jerusalem was utilized in the works of art. As we have seen, the idea and iconography of the heavenly Jerusalem was frequently utilized in both the framework of the altarpieces, either by representing Christ as the path to the eternal Kingdom, or simply by alluding to the passage from one site—or state of being—to another, more privileged one. It is illuminating to compare the understanding of salvation expressed in these pictures with Martin Luther's description of the spiritual ideal of the New Jerusalem: "Now the heavenly Jerusalem above is the church, that is, believers scattered throughout the world, who have the same Gospel, the same faith in Christ, the same Holy Spirit, and the same sacraments."²⁸ Although Luther's starting point was the individual – that Christ is only Christ *pro me* (for me) – he defined the heavenly Jerusalem as a spiritual community in the world. This communal aspect, so prevalent in Luther's understanding of the heavenly Jerusalem, played a very limited role in the religious art of the nineteenth century. Here, the New Jerusalem refers less outwards towards a spiritual community than inwards, towards Luther's *pro me*. The altar paintings we have examined all share in transforming the altarpiece from being in a dialogue with the communal rituals performed in the church, to being an instrument for subjective reflection on personal faith. Indeed, some of the most innovative altar paintings of the period, including Eckersberg's *The Incredulity of Thomas* of 1833 (Fig. 12.7) and *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* of 1838 (Fig. 12.4), even made the question of the believer's personal doubts and beliefs the focal point of the high altar.

Looking at these new types of altar paintings through the lens of Søren Kierkegaard helps us understand how the pictures established a sort of sympathetic mirroring of the beholder in Christ. To see and be seen by Christ encourages the believer to reflect on both her personal relationship with Christ, on who she is to Christ, and on taking Christ's lessons to heart and shaping one's life in accordance with them. That is: to become aware of one's sinful nature, but nevertheless be offered Christ's invitation and

²⁸ Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Lectures on Galatians 1535: Chapters 1–4. Volume 26*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St Louis, Mo: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 439.

ultimately accept Christ as the Saviour. Seen through this lens the paintings we have examined express an ideal of entering into a privileged spiritual state by personally accepting Christ. In this context, the notion of New Jerusalem explicated and amplified the deeper significance of the image of Christ addressing us. The very figure of Christ became the vehicle for reflections on both the spiritual rebirth in this world and the future salvation, and as such the idea of the New Jerusalem can be said to have been embodied in the period's representations of Christ.



Fig. 13.1: Skibby Church, Zeeland, Denmark. Exterior. H. B. Storck, 1860. Pencil and water colour, 17 × 25 cm. The National Museum of Denmark.

Line M. Bonde

Chapter 13

Jerusalem Has Left the Building: The Church Inspection Act of 1861 as a Means to Rebuild Jerusalem in the Danish Parish Churches

Jerusalem imagery vanished from the Danish churches in the nineteenth century. The faith was losing its grip on the increasingly secularized population and the church buildings became more and more dilapidated and desolate. Since the early Church, throughout the Middle Ages, and across the Reformation(s), it has been commonplace to understand the church building – God’s house – as an allegory of the New Jerusalem. The visualization of Jerusalem in the church buildings was altered along with changing religious attitudes, but it was always represented, one way or the other. These explicit visualizations or allusions to Jerusalem ceased in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. Yet, according to the Danish theologian N.F.S. Grundtvig’s (1783–1872) sermon of 1810 “Wherefore is the Word of the Lord disappeared from out of His House?”¹ the allegory itself, or at least the church building understood as God’s house was still very much alive. This chapter explores how and what measures were taken in the last half of the century in an effort to “re-build Jerusalem,” as the state church was replaced by the so-called people’s church.

Paradigmatic Shifts and Dilapidated Parish Church Buildings

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the ordinary Dane belonged to the Lutheran state church and was baptized, confirmed, and married in the local parish church, and interred in its churchyard. This was statutory. Revival movements, however, which

¹ “Hvi er Herrens Ord forsvundet af hans Hus?” This was Grundtvig’s dismissory sermon delivered in the Regency Church, Copenhagen, in order to be ordained. The Regency Church was a minor chapel primarily used for educational purposes by the Faculty of Theology. Translation from Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Danmarks kirkehistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1987), 206.

Note: I am grateful to Dr. Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen for generously sharing his forthcoming article with me and for inspiring conversations on the subject.

had risen during the previous century, still had a solid grip in parts of the population. Furthermore, the theologian Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig scorned the rationalist teachers, and his opponent the theologian and philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) raged against the Hegelianism of the established clergy, and all were in turn given tit for tat by the state church. Moreover, an insisting secularism gained ground in the wake of the Enlightenment movement and a general discontent was smouldering in the population, effectively resulting in the adoption of the Danish Act of Constitution of 1849 following the abolition of absolutism the previous year. The state church was now officially declared a “people’s church” [*Folkekirke*], and freedom of conscience was introduced along with freedom of assembly.² This radical change in governance, however, did not mean that state and Church was now separated. On the contrary, it is clearly stated in §4 of the Constitution that: “the Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and as such shall be supported by the State.”³ Among other things, state support meant that the people’s church was still governed by the king and the parliament, and thus that services and official holidays were specified by law, as was instruction in Christianity in the schools. The Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen was also under the auspice of the newly established Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction.⁴ Despite the regulatory efforts, the ecclesiological strife of the first half of the century only intensified with the democratic values coming into force. Put bluntly, three main factions asserted themselves: the so-called “rationalists” (liberal), the Grundtvigians,⁵ and the Inner Mission.⁶ The “rationalist” current was primarily detected among the urban, intellectual, clerical elite, who held positions at the University and in the Ministry. The Grundtvigians’ main claim of ecclesiastical freedom had rooted itself among the many throughout the country, whereas the Inner Mission – which had originated as a lay revivalist movement – had established itself by the late

2 Martin Schwartz Lausten, *A Church History of Denmark*, trans. Frederick H. Cryer (London: Routledge, 2016), 229ff. In paragraph 67 it says “Citizens shall be at liberty to form congregations for the worship of God in a manner according with their convictions, provided that nothing contrary to good morals or public order shall be taught or done,” translation from International Labour Organization, “The Constitutional Act of Denmark,” accessed January 15, 2019, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_protect/-protrav/-ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_127469.pdf.

3 “Den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke er den danske Folkekirke og understøttes som saadan af Staten.” This is still the situation today. Translation from International Labour Organization, “The Constitutional Act of Denmark.”

4 Lausten, *A Church History of Denmark*, 230f.

5 A lot has been published on Grundtvig and his followers, and on the internal strife within the movement itself. Of newer literature on the subject see e.g. J. A. Hall, O. Korsgaard and O. K. Pedersen, eds., *Building on the Nation: N.F.S. Grundtvig and Danish National Identity* (Montréal, Québec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 27.

6 See Lausten, *A Church History of Denmark*, 238ff. See also Chapter 11 (Joar Haga), 214–23.

1850s as “a movement of believers seeking to awaken the unbelievers” from inside the established people’s church. All in all, the scepticism toward the established clergy loomed large. In an effort to meet especially Grundtvigian demands, additional laws were passed throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, resulting among other things in the establishment of so-called “free churches” and “elective congregations”; *i.e.* churches independent of the nation state. In other words, by the middle of the century the societal and political situation had drastically changed: Absolutism was replaced by constitutional monarchy and the state-controlled religion was replaced by the freedom of conscience.

Still, the vast majority of the general public were now members of the people’s church, and their worship services were still held in the same old parish churches as they had been since the buildings themselves were erected during the long twelfth century.⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, many of the old parish churches were in a dilapidated state, marked by the ravages of time. Especially the church interiors had become crowded and variegated throughout the centuries, as generations of local gentry and ordinary parishioners had built large funerary monuments and galleries, hung epitaphs, donated different embellishments and objects etc., while older furnishings or even the church building itself had not necessarily been maintained or restored (Figs. 13.1, 13.2).⁸

Just how poor a state some of these church buildings were in at the time can be conveniently illustrated by an entry from June 14, 1817, in the church inspection protocol from Lunde District, Funen:

The porch of Hjadstrup Church needs a window. The entire church is “green” from moist, as the soil rises high up against the exterior Southern wall, and the church needs liming. The kneeler needs new upholstery, the book stool needs new fabric, and the female pews need backs. The closet for storage of building materials in the west end of the nave might be covered at the bottom, but lime dust still flies about the church interior, causing great harm to the health of the parishioners. The floor at the western most part of the nave is broken and has a nasty drop just in front of the door, which may cause one to fall over. Some of the beams in the tower are rotten, the staircase lacks steps, and the spiral staircase is worn and way to shallow. Also, the gate in the graveyard fence is broken.⁹

⁷ The vast majority of the stone churches in Denmark were built within the period 1080–1250. See Chapter 15 (Line M. Bonde), vol. 1, 299–323. After the Reformation, almost no new buildings were erected. Rather, the already standing buildings were refurbished. See also Jakob Kieffer-Olsen, *Kirke og kirkestruktur i middelalderens Danmark* (Odense: Synddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018), 4; Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation: Changing Interiors of Village Churches, 1450–1600*, Ritus et Artes (Ritus 6) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 3; Ulla Kjær and Grinder-Hansen, *Kirkerne i Danmark*, 2 vols. (Viborg: Boghandlerforlaget A/S, 1988), 5.

⁸ See for example Skibby Church, Zealand and Endelave Church, Jutland in *Danmarks kirker* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1933–), from now on abbreviated DK[county]. DKFrøbg: 2641–2703; DKAarhus: 5299–5336.

⁹ “Hjadstrup Kirkes våbenhus kunne trænge til et vindue. Hele kirken er ‘grøn’ af fugtighed, da jorden udvendigt ligger højt op mod søndre sides mur, og kirken trænger til kalkning. Knæfaldet

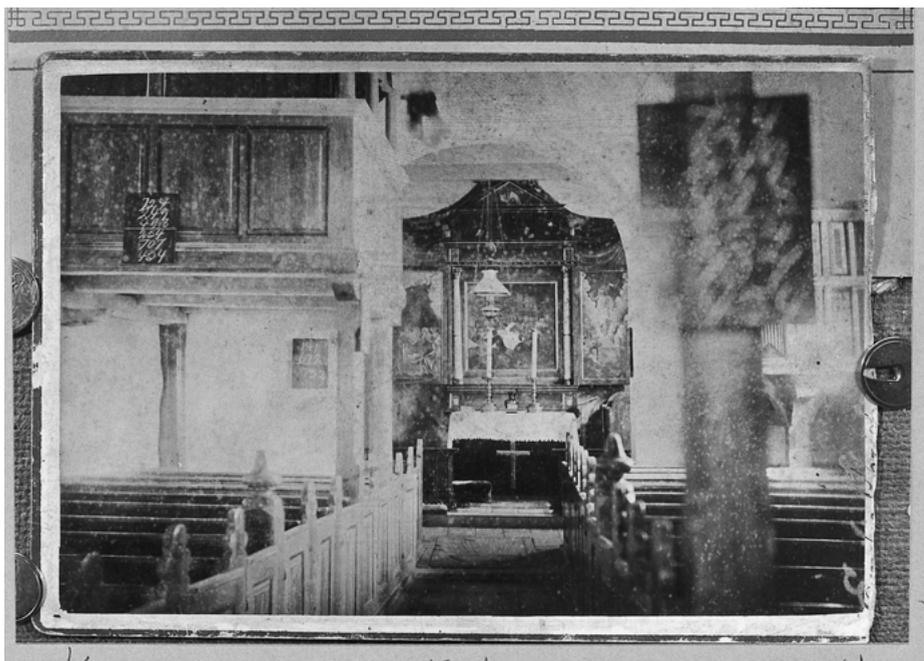


Fig. 13.2: Endelave Church, Jutland, Denmark. Interior facing East. Before 1890. The National Museum of Denmark.

It should be noted, though, that dilapidated parish churches were not specific to the nineteenth century. Almost all of the church buildings were privately owned and had been so at least since the Reformation.¹⁰ This meant that the less the church owners spent on maintenance, the more they would prosper from the tithes. Thus, pleas to the King for financial help with the up-keep are common already from the sixteenth century. In an effort to amend the problem, a yearly church inspection was enforced by law in 1643.¹¹ The inspections were undertaken by the parish priest and four local members of the congregation; none of whom necessarily knew anything about buildings or furnishings. The lack of expertise resulted in many places in neglect or bungling reparations. For instance, in the parish church of Mesinge, Funen, a brick-built family vault collapsed twice during

trænger til udstopning og læsestolen til betræk og fruentimmerstolene til rygstød. Materialhuset nederst i kirken er godt nok afklædt forneden, men kalkstøvet flyver rundt i kirkerummet til skade for de kirkesøgendes sundhed. Nederst i kirken er gulvet ujævnt og har et slemt stød lige for døren, hvor man kan falde. I tårnet er nogle bjælker rådne, trappen mangler trin, vindeltrappen slidt og alt for lav. Endelig er kirkeporten noget beskadiget." Landsarkivet Fyn, LAFyn, Stamhuset Østrupgård (Lunde Herred) Dokumenter vedr. Østrup og Hjadstrup Kirker, 1817. My translation.

¹⁰ Kjær and Grinder-Hansen, *Kirkerne i Danmark*, ch. 2.

¹¹ For an account of the economic aspects of the churches see e.g. Kjær and Grinder-Hansen, *Kirkerne i Danmark*, ch. 2.

the same service in 1823, even though it was reported already in 1812 that the ceiling of the vault was in such a poor condition that communicants risked bursting through down into the vault.¹² And in Solrød Church on Zealand the pulpit was in 1814 described as being decrepit, and still fifty years later it was noted to be downright hazardous to climb it.¹³ Not before 1802 was an ordinance passed, which stipulated that every inspection party had to include two building experts; a carpenter and a mason. Yet, as the two examples show, it all still came down to whether or not the patron was willing to finance the repairs needed.¹⁴ It was thus not until the so-called Church Inspection Act was introduced in 1861 that the church owners were lawfully obliged to keep their church buildings in good repair. More important for the purposes of this chapter, however, it should be noticed that the Act of 1861 differs radically from the previous legislation, “The Danish Law of King Christian V” [*Danske Lov*] in a number of ways.¹⁵ The Act of 1861 reflects not only a concern for the church buildings as cultural-historical objects, which is something entirely new; it also indicates a willingness of the nation state to mediate in the internal ecclesiological strife of the people’s church. We see this most clearly in §3, which explicitly states that it is the duty of the “Inspection of the Church” to take care that no shortcomings of the church building or its fittings may harm the worship service.¹⁶ As such, one of the primary concerns of the Act, it could be claimed, was to accommodate and provide a proper and decent space for worship, which could be accepted across the different ecclesiological fractions. As a means to practically obtain a proper space for uninterrupted worship, the Church Inspection Act operates with the concept “original style.” That is, it clearly specifies that the “cleaning up” or repairing of a given church should be done in accordance with “its original style.”¹⁷

At this point, one might wonder what all of this has got to do with visual allusions of Jerusalem. As stated in the brief introduction to this chapter, explicit Jerusalem imagery seems to have left the church buildings during the nineteenth century, despite the fact that Jerusalem allegory was still very much alive. To my mind, the two central aspects of the just mentioned §3 – namely the guarantee of an uninterrupted worship service and the specific mention of “original style” – are keys if we want to understand why Jerusalem left the building and how efforts were made to “rebuild it.” Thus, these two interrelated phenomena will form the basis of the following discussions.

¹² “kommunikanterne var ‘i fare for at styrte ned i kælderbegravelsen.” DKOdense: 4651.

¹³ DKKbh: 1090.

¹⁴ Kjær and Grønder-Hansen, *Kirkerne i Danmark*, II, 16.

¹⁵ Specifically, on the church inspection: *Kong Christian den Femtes danske lov af 15. april 1683*, edited by V.A. Secher and S. Iuul (Copenhagen: Gad, 1949), 2. afd. ch. 22.

¹⁶ “Kirkesynet skal fornemmelig vaage over, at Gudstjenesten ikke lider ved Mangler i Kirkens Tilstand, eller i det Tilbehør, som til Gudstjenesten er nødvendigt . . . Enhver Kirke skal, saavidt andre Hensyn tilstede det, vedligeholdes saavel indvendig som udvendig paa den Maade, der stemmer overens med dens oprindelige Stil.” *Lov om nogle Bestemmelser vedrørende Kirkesyn, Præstegaardssyn m.v. Christiansborg Slot, den 19de Februar 1861* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schulz, 1861), 4–5, §3.

¹⁷ *Lov om nogle Bestemmelser vedrørende Kirkesyn*, 4–5, §3.

The Zeitgeist of the Danes and the Rise of a National Antiquarianism

Jerusalem imagery was ubiquitous in a variety of art forms throughout the Middle Ages; not least in the architectural expression of the many church buildings understood as local Jerusalems.¹⁸ Following the official Danish Reformation of 1536, however, the medieval way of visualizing Jerusalem – often as architectural and/or floral paradisiac structures – seems to have rapidly declined. Instead, in the early-modern orthodox Lutheran church interiors, the metaphor of Solomon’s temple was cultivated in the contemporary hymns, enabling church owners (*jus patronatus*) and local nobility to justifiably furnish the Lord’s house with lavish, baroque interiors – just as Solomon had embellished his temple and as John had described the New Jerusalem in his Vision.¹⁹ In the many epitaphs of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, it became commonplace to have the towered and domed city of Jerusalem as a back drop to the Crucifixion.²⁰ In an effort to secure admittance into the New Jerusalem, the deceased family were visually as well as symbolically inscribed directly into Salvation History. Yet, as already noted, in many places the churches and their crowded interiors decayed, and their miserable state soon became a metaphor for the declining religious sentiment in the population and thus for the Church as such.

The nineteenth-century linking of the physical and spiritual affective decline is illustrated quite tellingly in the poem “In a Village Church” [*En Landsbykirke*] by the rural physician and poet Emil Aarestrup (1800–1856) published in 1837. I give here the full poem in verbatim translation, as the point is not so much its poetic qualities, but its keen analysis of contemporary attitudes to religion and the church:

We sat in the village church
A raw November sky
Lit lightly along the wall
The wall, green from moist.

Three, four old peasants
And a teacher and a clerk were the herd
Whom by the ratchet cry from the tower,
were called by the cracked bell.

Dust on all of the pews
Of paintings were only to be seen
The hand drawings in the chancel
By the skilled youth.

And, as depicted on Hogarth’s plate (Fig. 13.3)²¹
Engraved in bitter whim,
The poor box was
All covered by spider web.

18 See Chapter 1 (Kristin B. Aavitsland), vol. 1, 12–41; Chapter 15 (Line M. Bonde), vol. 1, 299–323; Chapter 19 (Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen), vol. 1, 394–421.

19 See Chapter 17 (Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen), vol. 2, 316–43; Chapter 19 (Joar Haga), vol. 2, 363–89; Chapter 20 (Beate Schmidt), vol. 2, 390–415.

20 Chapter 17 (Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen), vol. 2, 316–43.

21 Refers to an engraving called “Married To An Old Maid,” by the satirical British painter and engraver William Hogarth (1697–1764). In the bottom left is depicted a poor box covered in spider web.

In place of an organ,
By winter gale's howling,
The door squeaked by its hinge
And the lead window chinked.

The only pair of angels,
That were to be found, lay in the gravel,
Worm-eaten, crippled,
Reclining in the porch.

And the candles on the altar
Where not lit – good gracious!
Nothing else could
More easily be spared.

The inch-long pieces
Sustained a profit in the candlestick,
And the altar cloth was a sordid
And cobbled old sheet.

There was a profound desolation,
A coldness and a desertedness,
There was an awful emptiness,
As if in a grave among the dead.

There was – well, enough said!
You do not want know anymore,
And nor do I
Want to hint at the worst.

Enough, I guess, to dishearten
A virtuoso, let alone
A dilettante of the Faith
As I and my equals.

Albeit *you* – were at my side;
I noticed your youthful forehead
A cupola in the purest of styles,
Shaping a gracious arch.

It had no frown;
A heavenly unity
Were in these curves,
Were in these colours' purity.

And in your glances, lit
By the angels of youth and innocence,
Were altar candles that shone
Calmly and radiantly.

The silent language of the smile,
In the shape and blush of the mouth,
Surpassed the bliss and sweetness
Of all of the hymns.

Fully worthy an organ of silver
From the chairs in the gallery
A tuneful purl
Me from your silken gown

An oriental parable,
A delightful doctrine
Was in your soft
And brown-haired braiding.

And all the quiet devotion,
Which raises mind and heart,
And all the pious shiver,
Demanded by the shrine –

I sensed it in your closeness,
Your pensive, solemn
expression instigated on
My improvidence and my coldness.²²

²² My translation. "Vi sad i Landsbykirken./ En raa Novemberhimmel/ Oplyste svagt langs Muren/ En fugtiggrønne Skimmel.//Tre, fire gamle Bønder,/ Samt Præst og Degn, var Flokken, Som med sit Skrat fra Taarnet,/ Høirevnet, kaldte Klokken.// Støv laae paa alle Bænke./ Af Malerier spored/ Man kun den flinke Ungdoms/ Haandtegninger i Choret.// Og, som paa Hogarths Plade/ I bittert Lune stukket,/ Var over Fattigbøssen/ Tæt Spindelvævet trukket.// Istedetfor et Orgel,/ Til Vinterstormens Tuden, Peb Døren med sit Hængsel/ Og klirrede Blyruden./ Det eneste Par Engle,/ Som fandtes, laae i Gruset,/ Ormstukne, invalide,/ Henslængt i Vaabehuset.// Og Lysene paa Altret/ Var ikke tændt – bevares!/ Der gives intet Sted, hvor/ Meer ugeneert kan spares.// De tommelange Stumper/ Stod paa Profit i Stagen,/ Og Dugen var et smudsigt/ Og stoppet gammelt Lagen.// Der var en dyb Forladthed,/ En kulde og et Øde, / Der var en rædsom Tomhed,/ Som i en Grav hos Døde.// Der var – dog nok om dette!/ Du vil ei mere høre,/ Og jeg



Fig. 13.3: “Married to an Old Maid” (plate 5) from *A Rake’s Progress*, 1735, by William Hogarth. Engraving.

The poem can, in its own right, be read in at least two ways: the very literal one, in which the church building and the faith has all but given way to worldly eroticism, or, it can be read metaphorically (also in a number of ways). Even though it can be discussed what a character such as Aarestrup wanted to convey in his poem,²³ the very

vil ikke heller/ Det Værste just berøre.// Nok vel, til at forstemme/ En Virtuøs, endsige/ En dilettant i Troen/ Som mig og mine Lige.// Men *du* – var ved min side;/ Jeg saae din unge Pande/ I renest Stil en Kuppel,/ En yndig Hvælving danne.// Paa den var ingen Fure;/ Der var en himmelsk Eenhed/ I disse Liniers Bøining,/ I disse Farvers Reenhed.// Og dine Blik, som roligt/ Med klare Straaler brændte.// Det stumme Sprog i Smilet,/ I Mundens Form og Rødme,/ Overgik alle Psalmers/ Livsalighed og Sødme.// Fuldværd et Sølvorgel/ I Pulpitrets Stole/ Var en melodisk Rislen/ Mig af din Silkekjole./ En østerlandsk Parabel,/ En yndig Læresætning/ Var i de brune Lokker/ Og deres bløde Fletning.// Og al den stille Andagt,/ Som Sind og Hjerter hæver,/ Og al den fromme Gysen,/ Som Helligdommen kræver – // Fornam jeg i din Nærhed,/ Indgjød dit tankefulde/ Høitidelige Udtryk/ Mit Letsind og min Kulde.” Emil Aarestrup, “I en Landsbykirke,” in *Digte* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1838), 9.

23 This is not the place to give an exhaustive analysis of the poem or to delve further into the “romanticist” works of Aarestrup in general. For discussions of Aarestrup and his poems, see e.g. Keld Zeruneith, *Den frigjorte. Emil Aarestrup i digtning og samtid. En biografi* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981), 11. It should be noticed that Georg Brandes wrote a biographical essay on Aarestrup, which was published in 1866 in *Dansk Maanedsskrift*, see Henning Fenger, *Georg Brandes’ læreår. Læsning, idéer, smag, kritik, 1847–1872* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1955), 426, 444; and Claus Elholm Andersen, “Exile and Naturalism: Reading Georg Brandes Reading Emil Aarestrup,” *Scandinavian Studies* 78, no. 4 (2006): 10.

tangible description of the dilapidated state of a parish church building and its furnishings, and the lack of a vibrant congregation – even during service – reflects, at least to some extent, the reality in a number of parishes, as we clearly saw in the above cited protocol-entry from Hjadstrup Church. At any rate, Aarestrup's poem seems to epitomize the worst-case scenario voiced by the nineteenth-century theologians and teachers. Turning to the layered metaphorical reading, the dreary account of the actual building is counterbalanced by the warmth embedded in the description of the woman. The portrayal of the woman is in fact an affective echo of the emptiness of the dilapidated architecture. Her presence does indeed “instigate on the improvidence and coldness.” As such, the woman becomes the Bride of Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem; an image of the ideal church building. That, which is not tangible is here described in a very tangible manner. Whether or not the woman was indeed intended as the Bride of Christ or as an actual human woman – an object eroticized by the male gaze – does in this respect not matter. What matters is the desperate longing for a transcendent experience that so seems to characterize the nineteenth century.²⁴

It is thus not surprising that we find Aarestrup's juxtaposition of “decay” and “longing” echoed in Grundtvig's hymn “The Church, it is an old house”²⁵ [*Kirken den er et gammel hus*] from the same year as Aarestrup's poem. With the title constituting the first verse, the second verse instructively reads “Stands though its towers are falling.”²⁶ In essence, the hymn claims that the actual House of God is not the dilapidated church buildings or the established Church – no, the House of God is by now made up of the congregation only.²⁷ As already mentioned, Grundtvig and his followers were very concerned with the declining religiosity in the population, for which they openly blamed the elitist, learned clergy. The scepticism towards the established Church and the theologically trained teachers was also shared by the Inner Mission movement. Yet, the Inner Mission wanted to rebuild the New Jerusalem from within the people's church; they wanted to awaken the living stones and thus re-congregate as the spiritual House of God. Moreover, even Jerusalem imagery was no longer introduced into

²⁴ See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50.

²⁵ My verbatim translation. In the translation in use in English speaking countries by Norwegian Carl Døving (1867–1937) it is called “Built on the Rock the Church doth Stand.” The full hymn in translation is published in Jens Christian Aaberg, *Hymns and Hymnwriters of Denmark* (Des Moines: The Committee on Publication of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1945), 141; and in a modernized translation in Bert Polman, Marilyn Kay Stulken and James R. Sydnor, eds., *Amazing Grace: Hymn Texts for Devotional Use* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 174–5.

²⁶ “står, omend tårnene falde.” Translation from Aaberg, *Hymns and Hymnwriters of Denmark*, 141.

²⁷ Stanza 3: “Vi er Guds hus og Kirke nu,/ bygget af levende stene,/som under kors med ærlig hu/ troen og dåben forene;/ var vi på jord ej mer end to,/ bygge dog ville han og bo/ hos os i hele sin sælde.” // “We are God's house of living stones,/ Built for his own habitation;/ He fills our hearts, his humble thrones;/ Granting us life and salvation;/ Were two or three to seek his face, / He in their midst would show his grace, / Blessings upon them bestowing.” Translation from Polman, Stulken and Sydnor, *Amazing Grace*, 174.

the old buildings. As such, by the middle of the century it seems to have been widely held that the established Church and the physical church buildings had lost their ability to govern and preach the Word of God satisfactorily. And it is exactly the severity of these bitter reproaches – the spiritual and affective emptiness of the church space and the congregation, as described by Aarestrup – that is important to keep in mind if we want to grasp what was at stake during the nineteenth century and thus how these concerns were met in the new people’s church and in the Church Inspection Act.

The primary and joint concern of the two just-mentioned ecclesiastical factions was, in fact, the fear that God was actually dead. That is, that Lutheranism had played its part and was becoming obsolete with industrialisation and its associated process of secularization – the death of God even became *the* metaphor for the secularisation process.²⁸ This concern was also shared and already vehemently debated among the learned and established clergy of the state church and measures were taken to force people to attend service; albeit unsuccessfully. Yet, the concerns about the secularization did not vanish with the establishment of the people’s church. If Jerusalem had left the church buildings, then there was no reason for the people to gather in congregation and attend the worship services of the people’s church. The remaining believers might as well gather in the prayer houses [*bedehuse*] or in the buildings of the free churches, or even worse; they might not worship at all.

As already stated, the Church Inspection Act of 1861 is crucial to our understanding of how the newly established people’s church responded to the concerns of secularism. We remember that it was explicitly stated that a church building should – as far as possible – be returned to its “original style.” But just what are we to make of this notion of “original style”? What does it entail? The Act does not elaborate or qualify the notion, which obviously implies that it must have been common knowledge at this point. In a forthcoming article “The Properties of Style: Allusions to the Invisible in Nineteenth-Century Church Art and Architecture,”²⁹ Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen demonstrates how the layout and visual expression chosen for a *new-built* church of especially the second half of the nineteenth century was based on a contemporary theory of style. The specific conception of style was conditioned by a romantic nationalism, and inextricably linked to a notion of “ancestral authenticity” and nation building. The increasing interest in the by-gone hey-day³⁰ of the Danes gave in turn

28 In the words of the Danish historian Jes Fabricius Møller, Jes Fabricius Møller, “Guds død – Et tema i det 19. århundrede,” in *Mentalitet og historie*, eds., Charlotte Appel, Peter Henningsen and Nils Hybel (Ebeltoft: Skippershoved, 2002), 277.

29 Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style: Allusions to the Invisible in Nineteenth-Century Church Art and Architecture,” in *In-Visibilis: Invisibility in Religion, Art and Ethics*, eds. Anna Vind, Nanna Damgaard, Kirsten Busch Nielsen and Sven Rune Havsteen (Göttingen: Vandenhoe & Rupert, forthcoming), 15.

30 I.e. the pre-Reformation period, which was taken to be a part of Danish history full of great kings and a strong nation of proud and pious farmers.

rise to a burgeoning medievalism and antiquarian awareness. Efforts were actively made to preserve objects of historical importance³¹; church restorations were central to this,³² to which the Danish romanticist use of the word village church [*landsbykirke*] also testify. The zeal for restoring the old churches in accordance with their “original” style can partly be understood as a reaction to the primarily urban and elitist phenomenon of Neo-Classicism, taking Ancient Greek and Roman temples as templates.³³ The example par excellence, of course, being the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen (consecrated 1829) built by the most famous Danish architect of the early nineteenth century, C.F. Hansen (1756–1845) (Fig. 13.4). The Neo-Classical church buildings were harshly criticised and accused of being unsuitable for Christian worship: “One cannot in this day and age, either in the North or the South, worship God in Greek temples or live in Pompeian houses.”³⁴ Another, but no less important part of the growing interest in the layout and style of church buildings was the rapidly expanding railway network. Brand-new towns were established all the way along it and they all needed church buildings.³⁵ Not since the massive stone church-buildings of the twelfth century had so many new churches been erected in Denmark at once. Most likely in consonance with the ongoing ecclesiastical strife, the main question then arose: what was in a church building? Or, in other words: What were the purposes of a church building and how could it be conveyed through its architecture and furnishings? That is, how could it be used as means to rebuild Jerusalem and prohibit the increasing secularism?

Rebuilding Jerusalem for the Edification of the People

Clearly, the Neo-classical forms and formats of the first half of the century were not the answer. It was necessary to look elsewhere. The very founder of Danish art history, Niels Laurits Høyen (1798–1870) and the architect Frits Uldall (1839–1921)

³¹ The burgeoning antiquarian interest resulted in the foundation of Oldnordisk Museum in 1819.

³² See, e.g., Rolf Graae, “De gamle Kirkers Restaurering,” in *Kirkebygning og teologi*, eds., Johan Exner and Tage Christiansen (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1965), 143.

³³ Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15. See also Hugo Johannsen and Claus M. Smidt, *Kirkens huse*, Danmarks arkitektur (Viborg: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1981), 156ff.

³⁴ Translation from Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15. For the original text, see Christian Molbech, *Anmærkninger over Nyere Tidens Arkitektur særdeles i Danmark og I Kiøbenhavn, med nogle Ord om Formyelsen af Gammel Bygningsstil i Sverige* (Copenhagen: Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 1855), 15.

³⁵ Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15; Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art*, 3; Vagn Riisager, “De nye kirker og traditionen,” in *Kirkebygning og teologi*, eds. Johan Exner and Tage Christiansen (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1965), 157f.

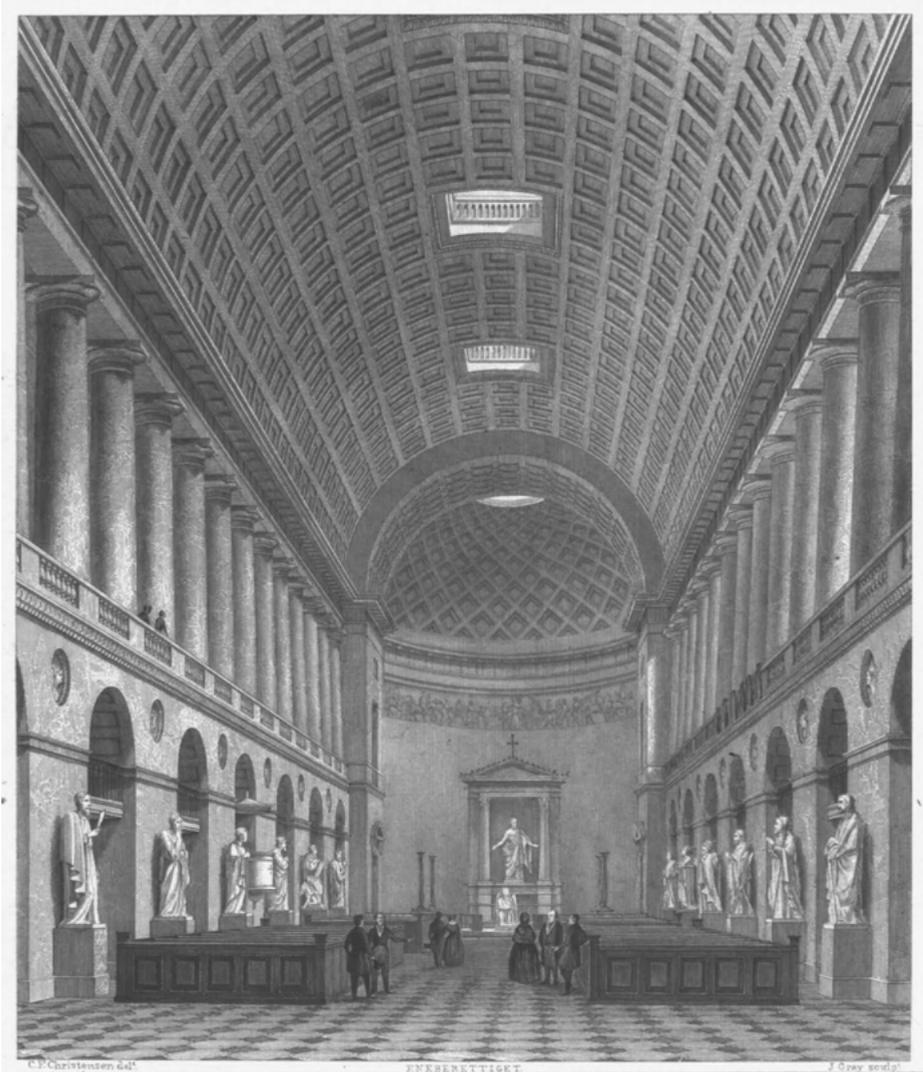


Fig. 13.4: Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen. Interior facing East, 1840–1849. Engraving. The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

were among the pioneers in facing these questions and the first to convert the theoretical debates into concrete stylistic principles, which – more importantly – seem to have been generally accepted by the population and not least the people’s church. As many of their contemporaries, Høyen and Uldall believed that the primary purpose of the style was affective. The primary function of a church building and its furnishings’ style was to generate a specific aesthetic “atmosphere,” beneficial for the Protestant churchgoer to open his heart and take in the Word of God in proper

worship.³⁶ Even though neither Høyen or Uldall use the specific term “atmosphere,” especially Høyen describes qualities embedded in specific architectural styles, which are contained by the German philosopher Gernot Böhme’s phenomenological atmosphere theory.³⁷ Overly simplified, this means that “atmosphere” is more than traditional (*i.e.* judgement based) aesthetics, it is also existential. As such, aesthetic “works” – in our case the church buildings and their “original style” – can be defined as production of atmospheres. Without going into Böhme’s redefinition of classic ontology, what is essential here, is that the atmosphere of the “work” has the potential to generate affection, emotion, and imagination in the embodied perceiver.³⁸

Keeping Böhme’s conception of “atmosphere” in mind, let us return to the stylistic ideals of Høyen and Uldall. These were based on the notions of “tradition” and “authenticity.” Høyen, for instance, explicitly states in a lecture from 1853 that: “only in a vibrant Church that needs it, can church art sprout and thrive. Alas, the past of Lutheranism does not merit great expectations in this regard.”³⁹ He is quite clearly hinting at the decline in the public religiosity and he blames the lack of “atmosphere” in orthodox Lutheran church art. The logical consequence of dismissing the previous centuries of art was to look to the pre-Reformation period; the Middle Ages. As already noted, this was also when almost all of the parish churches were built, as new builds of churches decreased already from the Late Middle Ages and almost came to a complete halt after the Reformation.⁴⁰ Some scholars have subsequently claimed that the evocation of a medieval architectural language was inevitable as there were as good as no Renaissance or Baroque churches that could have set the fashion; the medieval churches were the only ones at hand and thus the only authentic ones.⁴¹ Such an interpretation is to my mind faulty, or at least too simplistic.

Looking beyond the boundaries of Denmark, national romantic currents were rapidly spreading and the local architectural remnants from the Middle Ages became a means to legitimate the nation state through the antiquity and grandness of ancestral heritage.⁴² Høyen was very much aware of the European intellectual debates associated

36 Niels Laurits Høyen, “Om Kirkelig Konst. Foredrag paa det kirkehistoriske Selskabs Møde 1853,” in *Niels Laurits Høyens Skrifter* II, ed. J. L. Ussing (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1874), 21; Frits Uldall, “Om de Danske Landsbykirker og Deres Istandsættelse,” *Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* IV (1867), 20.

37 This might seem somewhat contradictory, as Böhme himself dismisses past aesthetic theory. Gernot Böhme, “Atmosphere as the Fundamental Concept of a New Aesthetics,” *Thesis Eleven* 36 (1993): 15.

38 Gernot Böhme, *Atmosphäre: Essays Zur Neuen Ästhetik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995), 15.

39 “Kirkelig Konst kan kun fremspire og trives i et kirkeligt Liv, som behøver den, og Lutheranismens Fortid er ikke i Stand til at vække synderlige Forventninger i saa Henseende.” My translation. Høyen, “Om Kirkelig Konst,” 22.

40 Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art*, 3; Kieffer-Olsen, *Kirke og kirkestruktur*, ch. 7.

41 See e.g. Riisager, “De nye Kirker og Traditionen,” 19.

42 Tina Waldeier Bizzarro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism: A Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 23; and Marvin Trachtenberg, “Desedimenting Time: Gothic Column/ Paradigm Shifter,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (2001): 31.

with the establishment of stylistic denominators, as they were in turn a large part of the development and establishment of academic humanistic disciplines, not least art history. An example of just how fundamental the debates were can be illustrated by the 1849-book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* by the English art critic John Ruskin: “It is as the centralisation and protectress of this sacred influence, that Architecture is to be regarded by us with most serious thought. We may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her.”⁴³ Ruskin uses the allegory of “the seven lamps” to define what he takes to be God-given architectural principles applicable to both ecclesiastical and secular buildings across time periods. His overarching architectural theory is, in essence, an effort to repair the post-Kantian rift between religion and aesthetics, which he believed had caused the growing societal secularization. Moreover, what is implied in the Victorian quote is that architecture is *visual rhetoric*. Just like Ruskin, both Høyen and Uldall were concerned with the rapidly declining religiosity in the people. And just like Ruskin, they too believed that the only way to rouse the spirit of the populace through church art and architecture was to revive the style of a time in which religious imagery was solemn visual rhetoric, able to spur divine insights in the worshipper through the generations of “atmosphere.” As such, an “authentic style of the ancestral Middle Ages” came to be the prevailing ideal. It was claimed that a specific religious “atmosphere” was embedded in the forms and formats of the Middle Ages; a quality the Lutheran art of the previous century did not have. Lutheran art was taken to be “empty,” devoid of spirit, and completely lacking in ability to spur piety in the parishioner. Put into practice, this meant that an “authentic” or “original” style had to be identified and characterized, so that new churches could be built in accordance with their purpose and so that the old churches could have their original and affective style restored.

Stylistic debates had been going on in Europe and England since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The elegant and limber shapes and formats of the so-called Gothic were taken to be Germanic in origin, while the so-called Romanesque – a term invented somewhat later than Gothic – was understood as coarse imitations of classical Roman architecture.⁴⁴ These two styles of respectively the “round arch” (Romanesque) and the “pointed arch” (Gothic) were identified as the “original” styles of the Danish parish churches. At first, they were used interchangeably in the actual buildings,⁴⁵ but they were soon developed into the modern stylistic concepts of “Romanesque” and “Gothic” – though their origin as traditional or authentic Danish styles were never further discussed.⁴⁶

⁴³ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Sunnyside: G. Allen, 1889), 178. Ruskin wanted “medieval” parish church buildings all over England.

⁴⁴ Bizzarro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism*, 23.

⁴⁵ For a description of a “typical” twelfth-century church building, see Chapter 15 (Line M. Bonde), vol. 1, 299–323. For changes to the buildings across the reformation see Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art*.

⁴⁶ Moreover, reading through Høyen’s published lectures and essays, he only actively employs the term “Romanesque” somewhat late in his oeuvre. J. L. Ussing ed., *Niels Laurits Høyens Skrifter*, vol. II. (Copenhagen: Den Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1874), 24.

Whatever the case, to Høyen and his contemporaries, be they compatriots or European colleagues, tradition and style were inextricably connected. Because in the “original” forms and formats lay the powerful tradition of institutional Christianity. As such, by evoking the visual rhetoric of the Middle Ages, it was argued, the worshipper could be attuned and reached by the “atmospheres.” As such, the “original” styles were understood as intermediaries between past and present, between spiritual anticipation and despair. With regards to the new-built churches along the railway-system in Neo-Gothic or Neo-Romanesque styles, Wangsgaard Jürgensen argues that these “churches reminded the congregation that they were part of the same community and Christian fellowship as had always existed.”⁴⁷ He goes on explicating that the church building was not merely supposed to be an aesthetic link, rather “the church building should now fulfil the role as the space for prayer and private meditation.”⁴⁸ What Wangsgaard Jürgensen is describing here is, essentially, the ecclesio-architectural theorists’ response to Aarestrup’s transcendental longing, which could only be met by generation of the right “atmospheres.”

Yet, the question still remains as to how this longing was met in the many old parish church buildings, which had all been rebuilt during the centuries and which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, looked rather eclectic in stylistic terms. This is where we will once again turn to the Church Inspection Act of 1861, as the implications of the above cited §3 should by now be much clearer. The Act itself, which officially was written by the theologian and Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, Ditlev Gothard Monrad (1811–1887), was in all likelihood conceived in collaboration with Høyen. This is clearly inferred in the request to restore the building in accordance with its “original style.” Another, but no less prominent aspect of the stylistic ideals is the *materiality* of the architectural and decorative elements which are also emphasized in the Act. For instance, it is stipulated in §8 that the ceiling, pews, pulpit, altar frontal and other wooden furnishings should be “painted in a suitable oil colour, unless they are of oak or of other hardwood, then a varnish is sufficient.”⁴⁹ It goes on saying that baptismal fonts, portals, or sculptures hewn in granite should not be covered in paint.⁵⁰ The ideal was to accentuate the raw material. Yet, it was not the material in itself, which was important. Rather, it was the connotations of the materiality that mattered. This is why a “suitable oil colour” meant dark oaky brown. In other words, it was held that the imitation added to the combined affective quality of the church space, it generated “atmosphere.”

47 Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15.

48 Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15.

49 “bør det altid males med en passende Oliefarve.” Lov om nogle Bestemmelser vedrørende Kirkesyn, (Copenhagen: J.H. Schulz, 1861), 9, §3. My translation.

50 In 1862 the churches were instructed to actively remove all remnants of paint from granite carvings. See e.g. Karin Kryger, “Middelalderens Bemalede stensulptur i Danmark,” *Hikuin* 3 (1977): 300.

To illustrate the impact of the Act, we could conveniently look to the parish of Uldum, Jutland, as an extreme example. In 1880 and 1881 the church inspection found that numerous repairs were needed; interior as well exterior. Quite a few of the defects noted by the inspection clearly reflect the stipulations of the Church Inspection Act. For instance, it is prescribed that windows should be deployed in the north wall of the nave, the lead roof needed to be replaced, and the porch should be completely rebuilt (Fig. 13.5). However, as the railway system was planned to reach the village of Uldum, and as its two neighbouring villages of Langskov and Grejs were building brand-new churches, it was decided that the old church should be replaced by a new building, as the old one was too small, dilapidated, and, as it is stated: “in architectural terms it is worthless.”⁵¹ The new church building was erected in the Neo-Gothic style, and as such displayed pointed arches in all the wall openings (Fig. 13.6).⁵² Moreover, the ceiling is constructed as a “Nordic” hall “in accordance with the national romantic and Grundtvigian beliefs of the congregation” (Fig. 13.7).⁵³ In accordance with the stylistic ideals of Høyen, Uldall, and the Act, a large portion of the old church’s fittings and furnishings were reused in the new church building; for instance the baptismal font of granite, the sculptural parts of the late medieval triptych (altarpiece),⁵⁴ and the baroque pulpit. The colour suite was also in accordance with the trends of the day, such as keeping all woodwork in a dark brown oaky colour (Fig. 13.7).

Though Uldum is not an exceptional example (a number of medieval churches were in fact torn in this period), the vast majority of parish churches were not torn but instead often subjected to complete overhauls (ideally) according to the guidelines of the Act. In a small book on the changes of the church interiors from the Reformation and throughout the nineteenth century, the Danish art historian Marie-Louise Jørgensen gives a condensed overview of the major alterations; albeit focusing only on Zealand.⁵⁵ Despite the explicit geographical delimitation, Jørgensen’s walk-through of the changes can in fact be taken to reflect the general trends across the country – at least with regards to those pertaining to the nineteenth century. The primary difference between the eighteenth- and the later nineteenth-century interiors was the spatial organisation. And during the last half of the nineteenth century, the cluttered spaces were, roughly speaking, cleaned up. Added side chapels were in many churches closed off from the nave, and galleries were taken down. Confessionals and

51 “og ‘i arkitektonisk henseende’ havde den ikke ‘ikke noget værd’,” citing the inspection protocol; DKVejle: 2195.

52 DKVejle: 2195.

53 At least according to the vicar, Finn Esborg. Finn Esborg and Børge Haugstrup, *Uldum Kirke 1883–2008* (Uldum: Udgivet af menighedsrådet, 2008), 13. This type of ceiling, however, is not commonplace in neither the Neo-Romanesque churches, nor the twelfth-century churches.

54 The rest of the altarpiece was placed on the attic in accordance with paragraph X.

55 Marie-Louise Jørgensen, *Kirkerummets forvandling. Sjællandske Landsbykirker Indretning Fra Reformationen til slutningen af 1800-tallet* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2009), 26.

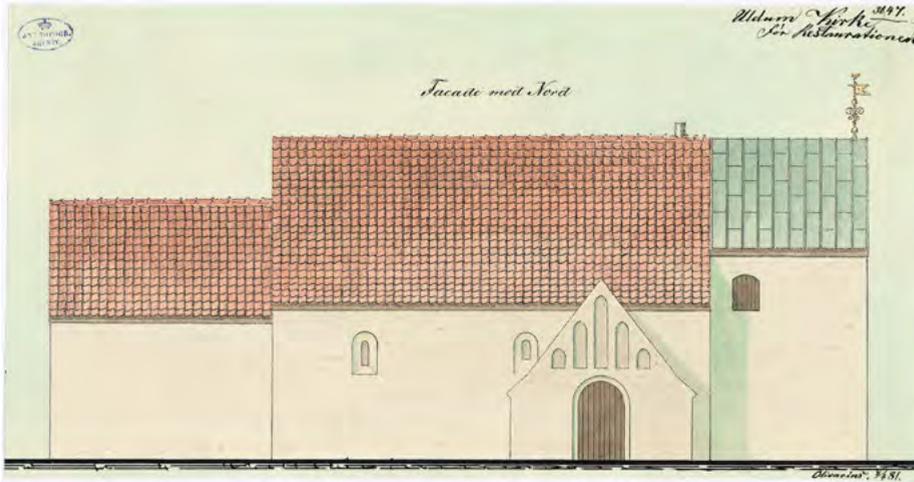


Fig. 13.5: The Old Uldum Church, Jutland, Denmark. Elevation, North, 1:300, 1881. Drawing and measurements by Tage Olivarius. The National Museum of Denmark.



Fig. 13.6: The New Uldum Church, Jutland, Denmark. South-West, c.1900. The National Museum of Denmark.



Fig. 13.7: The New Uldum Church, Jutland, Denmark. Interior facing East, c.1900. The National Museum of Denmark.

other chairs were removed from the chancel area along with baptismal fountains. The fountains were moved to the north-east corner of the nave across from the pulpits in the south-east corner. The pews were renewed and enlarged so as to be more comfortable. In 1805 a ban against burials inside the church building was issued. This put a stop to the hanging of wall monuments and the deposition of tomb stones in the floors. The colour scheme of the interiors also changed mid-century: from the grey and blue-grey of the late eighteenth century, to the light oakwood imitation of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, to the dark brown oak imitation of the second half. The interior walls were limed; unless remnant murals were deemed suitable in character and thence repainted. New, larger windows were installed and all drapery (curtains, altercloths, etc.) was preferably of crimson velvet.⁵⁶ All in all, the major and general restoration trends did indeed reflect the Act.

In some churches, even more drastic measures were employed. An extreme example is Viborg Cathedral, which was almost entirely torn and rebuilt. The parish church of Fjenneslev, Zealand, on the other hand, was heavily restored. Fjenneslev Church was known to be the seat of the mighty, medieval Hvide dynasty. The church had its vaults with elaborate murals removed in order to re-establish the

⁵⁶ Jørgensen, *Kirkerummets forvandling*.

“original” wooden ceiling, as in the time of Hvide dynasty.⁵⁷ Interestingly, whereas many of the late medieval altar pieces had already been removed from the altars during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century in line with current trends, a demand for a new type of altarpiece arose in the middle of the century.⁵⁸ Even though, it was by no means a small amount of new altar paintings or completely new altar pieces that were commissioned, most of the more than 2000 parish churches did not get (or could not afford) this type of modernization. In an article from 1867, discussing the consequences of the Act up to this point, Uldall complains that the vast majority of the old altarpieces in the rural parish churches were “of such a nature that they rather gave offence than made for edification, and thus they should be replaced by new ones, which met the intent.”⁵⁹ He maintains, moreover, that an edifying quality was not only to be expected from an altar painting, it was to be expected from the entirety of the church building; also here Uldall was seemingly calling for the generation of “atmospheres.” Already in 1854, the bishop of Zealand, Hans Lassen Martensen had called for the edifying quality of the church space both in terms of the words preached and the art displayed therein: “art may not project any kind of autonomy; it is only to serve as edification.”⁶⁰

Conclusion: “Solemnly Dressed, as is Fitting for the Bride of Christ”

Even though Uldall, in 1867, is not entirely content with the consequences of the Act, he expresses hope: “One hopes that the Act does not have to enforce, but rather open the eye of every single member of the congregation as to just what it means to have a beautiful and worship-inspiring House of God.”⁶¹ This hope, I would say, lies in the expected effects of the “atmospheric” qualities of original style. That is, that the parishioner would want to return to the church and to the services in order to relive the

57 DKSorø: 324–340.

58 See Chapter 12 (David Burmeister), 224–43; Jürgensen, “The Properties of Style,” 15; David Burmeister and Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, “Omvendelsens billeder. Om Anton Dorphs altertavler,” in *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2015), 32.

59 “af en saadan Beskaffenhed, at de snarere vække Forargelse, end tjene til Opbyggelse, og at de af den Grund burde ombyttes med nye, der svarede til Hensigten.” Uldall, “Om de Danske Landsbykirker og deres Istandsættelse,” 139.

60 “Kunsten ikke maa fremtræde med nogensomhelst Selvstændighed, men kun maa underordne sig Opbyggelsens Formaal.” H. Martensen, *Om Gudstjenestens Indretning i den Lutherske Kirke. Et Forsøg i den Praktiske Theologie* (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1854), 81.

61 My translation. “Som man maa haabe, vil Loven ikke alene behøve at tvinge, men hos mangt et Medlem af Menigheden aabne Øiet for Betydningen af at have et smukt og andagtsvækkende Guds Huus.” Uldall, “Om de Danske Landsbykirker og deres Istandsættelses,” 99.

transcendental “atmosphere.” As such, the “original” style enforced in the Act was a concrete means taken in an effort to rebuild Jerusalem in all of the parishes and in the hearts of the parishioners. Moreover, the Church Inspection Act has yet another but complimentary dimension to it as well. It can, I believe, be understood as a response to the on-going internal ecclesiological strife of the people’s church. Along with the transformation of the state church to the people’s church, the parish churches were also democratised. This meant, for instance, quite literally that the pews were no longer privately owned and hierarchically arranged according to social strata. It also meant that any single member of the people’s church could freely choose to attend any service at any given church. This choice could thus be made, in theory at least, on preference of the teacher; i.e. based on ecclesiological preferences. The standardization of the churches enforced by the Act can in this respect, then, also be understood as a means to amend the heated debates of the period. It testifies to the democratic inclusiveness of the people’s church. Building and restoring churches was thus not just an aesthetic play with forms and formats. It was, in fact, a question of the spiritual well-being of the nation. It appears that the cluttered church spaces of the first half of the century were believed to have hollowed out the visual rhetoric of Jerusalem; leaving the church building soulless and futile – devoid of “atmosphere.” New hope was introduced with the people’s church, which is so clearly echoed the Church Inspection Act. By reviving the buildings’ original visual expression, solemnity and edification would again be spurred in the heart of each and every individual of the congregation.

Jerusalem was to be rebuilt in old parish churches by returning them to their “original” style. Ruskin, as a child of the English Evangelical Revival, did not take worship to be conditioned by architecture, whereas the Church Inspection Act, with its embedded theories of style seems to be of a different opinion. The Church Inspection Act explicitly instructs the inspection party of any given church to take care that no shortcomings of the church building or its fittings harm the worship service. Following the Act, explicit visual allusion to Jerusalem merged into an affective notion inextricably linked to style and “atmosphere.” It is apparent that the allegory of the church was still very much alive throughout the nineteenth century, but the Bride of Christ only returned in the last half, as so eloquently stated by Høyen:

In our day and age and in a Protestant country, when ecclesiastical art becomes subject to careful consideration, when in the hearts of many there lives a fervent wish for the church to step forward solemnly dressed, as is fitting for the Bride of Christ, it would be only appropriate to clearly state, what is in fact needed in order to embellish the House of God . . .⁶²

⁶² “Naar derfor, i vore Dage og i et protestantisk Land, kirkelig Konst bliver Gjenstand for en nøjere Overvejelse, naar der i Manges Hjerter lever et inderligt ønske om at Kirken maa kunne fremtræde i en Højtidsdragt, saaledes som det sømmer sig for Christi Brud, så vilde det være godt, om man tydeligt gjorde Rede for, hvad der egentlig behøvedes til at smykke Kirken son Guds Hus . . .” Høyen, “Om kirkelig Konst,” 1–30. My translation.

Svein Erik Tandberg

Chapter 14

“Jerusalem” as an Expression of What Is Sacred in Music: Restoration Tendencies in Nineteenth-Century Church Music

The last decades of the nineteenth century were an era of renewal for church service plans and church music traditions in Protestant parts of Europe. This was also a period of restoration of historical forms of song and music. This article examines such a restoration project among Lutherans in the German Kingdom of Bavaria, which eventually rippled into Scandinavia. These thoughts of restoration and renewal were expressed officially in journals of liturgy and church music, in Germany and Sweden. It is a less known fact that images inspired by the ancient temple cult on Mount Zion in Jerusalem came to play a certain part in this work. The image of Jerusalem helped shape the restoration of church music in nineteenth-century Lutheran Europe, and this chapter examines how “Jerusalem” became a code to church music in late nineteenth-century Germany and Scandinavia.

New spiritual trends were on the rise in the Protestant areas of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of them took root in Scandinavian national churches and had a formative influence on sermons and pious life in these Protestant countries. Others led to separation from the official established religion and to the establishment of independent congregations. Pietism, with its strong emphasis on repentance and a personal spiritual life, was a driving force in this development. The ideal of clerical eloquence flourished in services, as well as in edifying meetings. Sunday service in the Norwegian national church was worship, of course, but the service was not least regarded as a speech act in which the cleric was the teacher and the congregation were the listeners. Hence, the preacher was the one who declared the sinful person justified before God. Primarily, this should be brought about by the strength of the spoken words; not through a pious, liturgical life.

A large variety of Christian musical forms, connected with different forms of Christian spirituality, arose in the wake of this development. Evangelical revivalism generally favoured a repertoire of songs with an emotional appeal. It is a

Note: I would like to thank Lindie Landmark for translating this chapter from Norwegian into English. She has also translated the German and Swedish original texts into English.

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well-known fact that the word *Jerusalem* is often to be found in these lyrics as an example of a religious person's longing for heaven. The Lutheran national churches had their own hymn tradition, but the melodic material had been changed considerably over the years. In this picture, hymnody and music were to serve primarily as a worthy frame around the sermon. They were hardly seen as having any substantial signification; for the most part, they were just looked upon as ornamental aesthetics.

At the same time, this was an era of renewal of church service plans and church music traditions, and it was also an era of restoration of historical forms of song and music. The image of Jerusalem played a significant role in shaping the restoration of church music in nineteenth-century Lutheran Europe, and "Jerusalem" became a code to church music in late nineteenth-century Germany and Scandinavia.

Siona – Journal of Liturgy and Church Music

To begin with, the restoration project was officially reflected in *Siona*, a German journal of liturgy and church music, which was established in 1876. The journal aimed at shedding light on the practical theological and musical topics, which related specifically to the confessional character and the aesthetic foundation of services in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. A few years later, two similar journals were established in Sweden, yet these publications were short-lived. These journals were named *Motettaftonen* [*The Motet Evening*] and *Tidning för kyrkomusik* [*Journal for Church Music*], and they were inspired apparently by *Siona*. All these publications acted as a mouthpiece for a spiritual movement that emphasized liturgical and musical form in relation to church service, and they distanced themselves from the romanticisation and the emphasis on feelings towards the *topos* of Jerusalem found in Pietism.

It is the "beautiful worship" of both the past and the future on Mount Zion we visualize when we begin the liturgical work. This journal is now being distributed with the prayer that also our friends and readers be lifted up unto Zion; that they find their dwelling in the hallowed halls of Mount Zion, and let themselves be filled with the spirit of sacrifice and worship, as it prevailed on Mount Zion. At the same time, it is our aim and our prayer that it will revive the distinctive character of the Evangelical Church. That is why it calls itself "the Voice of Zion," *Siona*.¹

¹ "Die 'schönen Gottesdienste' Zions in Vergangenheit und Zukunft schweben unsere Seele vor, indem wir die liturgische Arbeit beginnen. Daß auch unsere Leser und Freunde sich gen Zion erheben, in hehren Hallen weilen und mit dem Geiste des Opfers und Gebetes sich erfüllen mögen, wie er auf Zion waltet: das ist unser Ziel und Bitte, mit welcher diese Zeitschrift ausgehen will, das gottesdienstliche Wesen der evangelischen Kirche zu beleben. Darum nennt sie sich 'Zions=Stimme,' *Siona*." Max Herold, "*Siona*" in *Siona. Monatsschrift für Liturgie und Kirchenmusik zur Hebung des gottesdienstlichen Lebens*, eds. L. Schöberlein, M. Herold and E. Krüger (Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1876).

111

(Orgel ad libitum.)

2) Sanctus summum.
für den Chor.

Melodie nach Festus.
Zusatz: J. G. Herzog.

San - - - ctus, san - - - ctus,

San - - - ctus,

san - - - ctus Do - - - minus De - - - us Sa - -

san - - - ctus Sa - -

- - - ba - oth. Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra glo - -

- - - ba -

ri - - - a tu - - - a. O - sanna in ex - cel - - -

Fig. 14.1: *Sanctus Summum*, by Johann Georg Herzog, printed in Siona (1879). An arrangement for mixed choir of a classical church melody, and a typical example of vocal music designed for Bavarian Lutheran worship in the second part of the nineteenth century. Written in an archaic style by J.G. Herzog (1822–1909), one of the foremost Lutheran church musicians of this period, and a central figure in the Bavarian restoration movement.

With these words, the theologian Max Herold (1840–1921) begins his editorial in the first edition of the journal *Siona* in 1876.² The author was a driving force among those who tried to renew the liturgy of the Lutheran churches in Germany during this period. At the time, he was serving as a minister in the city of Schwabach in Bavarian Middle Franconia. Alongside the theologian Wilhelm Löhe (1808–1872), Herold was at the forefront in the fields of liturgy, hymnody, and church music in Bavaria’s Lutheran Church.³

In the year 1876, *Siona* is the first German literary journal, and probably the first European journal altogether which discusses church music and liturgical subjects. The editorial line of the journal was to view these subject areas as interdependent fields.⁴ In the following years, we find a parade of prominent theologians and church musicians among the contributors to *Siona*. In particular, Herold himself played an increasingly important part in renewing the Lutheran service; also internationally. This was, not least, a result of his many articles in *Siona*, since the journal was also distributed abroad after only a short while.

Soon, Herold received groups of people interested in the subject from other countries, including Russia, Hungary, North America, and Sweden. They came to Schwabach to draw new inspiration for their own liturgical life, from the work on liturgy that Herold was leading in Bavaria and Germany.⁵ Above all, the liturgical renewal movement in the Lutheran Church of Bavaria became normative for many sister churches, both inside and outside the old German Empire.

An Interdenominational Flavour

Siona’s first chief editor was Ludwig Schöberlein (1813–1881), a professor of systematic theology and liturgics at the University of Göttingen.⁶ Schöberlein was, furthermore, a member of the Hymnal Revision Committee and the Committee on Liturgy of the Hannoverische Landeskirche [the Hanoverian Regional Church]. He also came to have an influence on the liturgical development within this German region.

² Herold, “Siona.”

³ Oskar Stollberg, *Johann Georg Herzog in seinen Briefen an Max Herold 1865–1908* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1978), 112–6; cf. also Svein Erik Tandberg, “Fra kirkestil til sjangerpluralisme. Historien som speil for dagens kirkemusikk,” in *Gudstjeneste à la carte. Liturgireformen i Den norske kirke*, eds. Anne Haugland Balsnes, Solveig Christensen, Jan Terje Christoffersen and Hallvard Olavson Mosdøl (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015), 232.

⁴ In later terminology, this might be regarded as a type of “aesthetic theology.”

⁵ Stollberg, *Johann Georg Herzog in seinen Briefen an Max Herold 1865–1908*, 113.

⁶ At this time, Herold was a member of the editorial staff, but he held an important position when it comes to the academic content of the journal. Over the years, many of the articles in *Siona* were published anonymously. However, Herold is regarded as author of them.

Through his journal, he was a keen supporter of using Gregorian chant and polyphonic choir music in the Lutheran service, provided the texts were in German. Schöberlein’s promotion of these originally “Catholic” music forms, gave *Siona* a rather interdenominational flavour, which, in turn, led *Siona* to be regarded as an ecumenical journal for liturgy and church music. The fact that many articles were published under the headline *ecumenical* expressed this view.

History as Norm

In his first editorial in *Siona*, Herold wrote that history must be considered the true norm in liturgical matters. As we have seen, he drew the historical lines far back in time: to the temple cult of ancient Israel on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. He pointed out connections as well as differences in the traditional perception within Judaism of Israel being God’s chosen people, and the perception of church in the New Testament. Furthermore, he emphasized the fact that it will not be possible to achieve a deeper understanding of the cult of the New Testament without a thorough understanding of temple worship on Mount Zion, as described in the Old Testament.

Herold argued that the temple worship in Jerusalem originated from a commandment, because it was on Mount Zion that God dwelt among his people (Exod 25:8, 26:6). There he disclosed himself and spoke to Israel (Exod 29; Num 9). There he received the sacrifice of the priests as atonement for the sins of the people and as praise of his grace and glory. According to Herold, this worship was sacrificial to the core; sacrificial and sacerdotal by nature.

In Herold’s mind, there was little in contemporary Protestant preaching services that corresponded to the celebration in the temple of Jerusalem, since Old Testament worship “preached” through its actions. The priests would be allowed to speak to the people in the temple only on rare occasions. Teaching was to take place in the synagogue. Nevertheless, God “spoke” to his people on Mount Zion and through the *thousand things*.

Even though everything originating on Mount Zion had been fulfilled through Christianity and the New Covenant, temple worship would have to serve as an example for all true Christian liturgical celebration, because it was the origin of worship in the Primitive Church. All cultic terms and forms of the Primitive Church originated from the Old Testament worship. According to Herold, this had also been an influence on the Evangelical service, and even more so than many of his Lutheran co-religionists would imagine.⁷

⁷ Herold, “Siona.”

An Archetype of Sacred Song

Just as was the case in the temple worship in Jerusalem, Herold argues that the music must be sacred in its character, because it is bearer of holy content. He points out that King David was the great master of poetry and music – he was the one who introduced song and music into the temple worship on Mount Zion, and, several thousand years ago, the one who implemented the same norms that *Siona* would now promote. Herold therefore insists that David must be regarded as the archetype when sacred song is concerned. Herold describes how many of David’s psalms are still sung, whether they be taken straight from the Bible or are sung in re-created forms. David’s authority as “royal singer” is also evidenced by the fact that he is often portrayed on organ prospects. According to Herold, David’s name and memory are often honoured in the preface of hymnals and prayer books.

In another article⁸ in the above-mentioned first edition of *Siona*, which was also a request for readers to subscribe, Herold accounted for the journal’s ideas on church music:

However, when we not only look to liturgy, but also wish to see it in connection with church music, we will discover requirements not to be underestimated. Church music is only occasionally considered in regular journals of music; there is a lack of a genuine way of understanding and assessing it, and of clearer basic principles of the content and place of music in the church. However, liturgy itself constitutes such a solid basis and the right norm. Church music is completed in its sacred beauty in that it is seen as religious art of music. This is how liturgy and music are interdependent; this is how they further and complement each other.⁹

Herold describes this as the basis of *Siona*’s viewpoint on church music. He points out that there is much in his time pretending to be church music, which, however, in no way bears the distinctive mark of sacred art. It just exhibits private sentimentalism. Religious music of this type can hardly be seen as a common expression of the faith of the congregation. When it comes to choral music and church song, he writes that the church has had its classical eras, and that the valuable music of these eras would have to regain its position in the services. Such historical works of music, in

⁸ Max Herold, “Prospectus,” in *Siona. Monatsschrift für Liturgie und Kirchenmusik zur Hebung des gottesdienstlichen Lebens*, eds. L. Schöberlein, M. Herold and E. Krüger (Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1876).

⁹ “Wenn wir aber mit dem Blick auf die Liturgie noch den auf die Kirchenmusik verbinden, so wird auch nach dieser Seite das vorhandene Bedürfnis nicht verkannt werden können. Denn in den allgemeinen Musikzeitungen wird die Kirchenmusik theils nur nebenbei berücksichtigt, theils pflegt es an den wahren Principien für deren Auffassung und Beurtheilung und an klaren Grundfäßen für ihre kirchliche Verwendung zu fehlen. Aber eben die Liturgie ist es, welche hiefür den sichern Ausgangspunkt und den richtigen Maßstab darbietet – ebenso wie hinwiederum sie selbst die Vollendung ihrer heiligen Schönheit erst durch die Mitaufnahme der kirchlichen Tonkunst gewinnt. So fördern, bedingen und ergänzen sich gegenseitig Liturgie und Kirchenmusik.” Herold, “Prospectus.”

bigger and smaller forms, should be models for composers of the day if they aim at creating music that can find its rightful place in church service (Fig. 14.1). Herold emphasizes that, if music can be evaluated as sacred, it has to meet distinct criteria of style and form. In this, tradition sets the standard.

In short, Herold believes that the historical lines must first be traced back to the temple worship and its music on Mount Zion, before the readers, in turn, can direct their attention to the situation of the day. The cultic, as well as the musical roots are present in the Old Testament. In that respect, Jerusalem becomes a code to church music, and *Siona* gives church music a central role in the synthesis of the historical and heavenly Jerusalem. Church music began on Mount Zion, and should, by virtue of its liturgical character, lead to a purification process with a sting against all non-liturgical and non-church excrescences.

An Established Renewal Movement

In the early nineteenth century, Lutherans in Bavaria had already begun the process of renewing their liturgy, but the movement did not get its own journal until 1876. The basis of this liturgical work was the so-called “Erlangen-theology.” Besides being an *Erfahrungstheologie* [experiential theology] – which underlines that the content of the Scripture and each person’s salvation history are in accordance with each other – the Erlangen theological viewpoint was characterized by an emphasis on historical continuity. That meant, among other things, that the prophecies of the Old Testament not only had to be regarded as a prediction or presentiment, but also as a deeper interpretation of occurrences of the present day. It follows that history points to something outside itself, to that which once shall be completed. The Scriptures as a whole are therefore regarded as a consistent salvation history where the Old Testament points to Christ, and the New Testament points to the completion of salvation history. Thus, there is a simultaneity in all these texts.¹⁰ This simultaneity appears, evidently, to be the basic vision for *Siona*.

Herold also points out that the new journal stands on the solid ground of the Reformation; totally and completely. As an Evangelical journal, *Siona* wishes to strengthen personal faith and Christian freedom within the congregations. Furthermore, celebration of the liturgy must be rooted in the principles of the sixteenth century, *i.e.* in the liturgical forms of the Reformation.

Consequently, it is *Siona*’s view that a full restoration of the Protestant service arrangements is neither possible nor in accordance with the requirements of the day. Herold claims that the reason for this is that the Evangelical church has an ongoing

¹⁰ Cf. Bengt Hägglund, *Teologins Historia. En dogmhistorisk översikt* (Lund: CWK Gleerups Förlag, 1971), 348.

urge to freedom as well a desire to exist within a suitable organizational framework; yet always on historical ground. By *freedom*, Herold claims that church service must be free of any external ritualistic force:

Our church faces a great task: modelled on an evangelical example, to cleanse the Christian service from all worldly and false Christian elements related to form and content. This must partly be done in light of the conditions that have distinguished church services in recent years, and with our attention directed to the past: to the original form of service in the Apostolic Age; partly considering the development of this celebration within the Old Catholic Church, both Greek and Roman. This last element is especially urgent in order to create a counterweight to the hegemony of sermons, in addition to giving more room for reading of the Scripture, singing and prayer. Our object is to promote the worshipping and sacramental character of church services.¹¹

In this way, we might say that Herold formulates a piece of liturgical theology based on his imagined idea of the service of the Old Testament as a main theme. There are no sources that shed light on the music performed at the Temple in Jerusalem, and we have no way of knowing what worship music in the Temple sounded like. In other words, the music of the Old Testament remains unknown to us as a resonant artifact. Herold must have been well aware of this predicament when he formulated his theology. Herold's approach to the music of the old Jerusalem – an approach he shared with many of his contemporary music-restoration ideologists whom were also "Jerusalem romantics" – was therefore founded on an imagined and illusory basis. Herold seems to use his idea of the Old Testament service and music, both as a framework of understanding, and as an ideological intention of renewing the church service in his age. Such a renewed cult that Herold advocates in his editorial, is in principle the "old" Lutheran mass with communion every Sunday. For church music this renewal meant embracing fully the hymns of the Reformation and the vocal polyphony of the Renaissance, and in part the Gregorian chant tradition. "Renewal" should basically be regarded both as a restructuring and purgative process.

¹¹ "Und es ist in unserer Kirche die große Aufgabe gestellt, ihren Gottesdienst auf den reformatorischen Grundlagen, wie im Hinblick auf seine spätere Entwicklung so zumal im Rückblick auf die apostolische Urgestalt des christlichen Gottesdienstes und auf seine Weiterbildung in der altkatholischen Kirche griechisch= und römischerseits, an der Hand der evangelischen Principien theils von allem Weltlichen und Falschchristlichen in Form und Inhalt zu reinigen, theils mit den aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart dargebotenen Mitteln nach allen Seiten weiter und gleichmäßiger auszubauen, insonderheit gegenüber einer einseitigen Predigtherrschaft den Elementen reicherer Schriftlesung, des Gesangs und Gebets, überhaupt der Anbetung sowie dem sakramentalen Wesen der kirchlichen Feier zur Geltung zu verhelfen." Herold, "Prospectus."

Perceptible Expressions of the Sacred and the Holy

Through these two articles in the first edition of *Siona*, Herold paints his nineteenth-century picture of Jerusalem and Mount Zion as original forms of the holy and the sacred; in liturgy as well as in church music. Language and message are both unmistakably coloured by the Romantic and idealistic ideas of the nineteenth century. The description of the temple worship in Jerusalem as a biblical idyll more or less, is characteristic of this Romantic-idealistic current. The method was, however, an *ad fontes*-strategy. Renewal was to be attained by creating service arrangements that managed to link the past and the present to the future. Herold’s fundamental approach to liturgical issues was the concept of the “sacramental” Jerusalem. He looked upon liturgy as a perceptible entity. Since church music was a perceptible art form that also represented an invisible reality, its object was to form a link between these dimensions of time; therefore, it had to dissociate itself from such biased arbitrariness and partiality.

Herold viewed this as determining for the sacred identity of music, whether it was composed in what he refers to as the classical eras of church music, or it was composed in his own time. The aesthetic basis was considered obvious: Music was to carry the joint worship and celebration of the congregation. Only then, it could be part of the eschatological character of liturgy; enabling the people of God, through seeing the historical Jerusalem, to behold the new and heavenly Jerusalem.

In music, the notion of “pure” (*i.e.* modal) harmonies and lively rhythms served as an expression of sanctity. To a large degree, these were to imitate forms of historical sacred music. Viewing the celebration of service and church music in a temple perspective thereby became a substantial conceptual basis for *Siona*. It became a necessary premise for all work with liturgy and church music. The code word was restoration.

In Herold’s opinion, there was a line through history – a line that would also be determining for Christian celebration of service. He sums up the objects of his journal as follows: 1) Promoting interest and knowledge about issues related to liturgy and church music in the Evangelical Church. 2) Conveying viewpoints and evaluation in articles and reader’s letters concerning these issues. 3) Showing that there is an ongoing connection between services of the Primitive Church and the Evangelical service of the day, and that the liturgical and church music tradition originates in Jerusalem.¹²

Two Journals in Sweden

Eventually more Lutheran journals of this type were published in Germany, which followed in the wake of the liturgical and musical renewal efforts that took place in

¹² Herold, “Prospectus.”

the nineteenth century. As already mentioned, this also had ripple effects in Scandinavia.¹³ In the following, we shall take a closer look at this development in the light of two Swedish nineteenth-century journals; both of which seem to be inspired by *Siona*. While the two articles by Herold primarily indicate a framework valid for all genuine church music, the two journals *Motettaftonen* and *Tidning för Kyrkomusik*, refer to a more concrete and genre-specific material. The aesthetic basis is, however, easily recognizable from *Siona*.

Motettaftonen and Tidning för Kyrkomusik

The first edition of *Motettaftonen* was published in 1882. To begin with, the journal served as a type of commentary on the programmes of the numerous church concerts that took place in St. Jacob's church in Stockholm at this time. The concert series had a historical profile. The publisher of the journal, Professor Oscar Bernadotte Byström (1821–1909), was a church musician, composer, conductor, pianist, and scholar of historical music. The specialty area of Byström's research was medieval church song. This resulted, among other things, in collections such as "*Sekvenser, antifoner och hymner*" ["Sequences, Antiphons, and Hymns"] and "*Ur medeltidens kyrkosång*" ["From Medieval Church Song"]. His interest in chorale history led him to publish several editions of hymnals. The following captions may give an impression of the themes the journal dealt with: "Luther as Reformer of Church Song", "Our Chorales," "On Purity in the Art of Music," "On Gregorian Chant," and related themes. Even though Byström was interested in old music, the programmes in St. Jacob's bore evidence of a blend of styles.¹⁴

The stylistic issues were considerably sharpened in the contemporary *Tidning för Kyrkomusik*, which was published for a period of two years only, between 1881 and 1882. Moreover, this journal must be regarded as the most sterling and serious publication of church music in nineteenth-century Scandinavia. The editor and publisher was one and the same: *musikdirektör* [musical director] Johan Lindegren (1842–1908). By his contemporaries, he was considered one of the best teachers of music theory, especially within the discipline of classical counterpoint. In counterpoint, he became an important teacher for the famous Swedish composer Hugo

¹³ Cf. Tandberg, "Fra kirkestil til sjangerpluralisme. Historien som speil for dagens kirkemusikk," 236.

¹⁴ Sten Carlsson, "Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar i Sverige under 1800- och 1900-talen. Särskild förteckning över behandlade tidningar i slutet av artikeln," in *Sveriges allmänna organist- och kantorsförening. Minnesskrift 1901–1951*, eds. David Åhlén, Ernst Andrén and Sten Carlsson (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1951), 75–6. Cf. Lennart Hedwall, *Oscar Byström. Ett svenskt musikeröde från 1800-talet* (Hedemora: Gidlunds Förlag, 2003), 285–96.

Alfvén (1872–1960). Lindegren also served as a church musician in *Storkyrkan* [today the Cathedral of Stockholm], and he worked as a music teacher at several schools in the Swedish capital.¹⁵

Already in the first edition, Lindegren raises an interesting discussion. In the article “*De liturgiskt-musikaliska sträfvanden*” [The Liturgic Musical Efforts], he discusses choral song, which was highly valued by many church music lovers.¹⁶ Lindegren sides with Byström and wishes for a serious study of the old chorales in their original form. He claims that only such a study can solve what he calls “the chorale problem” (i.e. issues concerning melodic and harmonic structure). On this subject, he declares:

In Germany as well as in France voices are raised, and indeed from the highest cultural quarters. In dedicated words, they praise the diatonic modes for the rich variety of expressions that, by also being used in so-called profane music, would be available for the composer. Considering this, how much more would they not be held in high esteem and be justifiable in their original area, that of church music!¹⁷

Hymnody or other forms of singing that can be connected with the sanctity of the church, is now treated much more thoroughly than in any other Swedish publication of this period. Much of the material is translations from German journals, most of it probably from *Siona*, but Lindegren thought that it also concerned Swedish circumstances. Several editions of the journal published articles on “Lifting and Improving Church Song.” With its programmatic content, these articles give an impression of the musical conditions in the Swedish national church in the last half of the nineteenth century. Lindegren sees a close connection between religion and music: “therefore there is a genuine, true union between religion and music regarding the latter’s elaborate as well as plainer works.”¹⁸ Furthermore, he makes strict demands on anyone who wants to write or edit church music. It would be necessary for them to have finished thorough studies of music theory (read: harmony and, particularly, classical counterpoint), if he were to achieve anything in this field.

15 Cf. Hugo Alfvén, “Min lärare Johan Lindegren,” in *Musikmänniskor. Personliga minnen av bortgångna svenska tonsättare berättade av 25 författare under redaktion av Folke H. Törnblom*, ed. Folke H. Törnblom (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1943), 121ff.

16 Johan Lindegren, “De liturgiskt-musikaliska sträfvanden.” *Tidning för Kyrkomusik*, no. 1 (1881).

17 “Såväl i Tyskland som i Frankrike höjas röster och det från de mest högkonstnärliga håll, hvilka i hängivna ordalag prisar kyrkotonearterna för den uttryckets rika mångfald, som genom deres upptagande, jemväl i s. k. världslig musik, skulle komma att stå tonsättaren til buds. Detta antaget, hvad för ett orubbad anseende och berättigande böra de icke desto mera åtnjuta på deras egentliga urområde; kyrkomusiken.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 78.

18 “altså gives det en innerlig, sann förening emellan religion och tonkonst beträffande såväl den senares konstfulla som och enklare alster.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 78.

In what follows in the article, Lindegren turns to church song in particular. He divides it into artistic singing and unison singing. His definition of artistic singing is: “In this case, artistic singing means a special, prepared and rehearsed delivery of polyphonic religious songs, with or without accompaniment, to open the mind to the truths of religion as well as, through the art of music, awaken the life of beauty, which is also a life of goodness.”¹⁹ He does not think very highly of unison singing in church. He would rather they did not have it. However, he admits: “Unison singing is one of the peculiarities within the Protestant cult, which finds its legitimacy in individualism.”²⁰ Above all, he wants more of artistic singing: “We therefore insist on mixed polyphonic choirs being established, and that there be antiphonal singing between the choir, the minister and the congregation.”²¹

Lindegren also calls upon composers to write new chorale melodies. He himself frequently contributed to this with a large number of newly composed chorales. Furthermore, he writes about liturgical music and points out what qualities should characterize this type of music: “The most important law in the world of music is *Beauty*.”²² It is essential for him that such beauty transcend into *the sublime*. For music to express this, it must have qualities like piety, greatness, and sanctity. According to Lindegren, no style demonstrates such qualities as the Palestrina style: “this school must be regarded as standard and determining for all church music.”²³ He then divides these qualities into subdivisions; however, discussing this further would exceed the limits of this article.²⁴

In light of Max Herold’s two articles in *Siona*’s first edition, and Oscar Bernadotte Byström’s ideas communicated in *Motettaftonen*, and Johan Lindegren thoughts expressed in *Tidning för kyrkomusik*, the answer to the question of whether there exists special forms of church music would undoubtedly be in the affirmative.²⁵ In their opinion, music has a message, and there is something about how this message is

19 “Med konstsång förstås här ett särskilt förberedt och öfvadt föredrag af flerstämmig kyrklig (religiös) sång, som med eller utan beledsagning, i afsigt såväl att öppna sinnet för religionens sanningar som att genom tonkonsten uppväcka det lif i skönhet som tillika är ett lif i godhet.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 78.

20 “Menighetssången är en bland egendomligheterne inom den protestantiska kulten, samt har sitt berättigande i den individuella friheten.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 78–9.

21 “Vi yrka altså högeligen på upprättande af fyrstämmiga blandade körer, äfvensom på anordnande av vexelsång emellan kören, presten och församlingen.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 79.

22 “Tonverldens högsta lag är *Skönhet*.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 79.

23 “hvadan denna ritning måste anses så som måttgivande och bestämmande för all kyrkomusik.” See Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 79.

24 Carlsson, “Kyrkomusikaliska tidningar,” 77–80.

25 Cf. Tandberg, “Fra kirkestil til sjangerpluralisme. Historien som spel for dagens kirkemusikk,” 231–2.

communicated that makes it possible to experience the music as sacred and as church music.

In turn, this qualified this music as the bearer of a holy message. Herold, Byström, and Lindegren considered these qualities to be rooted in history, and were of the opinion that these musical qualities had their deepest roots precisely in the ancient temple cult on Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

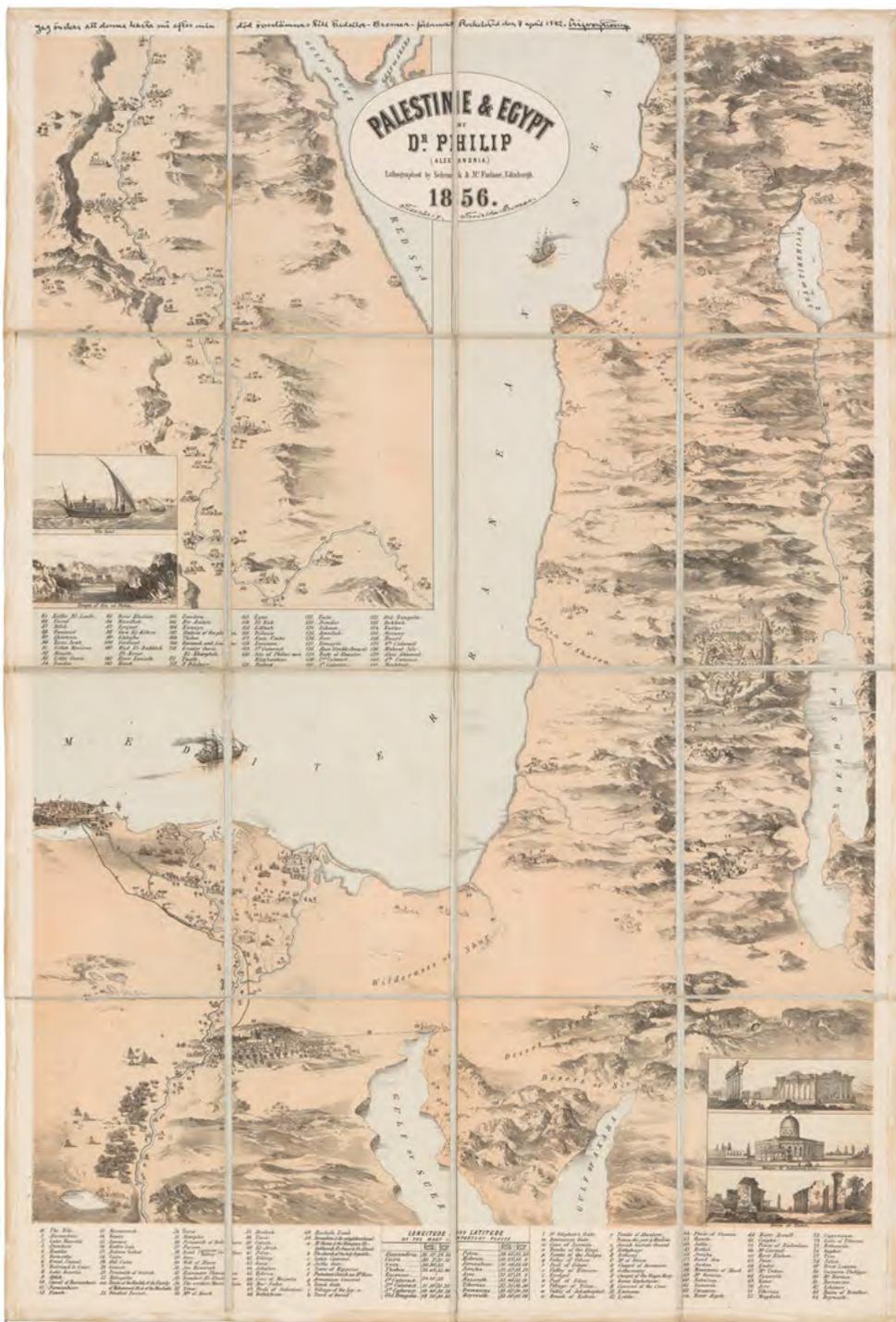


Fig. 15.0: Fredrika Bremer's travel map over Palestine and Egypt. The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo: Ann-Sofie Persson.



Part III: The Promised Land: Science and Travel

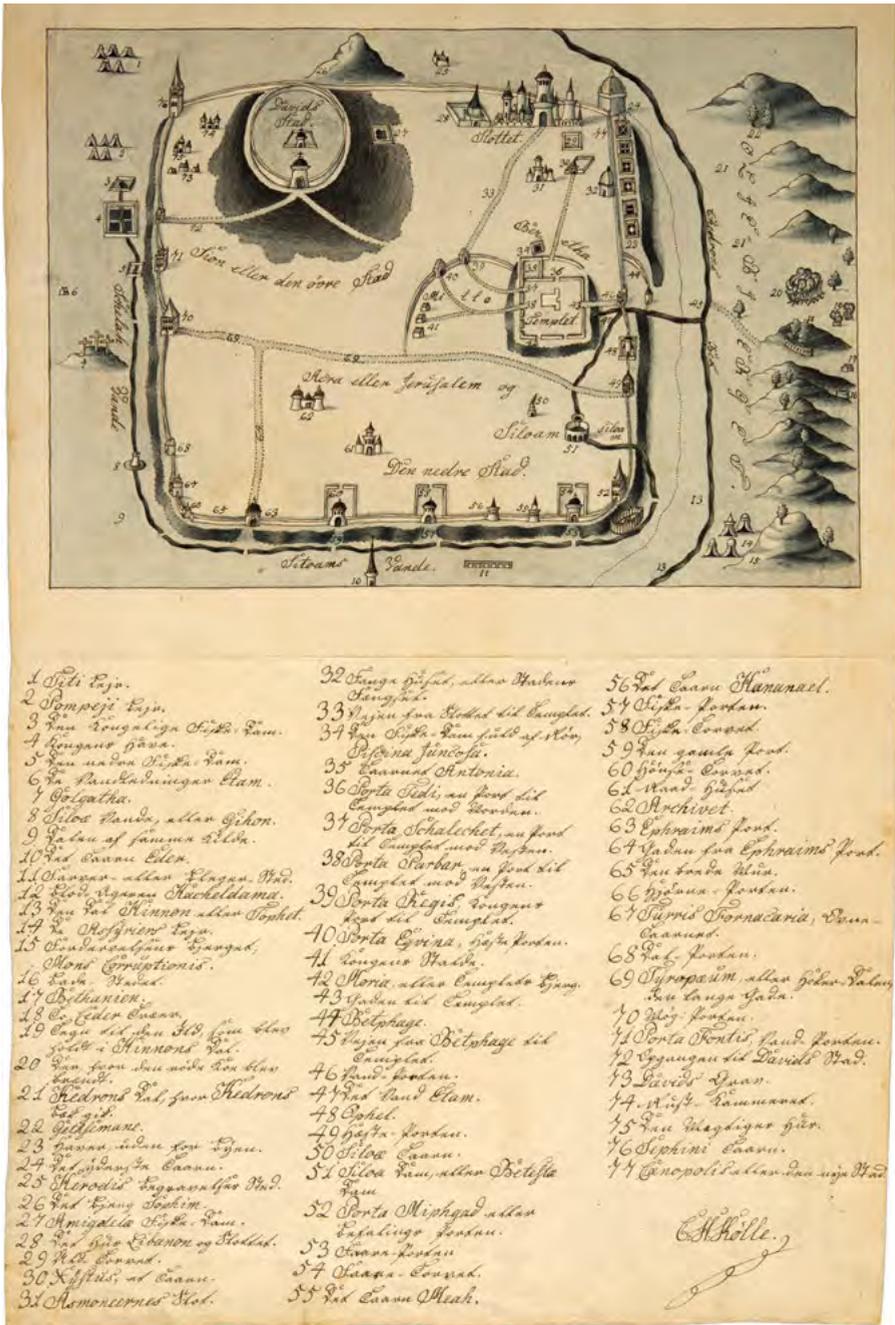


Fig. 15.1: Map of Jerusalem (undated) by Catharine Hermine Kølle. Photo: Svein Skare © University Museum of Bergen.

Kristina Skåden

Chapter 15

Drawing a Map of Jerusalem in the Norwegian Countryside

Catharine Hermine Kølle (1788–1859) lived by the Hardangerfjord in West-Norway. She drew a map of Jerusalem at some time in her life. This chapter examines Kølle’s Jerusalem-map using a “circulation of knowledge” approach, combined with the established methods for the analysis of Jerusalem maps such as studying orientation, perspective, and cartogenealogy. The investigation of Kølle’s map involves identifying and studying decisive moments of knowledge work in time and space, and tracing connections between the map and the different actors that in some way have impacted the conception and execution of the map: Kølle’s education and upbringing, her mapping practice and fieldwork, as well as her religious art production during her childhood and adult life. Kølle’s map is understood as an outcome of the circulation of knowledge between centers and the periphery of academic work. Kølle’s map thus constitutes a chapter in the history of knowledge.

This chapter concerns an undated map of Jerusalem, stored in the collection of the University Museum of Bergen (Fig. 15.1).¹ In the lower-right corner of the map, we see the signature “C.H. Kølle.” Catharine Hermine Kølle (1788–1859) lived at her farm in the countryside, on the west coast of Norway, where she farmed; made and sold exquisite bead embroidery; worked as an artist; and even as a mapmaker. Although she never reached Jerusalem, her travels were out of the ordinary. The Jerusalem map she drew, represents one singular piece of paper in the “Kølle Collection,” a collection that consists of more than 1800 handwritten pages of text, several maps, and approximately 250 watercolours and sketches. The Kølle Collection is owned by the University of Bergen Library, the University Museum of Bergen, and

¹ Catharine Hermine Kølle, undated, *Kart over Jerusalem [Map over Jerusalem]*, Marcus, Spesialsamlingene, Bergen University Library: ubm-bf-diby-000383. Reproduced by Svein Skare.

Note: I want to thank those whose help was significant in the writing of this chapter: Torild Gjesvik, Peter Lavender, Christine Nightingale, Erling Sandmo, Therese Sjøvoll, Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati, and Marianne Paasche; and Ola Søndena at the Bergen University Library.

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the Ulvik municipality's local history archive.² Kølle's Jerusalem map remained unpublished, and ended up in the archives of the Bergen University Library. The map has not been subject to analysis, despite increased focus on female cartographers, and Kølle's entire map production has received little attention.³ Instead, the emphasis has been on writing Kølle's life and work into the history of art, the history of tourism, and the history of folk costumes.⁴

Cartogenealogy and the Circulation of Knowledge

Academic approaches to the study of maps open up different routes of analysis and investigation. In the definition of maps of Jerusalem, we have to include conceptual images of past periods such as "Biblical Jerusalem," not only graphic information

2 Marianne Paasche and Ola Søndena, "Vandrende samlinger – om arkivmaterialet etter Catharine Hermine Kølle," in *Årbok for Universitetsmuseet i Bergen 2017*, eds. Heidi Lie Andersen, Knut Olav Aslaksen, Asbjørn Engevik, Aino Hosia, Marianne Herfindal Johannessen, Hana Lukesova and Jo Høyer (Bergen: Universitetsmuseet i Bergen, 2017), 133–44. The University of Bergen Library and the University Museum of Bergen made a vital contribution to "Kølle research" by curating the web exhibition *Catharine Hermine Kølle (1788–1859)* (2017), and by digitalising Kølle's paintings and some of her manuscripts. For the exhibition, see: Spesialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, "Catharine Hermine Kølle (1788–1858)," accessed January 14, 2019, <http://marcus.uib.no/exhibition/chk>. For searching in the digitalised archive, see Marcus, Spesialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, <http://marcus.uib.no/home>.

3 Will C. Van den Hoonaard, *Map Worlds: A history of women in cartography* (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013).

4 An extensive art-historical study of Kølle's work is Anka Ryall and Jorunn Veiteberg, *En kvinnelig oppdagelsesreisende i det unge Norge. Catharine Hermine Kølle* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1991). See also Anne Wichstrøm, *Kvinnerns bilder. Malerinner i Norge før 1900: Lillehammer malerisamling 25 juni- 16. august 1982*, Kunstnerforbundets katalog nr. 12 (Oslo: Riksgalleriet, 1982). A tourism history approach is taken by Signe Brueneck, "Catharina Kølle. Norges første kvinnelige fotturist," *Bergens Historiske Forenings Skrifter* 63 (1960), 79–89; Nanna Ebbing, "Norges første kvinnelige turist gikk til fots gjennom Europa," *Aftenposten*, June 29, 1961, 22–3; Nanna Ebbing, "Catharina Hermine Kølle. Vandrende turist og malerinne," *Hordaland* 27 (February 1988); Jan E. Hansen, *Catharina Kølle vår første vandrerske* (Oslo: J. M. Stenersens Forlag, 1991); Margit Harsson, *Kongevegen over Krokskogen* (Hole historielag, 1997), 36; Claus Helberg, *De første vandrere* (Den Norske Turistforening: Grøndahl og Dreyers Forlag, 1994), 98–106; and Elsa Ulvig, "Vi dameturister for og nu," *Den Norske Turistforenings årbok 1918*, ed. H. Horn (Kristiania: Grøndahl & Sønns Boktrykkeri, 1918), 76–87. See Ryall for a focus on skills and learning; Anka Ryall, "Dannelse, fotturisme og norskhet: Catharine Kølle og Ulvikparlamentet," in *Nordisk salonkultur. Et studie i nordiske skånånder og salonmiljøer 1780–1850*, ed. Anne Scott Sørensen (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998), 403–24. The Hardanger and Voss Museum has a collection of the bodice inserts made by the Kølle sisters. See the exhibition "1000 bringklutar" ["1000 Bodice Inserts"]: Hardanger og Voss Museum, "1000 bringklutar," accessed March 4, 2019, <https://hardangerfolkemuseum.no/utstillinger/1000-bringklutar/>.

about “the real World.”⁵ My work is indebted to an established method for analyzing maps of Jerusalem, which consists of dating criteria and identifying “the map-maker”; whom may either be an individual, or a regional or national group of mappers. Classification criteria have been established and a typology has been created, for the more than 300 maps of Jerusalem drawn between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Classification involves studying the orientation and the perspective of the maps. The third method is to identify the concepts conveyed by the map; either maps that describe Jerusalem in a historical, imaginary framework or maps that describe the contemporary city. In addition, a fourth method of classification is referred to as “cartogenealogy.” Cartogenealogy attempts to identify original maps and to distinguish between them and the copies based on them.⁶

The theoretical underpinning for my study of Kølle’s Jerusalem map is the concept of “circulation of knowledge.” This concept was first put to use in *Nach Feierabend* (2011), the Zurich Yearbook for History of Knowledge, and outlined in the editorial of this volume by literature and cultural scientist Philipp Sarasin and historian Andreas B. Kilcher.⁷ Sarasin and Kilcher clarify that the concept emerged as an approach within the field of the history of knowledge; with references to the history of science, culture, and ideas: In the genealogy of cultural history, the term “circulation of knowledge” refers to a fundamentally material dimension of “circulation.”⁸ Know-how, meaning, and sociality are essential and are based on material circulation, on the exchange of material, and the passing on of things. The focus is on how knowledge occurs by cultural processes, and usually crosses boundaries of geographical and cultural spaces, thus transcending social and institutional barriers. This does not mean, however, that knowledge is accessible for everyone, at any time. Knowledge occurs and circulates under the conditions of complex power relations and within systems of restriction. The history of the circulation of knowledge is therefore always also the history of those semiotic, discursive, and medial systems that make knowledge possible in the first place.⁹

In a Nordic context, Sarasin and Kilcher’s concept of circulation is transformed and challenged by the book *Circulation of Knowledge. Explorations on the History of Knowledge* by Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna

5 Rehav Rubin and Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999), 14.

6 Rubin and Ben-Arieh, *Image and Reality*, 45–55.

7 Philipp Sarasin and Andreas B. Kilcher, “Editorial,” in *Nach Feierabend. Zirkulationen*, eds. David Gugerli, Michael Hagner, Caspar Hirschi, Andreas B. Kilcher, Patricia Purtschert, Philipp Sarasin, and Jakob Tanner (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2011).

8 Sarasin and Kilcher, “Editorial,” 7–11.

9 Sarasin and Kilcher, “Editorial,” 9–10.

Nilsson Hammer, and Kari Nordberg.¹⁰ The *Circulation of Knowledge* emphasises “how knowledge moves and how it is constantly moulded in the process”; without offering a shared understanding of what the circulation of knowledge is. The book demonstrates, rather, that both “circulation” and “knowledge” can be understood, employed, and analysed in a multitude of ways and historical settings.¹¹

In his investigation of how objects of knowledge are produced, transformed, and mediated, the historian Erling Sandmo claims “that present-day studies of the history of knowledge, and of how circulation is part of that history, are both innovative and part of a history which stretches a long, long way back in time.”¹² This argument can be exemplified by studies of various versions of Jerusalem as an object of knowledge, mediated by maps of the city and by maps of the world with Jerusalem as the central focal point.¹³ Maps of what is referred to as the “Holy Land” – the area located roughly between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, which is considered holy by Jews, Christians, and Muslims – constitute the longest unbroken chain of graphical representations in the world.¹⁴

The Protestant publisher Christoph Froschauer of Zürich, published part of Luther’s translation of the Old Testament and included the first map in a Bible printed in 1525.¹⁵ Jerusalem maps printed in Bibles are related to the upheavals of the Reformation, and religious convictions of leading reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin and their followers.¹⁶ Especially in the sixteenth century, the maps were intended to help unschooled readers to understand and clarify information in the text. The printing industry was new, and Bibles spread on a large

10 Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna Nilsson Hammer, and Kari Nordberg, eds., *Circulation of Knowledge – Explorations in the History of Knowledge* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).

11 Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna Nilsson Hammer, and Kari Nordberg, “The History of Knowledge and the Circulation of Knowledge. An Introduction,” in *Circulation of Knowledge – Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna Nilsson Hammer, and Kari Nordberg (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018), 17–8.

12 Erling Sandmo, “Circulation and monstrosity. The sea-pig and the walrus as objects of knowledge in the sixteenth century,” in *Circulation of Knowledge – Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna Nilsson Hammer, and Kari Nordberg (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018), 175.

13 Rubin and Ben-Arieh, *Image and Reality*; Ariel Tishby, ed., *Holy Land in Maps* (Jerusalem, New York: The Israel Museum and Rizzoli International Publication, 2001).

14 Naftali Kadmon, “The Holy Land in Maps: From Stone Mosaic to Satellite Images,” in *Holy Land in Maps*, ed. Ariel Tishby (Jerusalem, New York: The Israel Museum and Rizzoli International Publication, 2001), 13.

15 Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991), 22.

16 Catherine Delano-Smith, “Maps in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Map Collector* 39 (1987): 2–4.

scale and also to unschooled readers.¹⁷ In the history of cartography, maps of the land of Israel and the city of Jerusalem are documents of changes in religions, as well as scientific and artistic thoughts, from antiquity to the present day.¹⁸ To sum up: Maps of Jerusalem are embedded in numerous forms of materiality, as well as relations and stories of circulation, which extend in time and place. Kølle's map of Jerusalem belongs to this history.

In science- and knowledge history research, the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) – a methodological and theoretical approach dominated by Bruno Latour and his anthropology of science – emphasizes (more so than the circulation of knowledge approach) how facts are made and how they gain authority within networks. ANT makes no distinction between human and non-human actors within the networks, as long as the actors get things done.¹⁹ Maps have this potential.²⁰ By extension of this argument, I understand Kølle's Jerusalem-map and other artefacts as potential “actors,” without agency, in networks of circulation of knowledge. Rather than following the actors within networks, I am identifying and studying decisive moments in time and space, and tracing relations between the map and the different actors that in some way have mobilized the conception and execution of the map. These “moments” represent Kølle's knowledge work during childhood, youth, and adult life; her education, her mapping practice, and her fieldwork. There is one more point to make: by exploring the entanglements between ANT, and literary criticism, linguistics, and book history, the historian Kristin Asdal and cultural historian Helge Jordheim suggest to approach

17 Elizabeth M. Ingram, “Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles,” *IMAGO MUNDI: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 42, no. 1 (1993): 29.

18 James S. Snyder, “Foreword,” in *Holy Land in Maps*, ed. Ariel Tishby (Jerusalem/New York: The Israel Museum and Rizzoli International Publication, 2001), 6. This is materialised in exhibitions and books, even in the three current volumes of *The Jerusalem Code*. A recent example is the exhibition *Welcome to Jerusalem, Jewish Museum Berlin*. 11 December. 2017–30 April 2019, Margret Kampmeyer and Cilly Kugelmann, *Welcome to Jerusalem* (Berlin: Jüdisches Museum Berlin/Wienand Verlag, 2017).

19 Bruno Latour, “Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together,” in *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, ed. Henrika Kuklick (Greenwich: Jai Press, 1986); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 46ff.

20 Kristina Skåden, “Vegarbeid. Transnasjonale relasjoner i perioden 1800–1942: Tre eksempler,” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2013); Kristina Skåden, “The Map and the Territory: The Seventh International Road Congress, Germany 1934,” *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies* 5, no. 1 (2015): 69–88; Kristina Skåden, “Scientific Relations and Production of Knowledge: Hertzberg, Goethe, and Humboldt,” in *Forster – Chamisso – Humboldt. Weltreisende im Spannungsfeld der Kulturen*, eds. Julian Drews, Ottmar Ete, Tobias Kraft, Barbara Schneider-Kempf, and Jutta Weber (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2017), 357–68; Kristina Skåden, “Mapping the Fields: Geographies of Knowledge Production – Et forskningsprosjekt om romlige-digitale-arkivale sammenfiltringer,” *Nordisk Museologi* 2–3 (2018): 73–89.

the text and “take as a starting point their mobility, and at same time their ability to mobilize.”²¹ In line with this approach, I am thinking about Kølles Jerusalem map as part of “historical processes, events, or discourses” – within different histories of knowledge.²²

Inspired by recent approaches in the history of knowledge, combined with insights from the traditional method of analysis for Jerusalem maps, and by analysing seventeenth- to nineteenth century sources, this chapter investigates: What was Kølles’s Jerusalem map mobilised by in terms of processes of materiality, discourses on “sacred geography,” and events and networks? How was the map a mobilising force in the production and circulation of knowledge?

Through my investigation, I am directing attention towards how mapped knowledge about Jerusalem moved, and how these perceptions of Jerusalem were moulded in the process. Why did Jerusalem constitute the object of a map drawn by a woman in rural Norway in the early nineteenth century? What local and international relations are embedded in this map? I am arguing that Kølles’s work, including her Jerusalem map, represents a contribution to the history of knowledge in the Northern periphery; a location situated at a distance from centres of academic and cartographic studies.

The Materiality of the Object

Kølles’s map figures as an illustration on the upper part of a sheet of paper, while a numbered list of place names covers the lower part of the page (Fig. 15.2). The text and the map-illustration are carefully written and drawn with a black pencil; landmarks, shadows, and different constructive elements are water coloured in shades of grey and blue. The map-illustration measures 21.6 x 15.5 cm, and the entire map sheet 21.6 x 32.5 cm. While a signature identifies the mapmaker, no further information is given regarding the title; there is no cartouche nor any contextualising text. Instead, some inscriptions mark the map: “Sion or the Upper City,” “Acra or Jerusalem and Siloam,” “The Lower City,” “David’s City,” and the “Mount of Olives.” The Mount of Olives is symbolised by a drawn mountain range consisting of twelve peaks. We see water flowing from the “Royal Fishpond,” through the “Royal Garden,” and further on in a small river alongside the city wall. Kølles’s painstaking attention to detail, the mapped landscape surrounding the city and the structure of the city, together with the inscriptions, visualise for an informed reader that the place in question must be Jerusalem.

²¹ Kristin Asdal and Helge Jordheim, “Texts on the Move: Textuality and Historicity Revisited,” *History and Theory* 57, no. 1 (2018): 58.

²² Asdal and Jordheim, “Texts on the Move,” 58.

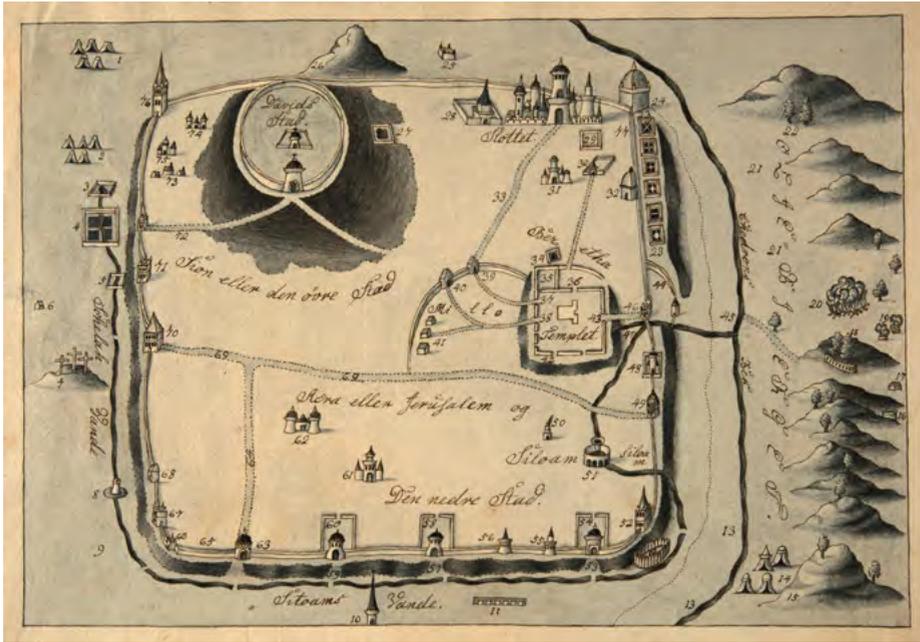


Fig. 15.2: Detail of Kølle's Jerusalem map (Fig. 15.1).

Small Illustrations of Details

Maps of Jerusalem created in Europe between the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century and the early nineteenth century, constitute two main categories when viewed as a whole. The historical geographer Rehav Rubin describes the first group as composed of maps of Jerusalem that depict an imaginary historical-biblical Jerusalem, which is based on the Holy Scriptures and books about Jewish history; such as the works by the first-century Romano-Jewish historian Titus Josephus Flavius.²³ These imaginary maps, Rubin writes, are conceptual: they are ideological documents, which reflect the Christian images of Jerusalem in the time of Christ rather than the realistic landscape of the city. The second category of maps, defined as the “realistic” ones, claim to portray contemporary Jerusalem. Even these maps, drawn by people who had visited Jerusalem, were highly ideological and they emphasised the Christian sites while omitting those worshipped by the Muslims and the Jews.²⁴

²³ J. Ben-Arieh and N. Elhassid, “Some notes on the maps of Jerusalem 1470–1600,” in *Jerusalem in the early Ottoman period*, ed. Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1979), 121–51.

²⁴ Rehav Rubin, “Ideology and landscape in early printed maps of Jerusalem,” in *Ideology and landscape in historical perspective. Essays on the meanings of some places in the past*, eds. Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 16–9.

Kølle's map belongs to the first category, and like many of the mapmakers in this category, she never visited Jerusalem. In her Jerusalem map, textual descriptions of places, landscapes, and events of the Old and New Testaments are transformed into a mapped visualisation. In Kølles's map, a number accompanies every graphic symbol, constituting a list of 77 numbers referring to specific geographic locations. (For readers with an interest in detail, I provide the whole list in the appendix.) The biblical landscape is represented by, amongst others, the mountain of Zophim (number 26) where Balak built seven alters and offered a bull and a ram on each alter.²⁵ One of the most central events in the New Testament – the Crucifixion of Jesus – is represented by number seven, “Golgotha,” and the graphic figure of a small hill with three crosses. Additionally, Kølle maps locations related to historical events with religious impact. One example, the first listed, is Titus's Roman legion camp, placed in the upper-left corner of the map. This place, visualised by a cluster of tents, refers to the Roman emperor Titus, and how Roman legions breached the walls of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., conquered the city, and destroyed the Second Temple. The destruction of the Temple is regarded as one of Judaism's most significant events, both historically and religiously. There are no human figures drawn into the map; rather, it seems like Kølle had a special eye for the different types of building structures and the infrastructure of the city. There are detailed pictorial representations of clusters of tents, a castle with round towers and spires, smaller houses of different designs, the city's fortifications, walls, gates, fishponds, roads, and water pipes. Many of them are related to Christian holy sites and traditions. One example is the “Pool of Siloam” (number 51); a place mentioned in the fifth chapter of the Gospel of John (5:1–18), where Jesus heals a sick man.

Kølle's map seems more like an artistic drawing in which she seeks to present a faithful representation of the object Jerusalem by being detailed and accurate, rather than a map that is the product of accurate survey and measurement. Kølle's map does not include a map scale, nor have the cardinal directions been indicated, yet all the elements appear plausible and they provide valuable information about the geography of the Christian tradition. The map synchronises and make time visible; several historical events and religious time periods are imaginable in one gaze.²⁶ By mapping the events, landscapes, and places of the Old and New Testaments, Kølle took advantage of the many textual and visual images of the “sacred geography” of the Holy Land that were in circulation, in the form of texts and maps published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

²⁵ John McClintock and James Strong, “The Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature,” accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/Z/zophim.html>.

²⁶ For more on different ways of conceptualising multiple times and means for synchronising time, see Helge Jordheim, “Introduction: Multiple times and the work of synchronizing,” *History and Theory* 53 (2014): 514.

Sacred Geography and Cartogenealogy

Sacred geography, as the geographer Robin Butlin notes, represents a broad issue: it is a major topic of European theological interest, both Catholic and Protestant, which dates to the early fourth century C.E., and it involves the use of historical and geographical skills to locate and characterise the important biblical places and events.²⁷ A decisive moment in the tradition of sacred geography were the publications authored by Edward Wells (1667–1727); a clergyman of the Church of England and the rector of a church in Leicestershire, England. He published *An Historical Geography of the New Testament* in 1708, and *An Historical geography of the Old Testament* in three volumes in 1711–1712.²⁸ In Wells's four volumes on the historical and geographical background of the places, landscapes, and events of the Old and New Testaments, he uses the term "historical geography." Wells reflected a range of past and contemporary theological and geographical ideologies and perspectives (he drew heavily on Juan Bautista Villalpando, whom I will return to below). The volumes were reprinted and re-engraved several times during the early part of the nineteenth century, and they have been assigned great importance in the circulation of sacred geography. The 1801 version was translated into German with the title *Historische Geographie des Alten und Neuen Testaments [The Historical Geography of the Old and New Testaments]*.²⁹

A Norwegian version of sacred geography, analysed by Sandmo in the current volume, is the translation of the seventh edition of the German *Biblische Geographie für Schule und Familien [Biblical Geography for School and Family]* by Gottlob L. Hochstetter, which was translated by Hans Julius Knudsen and published in Norwegian in 1858 as *Bibelsk Geographie for Skoler og Familier*.³⁰ Knudsen's volume was, like the German version, enriched by fifty drawings and one map of the Holy Land. The drawings mostly visualised different settings of the biblical events, and amongst them was *Jerusalem*.³¹ We do not know if Kølle was aware of Wells' volumes,

²⁷ See Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

²⁸ Edward Wells, *An Historical Geography of the New Testament: In two volumes* (Oxford: W. Botham, 1708); and Edward Wells, *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament: In Three Volumes* (London: Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1711–1712).

²⁹ Robin A. Butlin, "Ideological contexts and the reconstruction of Biblical landscapes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Dr Edward Wells and the historical geography of the Holy Land," in *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the meanings of some places in the past*, eds. Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 31–45; Edward Wells, *Historische Geographie des Alten und Neuen Testaments in vier Theilen. Mit dazu gehörigen landkarten versehen* (Nürnberg; Christoph Riegels, 1765).

³⁰ See Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409; Gottlob Ludwig Hochstetter, *Biblische Geographie für Schuler und Familie* (Stuttgart: Calw. Verlag der Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1836); Hans Julius Knudsen, *Bibelsk Geographie for Skoler og Familie. Med 50 Tegninger og Kart ofer Bibelens Lande* (Christiania, Stavanger: Lønning, 1858).

³¹ Knudsen, *Bibelsk Geographie for Skoler og Familie*, 54.

however, it seems reasonable that her inspiration was something other than the Norwegian publication. Kølle's map has very few similarities with the drawings in Knudsen's book, and they were published when she had a long life of mapping and painting behind her.

Villalpando's Jerusalem Map

An attempt to classify Kølle's map by cartogenealogy and thereby place it into family of maps will have to start with Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608). He was a learned Spanish Jesuit monk, an artist, architect, and cartographer, who lived and worked in Rome. His map *Vera Hierosolymae veteris imago . . . [A true image of ancient Jerusalem . . .]* was part of the *Explanationes in Ezechielis et apparatus urbis ac templi Hierosolymitani [Explanations of Book of Ezekiel and Plan of City and Temple of Jerusalem]*, vol. 3, Rome (1604) (Fig. 15.3). In the catalogue of the first exhibition of maps of the Holy Land from antiquity up until modern times at the Israel Museum exhibition (2001), the editor Ariel Tishby describes the Villalpando map as an "imaginary portrayal" of Jerusalem, characterised by a wall surrounding the city.³² A hilltop at the centre of the map, encircled by a wall, represents the City of David, with the king's palace in the middle. A network of streets divides the city. The map is diachronic in character. It depicts structures and sites of different ages side by side, without chronological differentiation.³³

Villalpando's map was copied, transformed, and circulated either by using the whole design, or just by borrowing certain elements and ideas.³⁴ Traces we recognise from Villalpando's map on Kølle's map are how the City of David is made into a focal point and surrounded by a city wall. Outside this wall, an outer circle, the larger city wall, surrounds the upper and lower parts of Jerusalem. Both Villalpando and Kølle examine the infrastructure and buildings of the city, and on both maps there are pictorial representations of tents marking Titus's Legion.³⁵ So far, it seems that Kølle's map relates to the "circulation of knowledge" of sacred geography. More precisely, the map stands out as a materialized "distant relative" of the Villalpando map family. Villalpando, in turn, mobilised Edward Wells's influential version of sacred geography.

³² Tishby, *Holy Land in Maps*, 150.

³³ Tishby, *Holy Land in Maps*, 150.

³⁴ Rubin and Ben-Arieh, *Image and Reality*, 123–35.

³⁵ I would like to thank Ayelet Rubin at the Eran Laor Cartographic Collection/The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, for pointing to the relation between Kølle's and several versions of Villalpando's map.



Fig. 15.3: *Vera Hierosolymae Veteris Imago*. An imaginary plan drawn after Villalpando. From Eusebius, *Kanaän en d'omleggende landen* . . . Leeuwarden, François Halma, 1717. Copperplate. The National Library of Israel, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection.

Hence, Kølle, while drawing her map, was dependent on anonymous human and non-human actors – like other mapmakers, scientific instruments, manuscripts, printing technologies, colours, pencils, publishing houses – all involved in moving texts and maps through space and time. In an unknown place, one or another version of a Jerusalem map/text was brought into circulation through practices and networks that included Kølle; serving as model or at least as a mobilising force in Kølle's own mapping of Jerusalem.

John Lightfoot's Map: A Mutual Text-Visualization Approach

Following an extended search in archives and books for the specific map that might have been Kølle's model, I was close to giving up. Suddenly, while looking for English translations of Kølle's list of sites, an auction website appeared in the internet flow:

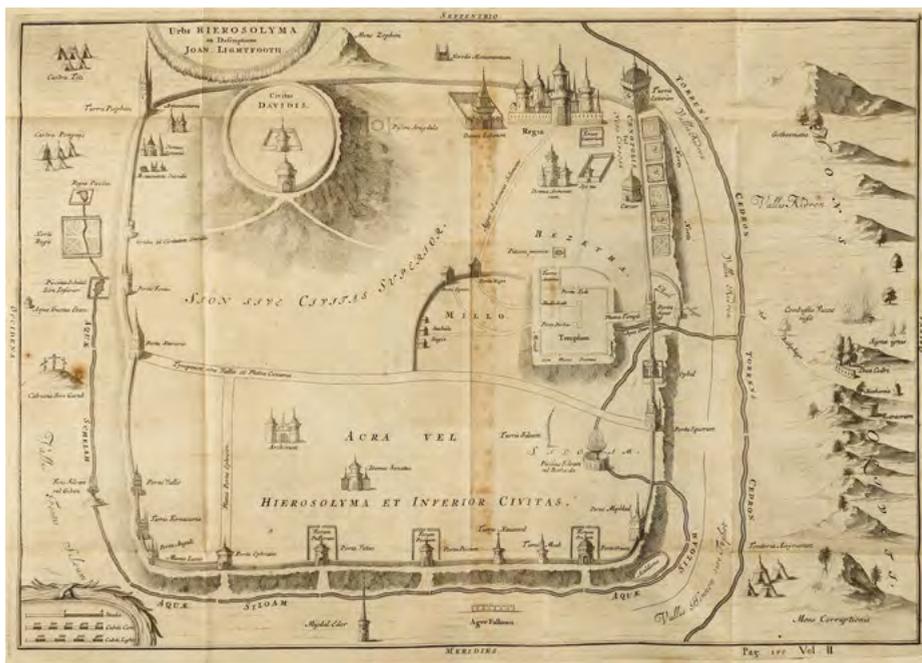


Fig. 15.4: *Urbs Hierosolyma ex Descriptione Joan Lightfootii*, from John Lightfoot's *Opera omnia* . . . (Francecker, Leonard Strik, 1699). Copperplate. The National Library of Israel, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection.

and *here* was the missing link – sold for € 25 on December 1, 2015 (Fig. 15.4). The auction-site had a description of the map, aimed at an audience of map-collectors:

Holy land, Jerusalem; John Lightfoot – *Urbs Hierosolyma ex Descriptione Joan Lightfootii* – 1686. Copper engraving of Jerusalem. Dimensions: 21 x 33 cm. Condition: moderate. Margins narrow, left hand side trimmed to over face of map. Verso: blank. See scans and photos to determine condition. This is an uncommon plan of the ancient city of Jerusalem. The imaginary plan shows the outer wall with Calvary outside the wall. The City of David and the King's Palace are pictorially represented, whereas Solomon's Temple is depicted only as a sketch plan.³⁶

The mapmaker John Lightfootii (or Lightfoot) (1602–1675), was a Hebraist and biblical scholar, born in Stoke-on-Trent, England. Among his many tasks was to participate in the Westminster Assembly of Divines; a council of theologians and members of the English Parliament appointed to restructure the Church of England. He contributed to

³⁶ “Holy land, Jerusalem; John Lightfoot – *Urbs Hierosolyma ex Descriptione Joan Lightfootii* – 1686,” Catawiki, accessed January 11, 2019, <https://www.catawiki.com/1/3546529-holy-land-jerusalem-john-lightfoot-urbs-hierosolyma-ex-descriptione-joan-lightfootii-1686>.

debates and held services. In 1645, he had urged the House of Commons to commission a review and survey of the Bible. Lightfoot returned to academic life and to the University of Cambridge where he continued biblical studies.³⁷ He assisted Brian Walton's work with the polyglot Bible (1657), including providing a map of Judea.³⁸

Nine years after Lightfoot died, in 1684, Lightfoot's text and maps were printed in a book given the title: *The Works Of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot, D.D. Master of Katharine Hall in Cambridge; Such as were, and such as Never before were PRINTED. In Two Volumes. With the authors live, and Large and Useful TABLES to each Volumes.* Highlighted in red letters and following the title is the following information given: *Also Three Maps: One of the TEMPLE drawn by the AUTHOR himself; The others of JERUSALEM and the HOLY LAND, Drawn according to the AUTHORS Chorography, with a DESCRIPTION collected out of his Writings.*³⁹ The book was printed in London, by W.R [the publisher] for Robert Scot, Thomas Basset, John Wright, and Richard Chiswell. Robert Scot had his business in Little Britain in London, an important center for the retail book trade. In addition to his stock in England, he had warehouses in Frankfurt, Paris, and other places.⁴⁰ Thomas Basset was a bookseller in Fleet Street; he was a seller often identified by legal tomes and maps.⁴¹ Through Scot Basset, and probably also the other publishers' network of distribution, Lightfoot's work was ensured large circulation.⁴² Two

37 Newton E. Key, "Lightfoot, John," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed January, 2019, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16648, 1–9>.

38 Key, "Lightfoot, John," 4.

39 John Lightfoot D. D., *The Works Of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot, D.D. Late Master of Katharine Hall in Cambridge; Such as were, and such as Never before were PRINTED. In Two Volumes. With the authors live, and Large and Useful TABLES to each Volumes. Also Three Maps: One of the TEMPLE drawn by the AUTHOR himself; The others of JERUSALEM and the HOLY LAND, Drawn according to the AUTHORS Chorography, with a DESCRIPTION collected out of his Writings* (London: Printed by W.R, 1684).

40 A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, eds., *The Cambridge history of English literature. Volume XI, The period of the French revolution* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1970), 331.

41 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 67.

42 The National Library of Israel has digitalised tree versions of Lightfoot's Jerusalem map in the Eran Laor Cartographic Collection: one printed in England in English, and two editions printed in Rotterdam, in Latin: Lightfoot, John. 1684. *The city of Jerusalem according to Dr. Lightfoot By I.W. [i.e. John William] printed for Richard Chiswell.* Copperplate, From: Lightfoot, John. The works . . . London, Vol. II, p. 20, format 36 x 51.5 cm. English text on the map. Available at: [http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368115/NLI#\\$FL7073489](http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368115/NLI#$FL7073489); Lightfoot, John, Leers, Reinier. 1686. *Urbs Hierosolyma ex Descriptione Joan Lightfootii.* Copperplate. Rotterdam: Regner Leers. From: Lightfoot, John. Opera omnia . . . Rotterdam: Regner Leers, Vol.II, p.185, format 35.5 x 51 cm. Latin text on the map. Available at: [http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368116/NLI#\\$FL7071287](http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368116/NLI#$FL7071287); Lightfoot, John, Strick Leonard. 1699. *Urbs Hierosolyma ex Descriptione Joan Lightfootii.* Copperplate. From: Lightfoot, John. Opera omnia . . . Francecker, Leonard Strik. 2nd Latin edition, Vol. II, between

years after the English publication, the book and the map were published in Latin in Rotterdam.⁴³

In *The Works Of . . . John Lightfoot*, we can read Lightfoot's short chapter "To the reader," written May 30, 1649. Here he explains the process and the intention with the map and the visual representation of the Temple:

My design, in reference to the affairs of the Temple, when first I undertook a work of that nature, was first to describe the place, and to give the character and platform of the Temple itself, and then to have something to say about the service. And, accordingly, with no small pains and study, out of the Scripture, and the highest antiquities of the Jews, I drew up, in a large tractate and discourse, – as, also, in a very large map and figure, – a full plain, punctual, and exact prospect and description (if I may have liberty to say so much of mine own work) of the Temple at Jerusalem, especially, as it stood in those times, when our Saviour himself, in humane flesh did resort thither: . . .

But that hap of becoming public, is not happened to it [the map]: for the schematical delineation of the temple, and of the buildings about it, in the map, and the verbal description of them in the written tract, do so mutually face, and interchangeably refer one to the other (the map helping to understand the description of the book, and the book helping to understand the delineation in the map), that they may not be sent forth into public apart, or one without the other, but must needs appear (if ever they appear) both together. . . . London, May 30, 1649.⁴⁴

Lightfoot emphasizes the purpose with his work: "to have something to say about the service." The text continues by describing the unsuccessful efforts undertaken to get the map and the text published together. In the context of this study, the most fascinating argument in Lightfoot's text is his awareness of the text-map-relation; how a visualisation, according to him, can deepen an understanding of a text, and vice versa. By establishing this relation, he aims to let the reader gain a deeper understanding of the biblical places and the text of the Scripture through the means of visualisation by mapping.⁴⁵ Kølle's map looks like a slightly simplified copy of one or the other version of Lightfoot's printed map, and her work reflects Lightfoot's account; the text-visualisation relation. The main difference in the design is Lightfoot's inclusion of a scale and the directions, and how the mapmakers have both combined the written information and the symbols. Kølle adds the list of names below the painted map, and Lightfoot writes the place names directly on the map. Having analysed Kølle's translation of Lightfoot's text, it seems plausible that she has seen one of the Latin publications.

pp. 180–1, but on the map written p. 185 as in the first edition, format 35.5 x 51 cm. Available at: [http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368117/NLI#\\$FL7071977](http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/NNL_ALEPH002368117/NLI#$FL7071977).

⁴³ Lightfoot 1886. *Opera Omnia, cum Vita ejus præfixa cura Joh. Texelii*, 2. Vols. folio, Roterodami.

⁴⁴ John Rogers Pitman, ed., *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot, D.D. Master of Chatharine Hall, Cambridge IX*, Containino The Tempel-Servise and The Prospect of the Tempel (London: J. F. Dove, 1823), 3–4. I am quoting the 1823 edition since the English is modernized in this edition, and therefore more accessible to the reader.

⁴⁵ Skåden, "The Map and the Territory."

Childhood, Youth and Education

Up to this point, I have traced the relationships between Kølle's Jerusalem map and earlier maps of Jerusalem. Kølle has obviously seen a version of Lightfoot's map. Through examining decisive moments in Kølle's life that might have motivated and enabled her to map Jerusalem, the next section of this study will work out more in detail, how she engaged with the circulation of knowledge through her knowledge work practices and networks. These moments have specific dates and locations in a network that is producing, circulating, transforming, and controlling knowledge in the past, present, and future. First, I relate Kølle's Jerusalem-map to her education in childhood and early youth. Thereafter, the focus is on her adult life; I examine a dedication on a map and her travel diary, as well as paintings based on journeys to Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

A possible thesis is that the map was motivated by, or resulted from, school-work, and/or through the social spheres in which knowledge circulated in her childhood. The period in question is approximately 1795–1807, between the years she presumably started school and the year she moved to Ulvik in Hardanger. Until she was fifteen, and while she was attending school, she lived together with her family on the farm *Snarøen*, located on a peninsula (today called *Snarøya*) roughly fifteen kilometres south of Christiania (now Oslo).⁴⁶ Her mother, Elisabeth Monrad (1758–1829), grew up in an ecclesial environment with many priests on the male side of the family, and there were extensive kinship relations with bourgeois families in Norway and Denmark. Catharine's father, Christian Kølle (1736–1814), also belonged to a family of priests, and was himself educated in theology. Catharine Kølle was the oldest of four sisters: Petronelle Johanne died only one month old in 1793; Helene Johanne was born in 1795 (died 1877); and her youngest sister Ambrosia was born in 1796 (died 1855). At that time education for all, including girls, was encouraged, as Denmark-Norway had decreed obligatory schooling in 1739.⁴⁷ Thereafter, schools were established throughout Norway, and all children – both boys and girls – over the age of seven were obliged to attend school to at least learn Christianity and reading. The introduction of this schooling law was a result of the adoption of the law of obligatory confirmation in Denmark-Norway in 1736.⁴⁸ From the age of seven or eight, boys and girls were obliged to go to school until they were confirmed. In practice, this meant that they attended school for about two months a year. It is worth noting that among the social circles, Kølle belonged

⁴⁶ Christian Kølle, *Kort Beskrivelse over Snarøen, en liten Gaard ved Christiania* (Christiania, 1792).

⁴⁷ "Denmark-Norway" refers to the multi-national and multi-lingual real union of the Kingdom of Denmark and the Kingdom of Norway, including overseas possessions, and several colonies. Personal union 1523–1533, dual monarchy 1537–1814.

⁴⁸ Einar Høigård and Herman Ruge, *Den norske skoles historie. En oversikt* (Oslo: Cappelen Forlag, 1963), 44–7.

to – the bourgeoisie and governmental officials – education, even for girls, was encouraged even before the new regulation.⁴⁹

Her father, Christian Kølle established a boarding school for boys from the bourgeoisie on Snarøya (outside Oslo), which operated until 1892. Teaching may have motivated him to publish articles and books, and to participate in discussions on education, religion, Latin grammar, and the Danish-Norwegian language. In the book *Is it reasonable to have religion? And which of the many is the most sensible one? [Ær dæt Fårnuftigt at have Religion? åk Vilken av så mange ær dæn Fårnuftigste?]*, published in 1794, he discussed relations between religion and reason.⁵⁰ His enthusiasm for language and grammar had one outlet in the publication *Short education for beginners in the High-German Language, with German-Danish dictionary [Kort Undervisning for Begyndere i det Høy-Tyske Sprog, med tydsk og dansk Ordbok]*.⁵¹ The folklore collector, Thron S. Haukenæs, has written about the nature and residents of the Hardanger area. In *Nature, Folk life, and Folk Beliefs [Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro]*, in the chapter entitled “The Holmen Maidens” – which was the nickname given to the three sisters while they were living in Ulvik, in Hardanger – Haukenæs wrote that the father was his daughters’ teacher, “and not any lazy teacher either.” Catharine, in particular, had accumulated a wealth of knowledge and had learned several languages.⁵² Regarding her upbringing, Catharine wrote in her short autobiography that she stayed two years in Christiania, the Norwegian capital, learning to sew, embroider, draw, and do lace-work.⁵³ The parents believed that girls needed to be educated, and this might be viewed as a direct consequence of the father’s position as a teacher. One might also assume that the girls’ father, Christian Kølle, was influenced by the Moravian community in Christiansfeld, Denmark.⁵⁴

49 Ida Bull, “Leseopplæring og lesebehov i norske byer for 1750,” *Heimen* 52 (2015): 266.

50 Kølle, *Kort Beskrivelse over Snarøen*, 1794.

51 I have not be able to locate Kølle’s publication, but it is referenced in the entry “Kølle” in a biographical dictionary of learned men in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland: Jens Worm, *Forsøg til et Lexicon over danske, norske og islandske lærde Mænd, som ved trykte Skrifter have gjort sig bekendte, saavel som andre Ustuderede som noget have skrevet, hvorudi deres Fødsel, betydeligste Levnets Omstændigheder og Død ved Aarstal kortelig erindres, og deres Skrifter, saavidt mueligt, fulstændig anføres af Jens Worm, Professor Philosophiae ved Kiøbenhavns Universitet, og Rector ved den latinske Skole i Aarhus* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendals Forlag hos August Friderich Stein, 1784), 427.

52 Th. S. Haukenæs, *Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro: bebyst ved Natur- og Folkelivsskildringer, Eventyr, Sagn, Fortællinger o.s.v. av ældre og nyere Tid* (Ulvik, Hardanger: Udgiverens Forlag, 1885), 259.

53 Catharine H. Kølle, “Selvbiografiske optegnelser av Catharine Hermine Kølle (f. 1788),” manuscript: ubb-ms-0659-d-01, accessed January 14, 2019, <http://marcus.uib.no/instance/manuscript/ubb-ms-0659-d-01.html>, 53. The page number refers to the digitalised version.

54 Ryall and Veiteberg, *En kvinnelig oppdagelsesreisende i det unge Norge*, 16.

Kølle's Painting of Christiansfeld

The Moravian community strongly emphasised education. They opened a boarding school for boys and girls, aiming to foster human qualities by combining ideas about children's autonomy, with a Christian message.⁵⁵ Women played an active role in the Moravian communities. Girls learned to express themselves through painting and singing. This way of communication, theologian Elisabeth Engell Jessen argues in the present volume, was an expected way to dwell upon the life of Jesus, and to share inner religious experiences and feelings.⁵⁶ In the years 1793–1807, eighteen Norwegian girls were inscribed into the Christiansfeld School. Catharine was not amongst them.⁵⁷ In her youth, however, Kølle visited her uncle David Monrad in Copenhagen, where she was eager to practise drawing.⁵⁸ Amongst Kølle's watercolours, we find a neat map of Christiansfeld (Fig. 15.5), which may imply that, although not as a regular pupil, she visited, or had some special interest in the Moravian town.⁵⁹ In sum, we can assume that Catharine, and her sisters, received far more education – both in total hours, and in different subjects – than was usual for girls at the time. In this way, education in her childhood and youth enabled her to mobilise different forms of knowledge transfer that were applicable, not only to her present life, but also to her future life. By theoretical and esthetical tactile knowledge and skills, she textualised, visualised, and materialised dreams, imaginations, experiences, and “facts.” Despite Kølle's relatively good education, however, and her access to intellectual spaces, there were still institutional barriers for women; access to university or to art academies was impossible.⁶⁰

Mapping Practices in the Periphery

In 1802, the Kølle family left eastern Norway to settle in Western Norway. After five years in Kopervik on Karmøy, on May 28, 1807, Christian Kølle and his three daughters moved to the small farm Holmen, in Ulvik, Hardanger. His wife, Elisabeth, remained in Kopervik as a “care patient” because of what is described as mental disorder. The farm was located on a small promontory in the fjord and was surrounded by high mountains

⁵⁵ Jens Holdt, “Kostskolerne i Christiansfeld,” *Sønderjydske Årbøger* 1 (1943): 25.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107.

⁵⁷ Jens Holdt, “Elev-Fortegnelse fra Christiansfelds Kostskoler 1775–1891,” *Årbøger* 1 (1944): 117–8. Camilla Collet, who would become a famous Norwegian novelist, was also a pupil at the school at a later date.

⁵⁸ Ryall and Veiteberg, *En kvinnelig oppdagelsesreisende i det unge Norge*, 21.

⁵⁹ I will return to Kølle's Christiansfeld map below.

⁶⁰ The first female student enrolled at the University of Copenhagen was Nielsine Nielsen (1850–1916) in 1877. In 1884, women obtained access to the University of Oslo.

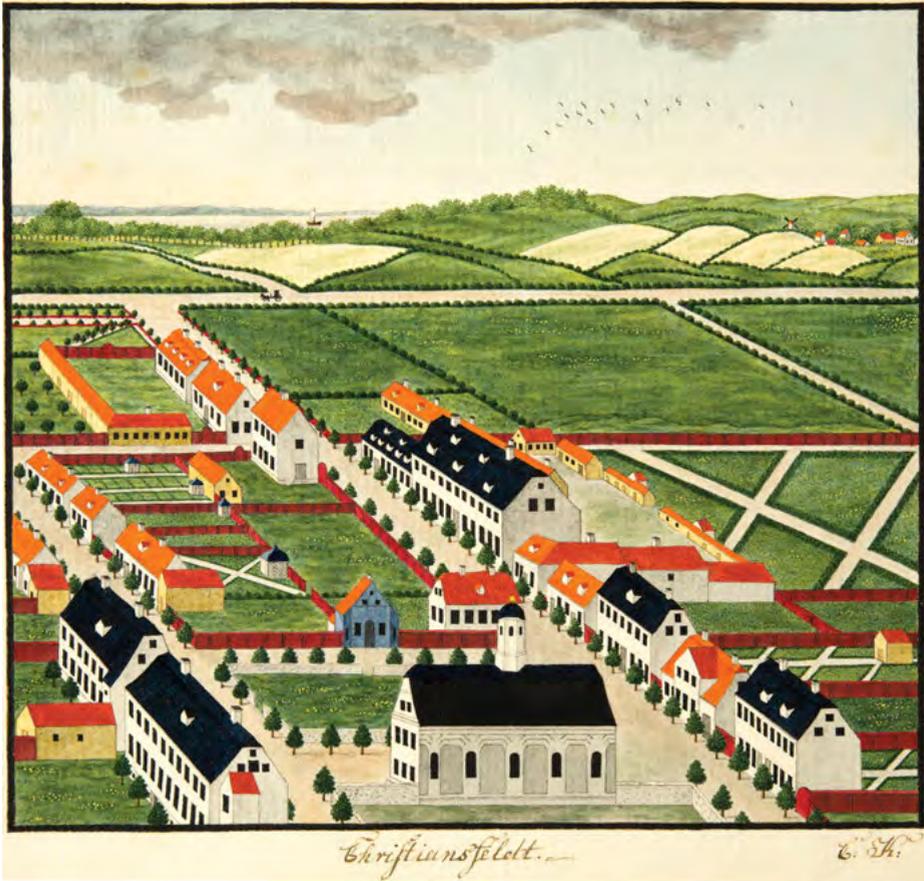


Fig. 15.5: *Christiansfeldt*, c.1826–1827, by Catharine Hermine Kølle. Signed C.K. Photo: Svein Skare © University Museum of Bergen.

with spectacular waterfalls. The farm also had a magnificent view of the Ulvikafjord.⁶¹ The Ulvikafjord is a branch of the Hardangerfjord, the second-longest fjord in Norway. After their father died in 1841 – Catharine was then 26, Helene 19, and Ambrosia 18 – the sisters lived alone at Holmen. Financially, they remained independent due to a modest inherited fund and a thrifty lifestyle.⁶² Their excellent needlework skills

⁶¹ Ulvik: *Gards- og ættesoga 1. Almennsoga og ein del gards- og ættesoge* (Ulvik herad: Bygdeboknemnda, Stavanger: Dreyer Bok, 1987), 386–7.

⁶² Ole T. Lekve, “Familien Kølle i Ulvik,” in *Hardanger* (Hardanger: Hardanger historielag, 1923).

enabled them to sell embroideries,⁶³ and the farm was regarded as an example to follow.⁶⁴ After their mother died in 1829, the financial situation became a little easier because they were no longer responsible for paying for their mother's care.⁶⁵

If Kølle's Jerusalem map was part of her knowledge work during her adult life, it was part of a broader intellectual network on the West Coast of Norway. I will introduce one moment – the dedication of a map – which can be analysed as an outcome of network mapping and efforts to create an intellectual space in the periphery of Norway. In 1825, the Protestant priest Niels Hertzberg (1759–1841) published his map, *Høiderne av de hidtil maalde Bjerge i Norske eller Rhinlandske Födder* [*The Heights of the Previously Measured Mountains in Norwegian or Rhineland feet*].⁶⁶ An exceptional version of this map is stored in the local archive in Ulvik.⁶⁷ Unlike the two black-and-white etchings at the National Library in Oslo, this version is delicately coloured and has a handwritten dedication: “To Catharine Kølle from author Niels Hertzberg.” In this map, systematic comparisons based on measurements taken from the geology, mountains, glaciers, and plants of Norway, Europe, and the Americas, are turned into a pictorial landscape map. By doing so, Hertzberg transformed one or another version of the German writer and public official Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749–1832) map *Höhen der alten und neuen Welt bildlich verglichen* [*Heights in the old and new World compared visually*] into a Norwegian version by removing, adding, and reframing the model.⁶⁸ Hertzberg was strongly engaged in scientific practices such as measuring heights, recording meteorological conditions, mapping, and writing reports from his municipality. On the map, he included many of his own measurements of the high mountains in the area, and some of the newest results from other scientists, like the height of the Himalayas.⁶⁹ Goethe's

63 Gudrun Stuland, *Hardangerbunaden før og no* (Oslo: Fabritius Forlagshus, 1980), 41, 80; Gunvor Ingstad Trætteberg, *Handkledet og den seremonielle tildekning av hendene* (Oslo: Johansen og Nielsen Boktrykkeri, 1944), 20.

64 Olav Kolltveit, *Granvin, Ulvik og Eidfjord i gamal og ny tid. Bygdesoga II* (Bergen: Granvin, Ulvik og Eidfjord Bygdeboknemd, 1977), 137.

65 Ole T. Lekve, “Familien Kølle i Ulvik,” in *Hardanger*, (Hardanger: Hardanger historielag, 1924).

66 Niels Hertzberg, *Høiderne av de hidtil maalde Bjerge i Norske eller Rhinlandske Födder*, 1825. Lithography by L. Fehr & Sön. 34 x 47.6 cm. National Library of Norway, Map 216, 1. Thanks to Benedict Gramborg Briså at the National Library of Norway and Nils Voje Johansen for discussing and contributing to locate this map.

67 Niels Hertzberg, *Høiderne av de hidtil maalde Bjerge i Norske eller Rhinlandske Födde*, 1825. Lithography by L. Fehr & Sön. 34 x 47.6 cm., colored. Lokalhistorisk arkiv, Ulvik herad. Another coloured copy of the Hertzberg map is in the public library of Bergen; Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, call number ff 912 H.

68 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “Höhen der alten und neuen Welt bildlich verglichen. Ein Tableau vom Hrn. Geh. Rath v. Göthe mit einem Schreiben an den Herausg. der A. G. E.,” *Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* 41, no. 1 (1813): 3–8. Etching by Johann Christian Starck, acuatint print, 34.6 x 38.8 cm. Thüringen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.

69 Skåden, “Scientific Relations and Production of Knowledge,” 362.

map was in turn an interpretation of Alexander von Humboldt's (1769–1859) text *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen, nebst einem Naturgemälde der Anden* [Essay on the Geography of Plants] (1807); Humboldt's first volume was published after his five-year-long scientific journey to South and Central America in 1799–1804.⁷⁰ A main point was to compare heights, and to locate the zones of different plants. Hertzberg's map enables us to follow a Humboldt-Goethe-Hertzberg-Kølle relation whereby knowledge produced in places like South America, Paris, Berlin, Weimar, and Jena, ends up by several modifications, by subtracting and adding facts, in a small rural place in Hardanger, in Western Norway.⁷¹ It seems reasonable, furthermore, to interpret the dedication from Hertzberg to Kølle as his confirmation and acknowledgment of her contribution to the community of knowledge circulators and producers in a place regarded as the periphery. Despite the great age difference, Kølle and Hertzberg were friends and had common interests. They both owned a library, they were intellectually oriented towards the natural sciences, and they lived in an area and time that took great interest in reading and in collecting books.⁷² Moreover, both had skills in mapping and both drew different kinds of maps.

It is possible to categorize Kølle's maps in three different ways: The first category includes maps in which her local landscape was visualised with detailed information. This is an embodied landscape and knowledge – a landscape she knew from childhood with its seasonal colours, smells, and light. Her body knew the roads and routes, the vegetation and the geology, and she transformed all this embodied knowledge into lines on the map. The second category encompasses maps of places Kølle visited during her journeys. One example is the previously mentioned map of Christiansfeld: We may assume that she visited the town during on one of her journeys in Denmark, yet the map is a modification of an earlier printed map of Christiansfeld that she had probably seen in a library.⁷³ Kølle also made several other maps in Denmark; these are freehand drawings based on her close relation to the Danish landscape, which she knew very well. The third category contains maps of places she never visited. The Jerusalem map is one such

70 Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen: nebst einem Naturgemälde der Tropenländer: auf Beobachtungen und Messungen gegründet, welche vom 10ten Grade nördlicher bis zum 10ten Grade südlicher Breite, in den Jahren 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 und 1803 angestellt worden sind* (Tübingen, Paris; Bey F.G. Cotta: Bey F. Schoell, 1807).

71 Jean-Christophe Bailly, Jean-Marce Besse, and Gilles Palsky, *Le monde sur une feuille: Les tableaux comparatifs de montagnes et de fleuves dans les atlas du XIXe siècle* (Lyon: Fage Editions, 2014) shows how Goethe's maps of heights became a new genre with offshoots in several countries. Hertzberg's version is not included in this volume.

72 Kolltveit, *Granvin, Ulvik og Eidfjord i gamal og ny tid*, 389; G. Stoltz, "En gammel boksamling fra Ulvik, og dens eier," *Årsskrift Hardanger* (1945): 87.

73 Ole Nielsen Flint, "Christiansfeld," <http://www.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object392737/da/>.

example. Despite all the details, the map is drawn by a person who did not personally experience the place in question, but based her description on her imagination, on possible models such as that of Lightfoot, and on stories from the Bible.

Fieldwork – and Bringing Things Home

The second moment I will bring into play is Catharine Kølles writing in her travel diaries, and some letters written during her journeys. Catharine Kølles travelled extensively in Norway and even abroad; sometimes alone and sometimes together with one or both of her sisters. In 1838, she went to Stockholm, and in 1841, through Germany, all the way to Venice. Back home, by working diligently, she transformed what I want to conceptualize as her “field jottings” into a purely handwritten, hard-cover book with some self-drawn illustrations.⁷⁴ Through writing diaries, she was able to recall observations and experiences made on the road, bring them home, and share them with audiences in the local community. One way of doing this was by arranging gatherings – small-scale salons – where they discussed, read, and exchanged good stories, books, and information.

What was the motivation for this unusual and remarkable travel activity? The three sisters were unmarried. They were not following in a husband’s footsteps, nor were they, like many contemporary men, commissioned to travel due to more or less professional activity. Kølles is thus in line with many other female travel writers; their accounts tend not to be prescribed by the need to satisfy a patron or a professional reputation.⁷⁵ One explanation for Kølles’s travelling is the medical treatment she received in 1826 in Copenhagen, where Professor Vithusen encouraged her to walk as a cure for bad health. A simple walk in the neighbourhood was not enough for Kølles who had a “particular belief” in travelling as a remedy, as an observer remarked: “It was too much quietness that made people ill, she thought; travelling and a change of place were the best curative.”⁷⁶ Her travels were a way out of the limited social and cultural opportunities offered by the location of her home, and

⁷⁴ Catharine H. Kølles, “Frk. Catharine Hermine Kølles Reisejournal 1838 og 1841,” Manuscript: ubb-ms-0289, accessed January 14, 2019, <http://marcus.uib.no/instance/manuscript/ubb-ms-0289.html>. There are also other travel diaries written by Kølles in the archive. Most likely, they are the result of work along the road, and they have not undergone a similar processing.

⁷⁵ Jane Robinson, *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), xii.

⁷⁶ Haukenæs, *Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro*, 259. “Ho hadde ei ser Tru paa Reising. Det var formykjet Rolighet, som gjorde Folk sjuke, meinte ho; Reising og Umbyttning av Plass var den beste Lækjedom.” My translation.

not an attempt to solve existential needs – in Kølle’s time walking served this purpose for many less privileged women and men.⁷⁷

We get a glimpse of Kølle’s investigative approach to her surroundings through her diaries. Her main method is to make comparisons by observing her surroundings and studying similar phenomena in museums and libraries. In a letter to a friend, she describes a reading situation and how she was engaging with art and science during a stay in Copenhagen in 1827. As a diligent guest in the royal reading room, she reads expensive books with and without copper engravings. The reading room is beautiful and there are two ovens: “In the middle of the floor is a large table, where usually many gentlemen are sitting and reading and writing, partly the cavalier with glasses, partly others. In the corner there is a small table, and at one of these where there is an oven, I have my seat.”⁷⁸ She is taking part in a reading situation in one of the noblest places for the circulation of knowledge in the Nordic countries, but her physical location in the room, one might argue, can also serve as a metaphor for women’s social place within knowledge regimes of the time.

Kølle’s journeys appear as fieldwork; a way of collecting knowledge of places and environments revealed through mobility and interacting with one’s surroundings.⁷⁹ The diaries can be interpreted as field diaries, where she writes down detailed observations and comparisons of nature, places, museums, castles, artwork, libraries, churches, and cities. One example is how she combines her religious practice with her interest in art by participating in a number of worship services, and by describing, comparing, and judging the quality of the interiors, paintings, and altarpieces in countless churches. Still, her strongest focus and sharpest gaze was directed towards nature: real landscapes seen outdoors and mediated landscapes exhibited in museums, galleries, newspapers, and books. She observes where trees and plants grow, how nature is transformed into aestheticized practices in parks and gardens, and into paintings of landscapes. She expresses her affection towards landscape paintings after a visit to a museum in Berlin in 1841, where most of the paintings were historical and biblical paintings; “so not entirely to my taste.”⁸⁰ Rather, it seems that modest or small religious paintings aroused her enthusiasm.

77 Karin Sagner, *Frauen auf eigenen Füßen. Spazieren, Flanieren, Wandern* (München: Elisabeth Sandmann Verlag, 2016), 13.

78 “Midt paa Gulvet staar et stort Bord, hvorom plejer side mange Herrer der læser og skriver, dels Brillekavallierer dels andre. I Hjørnerne ere anbragte Smaaborde, og ved det af disse der staar nærmest Ovnene, har jeg min Plads.” My Translation. Letter from Kølle to Iver Paulsen Lekve, March 31, 1827. Ms 1124, Bergen University Library, Bergen.

79 Kent Mathewson, “‘In Camp’ and ‘Out of Bounds’: Notes on the History of Fieldwork in American Geography.” *Geographical Review*, 91/1/2 (2001): 215.

80 Kølle, *Frk. Catharine Hermine Kølles Reisejournal 1838 og 1841*, Tuesday 1, July, 1841.

In a small church outside Salzburg, she contemplates paintings of Jesus on the Cross, and of the Crucifixion in Jerusalem, and she found these more pleasing than the large history paintings of the museums.⁸¹

Writing diaries was one way of recalling observations and experiences, and of modulating the circulation of knowledge. An additional strategy was painting the previously mentioned maps and watercolour prospects. Most of the paintings are landscape studies and prospects of places in vivid colours, with an attention to small details. Some are from her home area; others are inspired by her travelling. Kølle usually worked with watercolours, as she did when mapping Jerusalem. Watercolour pigments and brushes were lightweight and portable. Hence, in the nineteenth century, for women who went abroad – often with strong artistic training although still amateurs – water colouring became a versatile tool for recording, documenting, and communicating changes in their lives.⁸²

Religious Images

The last theme I want to introduce is a small, yet notable collection of watercolour paintings with religious motifs. These religious paintings distinguish themselves from Kølle's main art production, which is focused on various forms of motifs taken from nature. These religious motifs demonstrate, once again, that Kølle's knowledge work involved both religious and profane aspects.

The religious paintings are undated, like the Jerusalem map, and thus no further connection can be established between the map and the paintings apart from their obvious Christian focus.

One motif among the religious paintings shows Jesus in Gethsemane, the garden at the foot of the small hill – the Mount of Olives – on the eastern ridge of Jerusalem.⁸³ The place where Jesus stayed the night before the Crucifixion, according to Christian tradition, is also included in Kølle's Jerusalem-map and marked with number 22.

Kølle's religious motifs were often inspired by other artworks. The image of the *Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 15.6), for example, builds on a well-known renaissance composition by Andrea del Sarto, in the Chiostrò dello Scalzo (c.1511–1526).⁸⁴ Details in other images point, on the other hand, to more “classicistic” models. There are elegant

⁸¹ Kølle, *Frk. Catharine Hermine Kølles Reisejournal 1838 og 1841*, July 1841.

⁸² Jordan Pomeroy, “We Got Upon Our Elephant & Went Out After Subjects’: capturing the world in watercolor,” in *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*, ed. Jordana Pomeroy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 39–40.

⁸³ Kølle, untitled. Watercolour, 240 x 193 mm. Lokahistorisk arkiv, Ulvik herad.

⁸⁴ Kølle, untitled. Watercolour, 239 x 193 mm. Lokahistorisk arkiv, Ulvik herad.



Fig. 15.6: *The Baptism of Christ*, undated and untitled, by Cathrine Hermine Kølle. Lokahistorisk arkiv, Ulvik herad. Photo: Knut Aslaksen © University Museum of Bergen.

landscapes with obelisks and vases, for example, which seem to be inspired by imagery of the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.

Although many of the religious motifs appear to be based on various prototypes – unlike most of her profane images – the religious images are not mere copies, but independent works that exhibit her skill and her creative, thoughtful gaze.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ One rare example of a profane motive she modified was the “Niagara-fossen seet fra Traffelklippen,” from one or another version of the many sublime Niagara Falls pictures. See: Spesialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen “Niagara-Fossen Seet fra Taffelklippen,” <http://marcus.uib.no/search/?q=k%C3%B8lle%20niagara>; and Isaac Weld, “View of the Horse Shoe Fall of Niagara,” in *Travels Through the States of North American in 1795, 1796 and 1797* (London: Printer for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1799), opposite p. 313 in Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 45. An awareness of and interest in the Niagara waterfall is demonstrated by articles in Norwegian newspapers and magazines around the middle of the nineteenth century. See: Torild Gjesvik, “The Road in Art: Three Cases from Nineteenth-Century Norway,” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2014), 136.

Conclusion

The map of Jerusalem, as mapped by Kølle, is a material expression of her religious life and her scientific interests and knowledge. I have argued that her practices are more than private amusement; rather, they can be interpreted as contributions to history of knowledge. The Jerusalem map was designed within a network of knowledge producers and knowledge circulators in Norway, whom had strong links to international communities engaged in science. Kølle was, by a variety of methods and tools, studying the agricultural, religious, scientific, and aesthetic aspects of landscapes. Despite different systems of restrictions – such as no access to higher education or a publisher for her works; among them the Jerusalem map, her diary, and her paintings – the three ladies’ farm at the end of a long fjord in Norway was not only a place for fruit trees and farming: The Kølle home stands out as a household producing and circulating knowledge.

We don’t know whether Kølle’s map and work was seen outside her home and thereby known to a larger public. During her journeys and when back home in Ulvik, however, her know-how and skills were circulated through discussions and teaching, and her Jerusalem-map may have been an actor in this knowledge work. A local initiative in the first half of the twentieth century, which aimed to preserve her house by granting it a Permanent Protection Order, expresses a recognition of Kølle’s contributions to the circulation of knowledge.⁸⁶ The initiative did not succeed, unfortunately, but Kølle’s maps, texts, and drawings now receive renewed attention.

Appendix

My English translation of Kølle’s text is based on the texts from two versions of the Lightfoot map. The original Norwegian titles from Kølle’s text are provided in brackets.⁸⁷

1. Titus’s Camp, [*1 Titi Lejr*].
2. Pompey’s Camp, [*2 Pompeji Lejr*].
3. The Royal Fishpond or The Kings Pool, [*3 Den Kongelige Fiske-Dam*].
4. The King’s Garden, [*4 Kongens Have*].
5. The Lower Fishpond or The Pool Shelah or lower pool, [*5 Den nedre Fiske-Dam*].
6. The water main Etam, or Etam Conduit, [*6 De Vandledning Etam*].

⁸⁶ “Holmen. Køllehuset,” c.1935–1953. Riksantikvarens bilde-, tegnings- og dokumentarkiv, RAKV-S-6224-D-Db-Db12-0085-0021-0001, Riksantikvaren, Oslo.

⁸⁷ I want to thank Inger-Karin Martinsen for transcribing the handwritten original. My translation into English.

7. Calvary, [7 *Golgatha*].
8. Siloah water, or Gihon, or Fountain of Siloam or Gihion, [8 *Siloæ Vande, eller Gihon*].
9. The Valley with the same source or The Valley of the Fountain of Siloam, [9 *Dalen af samme Kilde*].
10. Tower of Eder, or Migdal Eder, [10 *Det Taarn Eder*].
11. The place to colour or bleach, or Ager Fullonis, [11 *Farver- eller Bleger-Sted*].
12. The Field of Blood, Aceldama, [12 *Blod-Ageren Hacheldama*].
13. The Hinnom Valley, or Topheth or Vallis Hinnon sive Tophet, [13 *Den Dal Hinnon eller Tophet*].
14. Camp of the Assyrians, or The Tents of the Assyrians, [14 *De Assyriers Lejr*].
15. Mons Offensionis, Mons Corruptionis [15 *Fordervelsens Bjerget, Mons Corruptionis*].
16. The Bathing-Place, or Lavacrum, [16 *Bade-Stedet*].
17. Bethany, or Bethania [17 *Bethanien*].
18. Two cedar trees, or Duæ cedri [18 *To Ceder Træer*].
19. Signs of the fire in the Valley of Hinnom, or Signa ignis, [19 *Tegn til den Ild, som blev holdt i Hinnons Dal*].
20. Where the red cow was burned [20 *Der, hvor den røde Koe blev brændt*].
21. Kidron Valley, where Kidron's creek flowed or Vallis Kidron, [21 *Kedrons Dal, hvor Kedrons Bæk gik*].
22. Gethsemane, [22 *Gethsemane*].
23. Gardens outside the City [23 *Haver, uden for Byen*].
24. The outermost tower or the tower lying out, or Turris exterior. [24 *Det yderste Taarn*].
25. Herod's burial place, or Herodes monumentum, [25 *Herodis Begravelses Sted*].
26. The Mountain of Zophim, or Mont Zophim, [26 *Det Bjerg Sophim*].
27. The Almond Fish Pool, or the Almond Pool, or Piscina Amigdale, [27 *Amigdelæ Fiske-Dam*].
28. House Lebanon and Regia/Kings Palace, [28 *Det Hus Libanon og Slottet*].
29. The Wool-Market, [29 *Uld-Torvet*].
30. Xystus, a tower. [30 *Xystus, et Taarn*].
31. Asmoneans castle, [30 *Asmoneernes Slot*].
32. The prison house, or the city's prison, or court of the Prison, [32 *Fange Huset, eller Stadens Fængsel*].
33. The road from the castle to the temple, [33 *Vejen fra Slottet til Templet*].
34. The fish pond full of pipes, Piscina Juncosa, [34 *Den Fiske-Dam fuld af Rør, Piscina Juncosa*].
35. The tower Antonia, [35 *Taarnet Antonia*].
36. The gate Tedi, a gate to the temple to the north, [36 *Porta Tedi, en Port til Templet mod Norden*].

37. The gate Shallecheth, a gate to the temple to the west, [*37 Porta Schalechet, en Port til Templet mod Vesten*].
38. The gate Parbar, a gate to the temple to the west, [*38 Porta Parbar, en Port til Templet mod Vesten*].
39. Port Regis, the Kings gate to the temple, [*39 Porta Regis, Kongens Port til Templet*].
40. Port Equina, the horse gate, [*40 Porta Eqvina, Hæste Porten*].
41. The King's stables, or Stabula Regis, [*41 Kongens Stalde*].
42. Moriah, or the mountain of the temple, [*42 Moria, eller Templets Bjerg*].
43. The road to the Temple, [*43 Gaden til Templet*].
44. Bethpage, [*44 Betphage*].
45. The road from Bethpage to the Temple, [*45 Vejen fra Betphage til Templet*].
46. The water gate, or Porta Aqua, [*46 Vand-Porten*].
47. The water Etam, or Aqua Etam, [*47 Det Vand Etam*].
48. Ophel, [*48 Ophel*].
49. The horse gate, or Porta Equorum, [*49 Hæste-Porten*].
50. Tower of Siloam [*50 Siloa Taarn*].
51. Pool of Siloam, or pool of Bethesda, [*51 Siloa Dam, eller Betesta Dam*].
52. Porta Miphkad, or the Gate of Commandment, [*52 Porta Miphgad eller Befalings Porten*].
53. 53 The Sheep Gate, [*53 Faare-Porten*].
54. The Sheep Market, [*54 Faare-Torvet*].
55. The Tower of Meah, [*55 Det Taarn Meah*].
56. Tower of Hananeel, [*56 Det Tarn Hananael*].
57. The Fish Gate, [*57 Fiske-Torvet*].
58. The Fish Market [*58 Fiske-Torvet*].
59. The Old Gate [*59 Den gamle Port*].
60. The Chicken Market, [*60 Høse-Torvet*].
61. The City Hall, [*61 Raad-Huset*].
62. The Archive [*62 Archivet*].
63. The Gate of Ephraim, [*63 Ephraims Port*].
64. The road from the Gate of Ephraim, [*64 Gaden fra Ephraims Port*].
65. The Broad Wall, [*65 Den brede Mur*].
66. The Corner's Gate, [*66 Hjørne-Porten*].
67. Turris Fornacaria, the Oven Tower, [*67 Turris Fornacaria, Ovne-Taarnet*].
68. The Valley's gate, [*69 Dal-Porten*].
69. Tyropaeon or the Long Road, Tyropaeon or the valley and street of Cheesemongers, [*Tyropæum, eller Hoker (?) -Dalen, den lange Gade*].
70. The Dung Gate, [*70 Møg-Porten*].
71. Fountain Gate, Water Gate, [*71 Porta Fontis, Vand-Porten*].
72. The way up to the City of David, [*72 Opgangen til Davids Stad*].

73. David's Grave, [*73 Davids Grav*].
74. Armoury, [*74 Rust-Kammeret*].
75. The House of the Mighty, [*76 Den Mægtiges Hus*].
76. The Tower of Psephinus, [*76 Sephini Taarn*].
77. Caenopolis, or the New City, [*77 Cænopolis eller den nye Stad*].

Rana Issa

Chapter 16

Missionary Philology and the Invention of Bibleland

The concept of Bible land became salient in the nineteenth century in the work of American missionaries. They deployed philological and cartographic discourses to facilitate the valorisation of bibleland as the story of origins that they imposed on a space that was cluttered with other stories. Their work inaugurated what could be termed colonial philology, a scholarly attempt to re-present space based on the conflation of texts, languages, and geography.

For the Land, whither thou goest in to possess it,
is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out,
where thou sowedst thy seed,
and wateredst it with thy foot,
as a garden of herbs.

Deuteronomy 11:10

In the nineteenth century, colonial philology defined the means of communication with the natives by valorising the connections between land and language. The philological intervention in the geography of the Levant ensured the paradigmatic position of the Bible as the colonial framework of communication; specifically, by decentring the Bible from its marginal (but foundational) status in the canon of Arabic letters and transforming it into the translation of a Western text into the Arabic language. In this chapter, I build on Edward Said's argument that Orientalism "is – and does not simply represent – a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world."¹ By examining key missionary texts, I show that the revolution in biblical studies contributed to elaborating a concept of "bibleland" for the entire Levantine region (from Mesopotamia and Syria to Palestine).² However, because of its contemporary salience for the continued colonization of Palestine, I focus on those geographical instances of the discourse of bibleland that had direct cartographic bearing on the land of Palestine.

I argue that the instrumental use of the Bible as a tool for the cartographic mapping of bibleland has a tradition that goes back as far as the history of pilgrimage.

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 12.

² I use the terms Levant and Levantine, as politically (and historically) neutral categories of space. Syria and Palestine as labels linked to competing national narratives may confuse the reader.

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What changes in the nineteenth century is that the maps that the cartographic knowledge produced took on a significance that far exceeds the Christian interests of the missionaries I discuss in this chapter. Instead, through the reinvention of the bibleland concept in terms of a “scientific” knowledge process, the idea of bibleland acquired a dominance that exceeded the colonial interests of Western powers in the nineteenth century. This chapter in particular draws out the links that were forged between philology and the colonial reinvention of the Levantine space as bibleland, to examine how the concept of bibleland was scientifically legitimized in order to fit the hegemonic paradigms of secular modernity. I claim the concept of bibleland to be a reinvention because of the way this concept organizes the missionary religio-political narrative that provides a coherent rationale for the missionary vocation, as a project that intended to accelerate the arrival of the End Time. The bibleland travelogues that I discuss here displaced the local interpretations of space to make room for a missionary translation of the Bible onto the landscape. This resulted in the emergence of colonial philology, defined as the instrumental use of philology to legitimize geographic control of colonized space. The missionary use of colonial philology functioned as a framework to mediate the spatial re-inscription of colonial tropes onto the local/Palestinian landscape, conflating geography with the text of the Bible.

In order to examine how the missionaries instrumentalised the Bible in their description of the land of Palestine, I turn to two works: one of geography and the other a travelogue. The first book I examine, William Thomson’s *The Land and the Book* (1880), is representative of a popular genre of bibleland travelogues in the nineteenth century.³ Thomson, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionary to Palestine who arrived there in 1832, became more deeply involved in the mission’s educational activities in all of Syria and was one of the missionaries who did the basic work for the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirut. This travelogue was written towards the end of his tenure in the Levant and reveals his poetic flair and penchant for Romantic descriptions. The other work I examine carries the names of Bible translator Eli Smith and Bible scholar Edward Robinson. It is also a travelogue but distinguishes itself from the popular nineteenth century genre by its more scientific airs and taste for cartographic accuracy. It is titled *Biblical Research in Palestine* (1841) and was probably based on the journals Robinson kept during his travels in Palestine accompanied by Smith, who acted as his translator.⁴

This chapter examines the tropes and methods that cohered into a narrative of bibleland. I define this narrative as belonging to the sub-discipline of colonial

³ William M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880).

⁴ Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions I* (London: John Murray, 1841); Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea III* (London: John Murray, 1841).

philology; a scholarly attempt to represent space based on the conflation of texts and languages with geography. In this strand of philology, geographical reconstruction bases itself on the authority of prior texts rather than on permitting the experience of space to guide the cartographic process. Whereas Thomson's work is important for the visual representations of bibleland as idyllic landscape, Robinson's work became the basis of one of the most important cartographic works on the Holy Land in the nineteenth century; the maps of Palestine that were drawn by Heinrich Kiepert (1818–1899), which in turn became the basis for subsequent maps on Palestine that were undertaken by British cartographers.⁵

In the nineteenth century, missionary philology of bibleland succeeded in exchanging the social present of the Levant through a scientific method that combined linguistics with cartography. At that time, the missionary philology of bibleland valorised the historical value of bibleland over the social present of the Levant. As the anthropologist Johannes Fabian notes in his study of Swahili, colonial linguistics was “among the preconditions for establishing regimes of colonial power.”⁶ In the African setting of Fabian's study, the missionaries began their bible work by writing grammars and lexicons that would ultimately allow them to translate the Bible into the local languages of the African continent. In many parts of Africa, the Bible was of negligible significance prior to the arrival of the missionaries – thus introducing a translation of the Bible meant legitimatizing mastery of the local language. By contrast, the Levant was laden with biblical significance for millennia. Mastery of the language was hardly sufficient, for local biblical communities had been translating their Scriptures into Arabic since at least the eighth century. As Ussama Makdisi writes, “at the heart of the difference between the biblical land and Africa was the missionaries' perception of the cluttered rather than vast emptiness of the country.”⁷ In order to master this cluttered space, the missionaries produced cartographic narratives which were subsequently translated into maps of the Holy Land and the Levant. As the best way to control the means of communication with the local population, reordering the space of the Levant facilitated the translation of inhabited spaces into a biblical geographical lexicon that at once validated the biblical past in the eyes of the local inhabitants, while dialectically depreciating earlier local interpretations of the holiness of their space.⁸ In even more foundational ways than Fabian's African setting, the missionaries to the Levant

5 Heinrich Kiepert, “Plan of Jerusalem: Sketched from Sieber and Catherwood, Corrected by the Measurements of Robinson and Smith.” London: John Murray, 1841. <https://geo.nyu.edu/catalog/princeton-1c18dj30c>.

6 Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, 1880–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3.

7 Ussama Makdisi, “Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (June 1997): 689.

8 See for example the narratives and myths about the Levant in Yehoshua Frenkel's “Byabars and the Sacred Geography of Bilad al-Sham: A Chapter in the Islamization of Syria's Landscape,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 153–70.

displayed an “all-pervasive proclivity to express the proclamation of the Christian message in spatial categories and metaphors.”⁹ Philology was the key that unlocked the cartographic potential of the Bible in mapping out the Levantine geography. In what follows, I first provide a quick overview of the general state of biblical scholarship and philology in Europe at the time of missionary travels to the Levant. I then provide a summary of the methodologies that the missionaries used for gathering data. This analysis examines how philology was used to legitimize and conflate the colonial desire for the land with the missionary discourse of Christian salvation.

Biblical Philology in the West: A Sketch

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolution in European biblical scholarship cast doubt on the idea of the so-called ur-Bible.¹⁰ This biblical revolution discovered that even in Hebrew, ancient Greek, and Syriac, many versions of the Bible existed, which in turn kept pointing to an even more ancient Greek or Hebrew text than the authoritative texts relied on by the national churches. The destabilization of a point of textual origin was related, in concrete terms, to the discovery of earlier (and diverse) Bible texts than what was customarily thought of as the earliest texts of the Bible. Following the early Renaissance contribution to biblical scholarship (and the Reformation) of the Dutch humanist at Cambridge, Desiderius Erasmus, who collated and translated the Greek text known as the *Textus Receptus*, biblical scholars assumed that they had finally discovered the true origins of the Bible.¹¹ But this was not the case, and the philological revolution of the Enlightenment demonstrated the difficulty of ever finding the most ancient text of the Bible. Closely connected to the inability to point to an authoritative textual origin were the comparative philological discoveries made in Sanskrit by the English Indologist, Sir William James (1746–1794) among others¹² and what came to be known as the Indo-European language family.¹³

Recent scholarship on the history of nineteenth-century philology exposes the lacuna leading to the inherent racism and colonial logic associated with the discipline; at least since Said published *Orientalism*. The recent interest in the history of the

⁹ Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power*, 79.

¹⁰ Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Said, *Orientalism*, 17, 202.

¹¹ Recent scholarship historicizes Erasmus’s work and shows the extent to which the *Textus Receptus* relied on translations into Greek of Latin Scriptures in the medieval period. See Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

¹² Said summarizes Jones’s works as garnering his ambition to “subdue the infinite Orient to a complete digest.” Said, *Orientalism*, 78.

¹³ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*.

discipline distinguishes itself from Said's blanket dismissal of nineteenth-century scholarship by going into painstaking detail in recollecting the scientific and political context that shaped the methodologies developed by European philologists in the nineteenth century. In the scholarship of Thomas Trautmann, Suzanne Marchand, Tuska Benes, Rachel Willson, Maurice Olender and others,¹⁴ we encounter philology's dependence on biblical dogma – especially on the stubborn faith in the veracity of the Book of Genesis and its stories of the Biblical Flood and the Tower of Babel – to articulate language taxonomies in the nineteenth century. Perhaps more than any other discovery and research into other civilizations, the Western colonial encounter with the Vedas and with Sanskrit produced serious religious anxieties across theological and literary disciplines in key Western universities.¹⁵

The notion that Sanskrit was more ancient than Hebrew was innovative in the field of biblical studies. As Benes and Olender argued, the (mostly German) biblical scholars and philologists made astounding discoveries of ancient manuscripts that contested the divine genesis of human language, especially after groundbreaking work in Sanskrit studies that revealed it to be a more ancient language than Hebrew. This discovery radically challenged the myth of creation advanced by the Book of Genesis. In some philological circles, Adam's birthplace and burial ground was purported to be in India, and some archaeologists even went on excursions to find the proof for their theories. By the end of the eighteenth century, "philology had decisively weakened the bond between the Bible and theology."¹⁶ Benes' focus on the German branch of Sanskrit philology reveals a different trajectory from Trautmann's tremendous book on the nuances within Anglophone Orientalism. Moving his study to the English scholarly realm, which preceded the development of Indology in Germany, Trautmann argues that the beginnings of Sanskrit philology were predicated on what he termed "Mosaic ethnology," an ethnological worldview that assumes the biblical story of the decedents of Noah (Shem, Ham, and Japhet) to be a historical fact and, consequently, that the history of the Great Flood and the destruction of the Tower of Babel were treated as the earliest beginnings of linguistic and national diversity. In this worldview, Sanskrit was treated as the

¹⁴ Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*; Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Tuska Benes, *In Babel's Shadow: Language, Philology, and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008); Maurice Olender, *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, *Les Langues Du Paradis* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Maurice Olender's argument that the Vedas came to supplant the Bible has been further developed in the work of Thomas Trautmann, who reads through the work of William Jones, to show how the idea of Indo-European language took the story of Babel as a historically plausible point of origin that is capable of supporting his elaborations of language taxonomies.

¹⁶ Benes, *In Babel's Shadow*, 9.

Ursprache that provides a “rational defense of the Bible out of the material collected by Orientalist scholarship.”¹⁷ Trautmann focuses especially on William Jones and his impact on the development of Sanskrit studies in Europe.

As Trautmann shows, Jones and his early compatriots sifted through Sanskrit texts to confirm the stories of Genesis. For Jones, the corollaries he found about the Great Flood, the Tower of Babel, and other stories from Genesis in the *Padama Purāna*, confirmed the Mosaic narratives through the “testimony of other nations,” claiming that “its inspired nature is further proved by the predictions of the Old Testament which are fulfilled in the Gospel.”¹⁸ In doing so, Jones secured his canonical place in English academic and missionary narratives of the period. His method, despite its biblical axioms, presents rational arguments still held today for the grammatical and lexical links between Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. Based on his biblical axioms, he dismissed the temporal structure of the Sanskrit scripture as mythological, on the grounds that we have “no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from ABRAHAM.”¹⁹ Yet Jones’s rational methods, despite their support of scripture, proved to be too clandestine for the emergent nineteenth-century evangelism. In the wake of the French Revolution, Jones’s views on the Sanskrit origins of human civilization were seen by the missionaries of his day, especially by Grant, to come too close to the scepticism of Voltaire, and evangelical scholars worked aggressively to contain Jones’ impact on the course of English Indo-philology.²⁰ For the evangelists, Jones’s open reception of the Sanskrit scripture was in danger of equating the Indians with high civilization, an idea that ran counter to the civilizing aims of missionary activity. If Jones unwittingly facilitated a tribal narrative that links the British to the Indians through linguistic reasoning, the missionaries used developmental values of civilization, progress, and modernity to justify their own grand contribution to the East India Company and to colonialism at large. With the death of Jones, Anglophone Indology stopped dead in its tracks after the missionaries succeeded in equating the learning of Sanskrit (and other indigenous languages) with complicity with the backward native Indians. With their rise in the ranks of the East India Company, the missionaries succeeded in devaluing language learning as the basis of Orientalist knowledge. In sum, the missionaries did not dismiss Jones’ discoveries but instead worked to weaken the resources allocated to the philological enterprise after his discoveries.²¹ England had to wait until 1868, when the German Sanskritist Max Müller was awarded the chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford, before Indology could be resumed.

¹⁷ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 42.

¹⁸ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 51.

¹⁹ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 52. Quoted in Trautmann.

²⁰ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 102.

²¹ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 101.

In this hiatus of almost fifty years, German academia took over from where William Jones left off. By that time, the taxonomies of the language families had become commonplace – consequently impacting the value of Semitic. This devaluation of Semitic was then manipulated discursively to use the Indo-European languages as evidence of the superiority of the Aryan ur-race. This, according to Benes, was “part of a larger theological effort to minimize the importance of the ancient Hebrews in the emergence of monotheism.”²² On the other hand, the early decades of the nineteenth century also saw the transformation of the Bible to a secularized cultural document, a text that was guaranteed a place within the classical European canon of letters but that did not necessarily have to be read for devotional purposes. Yet the Bible by this time was being entirely read in the vernacular, thus contributing to the emergence of modern forms of nationalism. While this process was started in the Reformation for the European continent, it was missionary efforts that rearticulated the link between the Bible and land. This link was brought out through philological innovations that succeeded in reconstructing an alternative anchoring point from which to receive and interpret the Bible. As William Canton, the official historian of the British missionaries, put it in a remark about a visit by the Oriental Congress to the library of the Bible House in London: “While the Congress was studying knotty points of literary and ethnological interest, the British and Foreign Bible Society was practically solving them.”²³ The philological revolution ensured that through new translations, God indeed spoke in German, English or Bangla, while Hebrew became devalued as a sacred language.

The missionaries who went to the Levant were by and large adherents of the new trends in biblical philology and accepted biblical scholarship for its truth-value. Evidence shows that Bible translator Eli Smith was well-acquainted with and relied on developments in biblical scholarship for his translation of the Bible.²⁴ The devaluation of Hebrew as a sacred language was becoming more prevalent in biblical circles, which was becoming concurrent with the missionary effort to replace the importance of the original Biblical text with the land. The travelogues to the Levant worked towards this end by transforming the land itself into the sacred “language” of God. This transformation had impact not only on the Levantine landscape, but generally on connecting the Bible in any language to national and colonial land. By turning the land into the language of God, the Bible’s ancient languages were cast as old translations of the divine language of God as it is manifest in the Levantine landscape.

The bibleland trope had a clear function in the task of turning land into divine language: it restabilised the biblical text as a foundation of Christian faith after the text was destabilized, after its origins were subjected to the philologists’ doubt. In the

²² Benes, *In Babel’s Shadow*, 199.

²³ William A. Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 5 vols., vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1910), 61.

²⁴ Isaac H. Hall, “The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1885): 279.

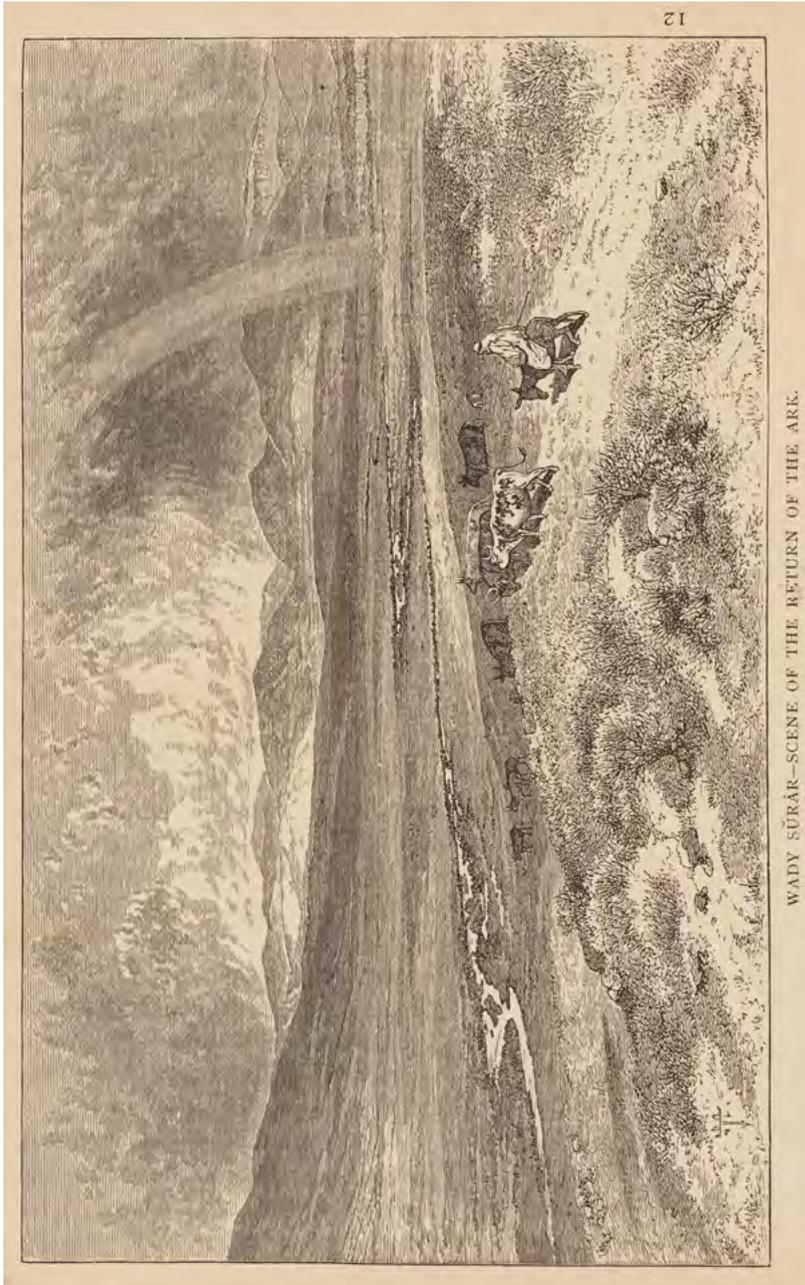


Fig. 16.1: Scene of the Return of the Ark – Wady Sūrār, from William M. Thomson's *The Land and the Book, or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land, 1880.*

aftermath of the philological revolution, missionaries arriving in the Levant took it upon themselves to reinforce the shaken roots of the biblical narrative by paradoxically accepting advances in biblical studies and philology, and consequently instrumentalising philology in order to reconstruct, in geographic terms, the links between the Bible and the land. In this way, Sanskrit, for example, can be implicitly accepted as older than Hebrew; however, the Bible retains its status as divine Word, except that the emphasis moves from sacred language to the idea of holy land.

For the work of translation that mediated the first contact between the missionaries and the indigenous populations of the world, such a loosening of the linguistic roots turned the Bible into the ultimate vehicular text for the colonial occupation of new territory. In the absence of textual stability, the land was used to anchor Revelation in the Levant as well as elsewhere. However, global success depended to a large extent on the missionary ability to reduce the context of the Levantine region to the status of divine bibleland. As the Americans repeatedly wrote, their enterprise in the Levant was clearly defined as an illustration of the biblical message. For its success, this illustration depended on anthropological real time and especially on the ability of the missionaries to cast the Levantine natives as coeval with biblical time. Suzanne Marchand also draws attention to the function of antiquity in the critical sensibilities of philologists alienated by modern lifestyles. Yet here there is something more colonial at play than merely taking solace in antiquity to escape the pressures of modern life. The edifying clang of the philological method provided effective strategies for the discursive temporal distancing necessary for equating the lived spaces of the Levant into biblical tableaux from the Bible.

Step One: Biblical Illustration

In its title, Thomson's *The Land and the Book* exemplifies the approach to the land as divine language.²⁵ This is not the only promising title one can examine. Isaac Bird (1793–1876), one of the earliest missionaries to come to the Levant, wrote *Bible Work in Bible Land*, which tells the story of the day-to-day life of the missionaries against a historical backdrop of daily political affairs, civil strife, and Bible work in corners identified as bibleland.²⁶ Another scholar worth mentioning is William Goodell (1792–1867), who was in the Levant at the same time as Bird and who wrote what he considered to be an anthropological work, *The Old and the New . . . Oriental Customs Elucidating Scripture*, which explains the kinds of people one can expect to

²⁵ For a good description of the formal qualities of this genre, see Daniel Martin Varisco, "Framing the Holy Land in Nineteenth Century Protestant BibleCustoms Texts," in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. I.R. Netton (Routledge, 2013).

²⁶ Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Land* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872).

find in the Levant. In this book of anthropological distancing, the old indeed are the locals, and the missionaries are the new.²⁷ Unlike the anthropological perspectives of those travelogues, Thomson's work moulded his perspective on the locals exclusively through the Bible. As he wrote, he was motivated by a desire to give evidence of biblical truth and that the "main object is biblical illustration" – a task he equated with truth.²⁸ For him, the best way to illustrate the truth was to provide the reader with a *tableau vivant* of key biblical passages by describing the contemporary lives of the Levantines he encountered. Issam Nassar articulates it clearly when he draws on the parallel between the speed with which Jerusalem was growing and the representations of the "city as an ancient place that belonged more to the world of the Bible than to this world."²⁹ A similar process was taking place in Thomson's narrative.

Thomson's book is about his daily discoveries of God's Word-Turned-Flesh in the Levantine landscape. He proclaimed that his labour was in the service of his readers, who were eager to reconnect with the divine language of God. The Bible, as he believed, was born in the Levant. As he writes, "the Land where the Word-Made-Flesh dwelt among men must continue to be an important part of Revelation."³⁰ The land speaks in a divine tongue, and yet despite this, the visitor to bibleland would be "disenchanted too soon."³¹ This is because the Oriental masses around him were no longer in touch with the sacredness of the land; the present no longer held echoes of the past. He thus fashioned himself as an explorer of past traces, in the customs of those "people worthy of being saved."³² Thomson expected in advance that Truth would take the shape of fleshed-out traces of the Bible as it manifests itself in the present life of the local people.

He writes, "this birthplace has given form and color to [the Bible's] language. The underlying basis of this wonderful dialect of the kingdom of heaven is found in the land itself."³³ The land, rather than the original language of the Bible, was now the dialect of God. In poetic details, Thomson's book provides a description of the Levantine flora and fauna with its domestic and wild plants and animals. The sounds, sights, and smells are described with unhurried details, as are the local natives. Describing the crowds in what used to be the main gate of the city of Jaffa, Thomson writes, "the crowd is more dense, noisy and picturesque here . . . What tempting groups for the pencil or the brush of the artist and the photographer's camera . . ."

²⁷ William Goodell, *The Old and the New: The Changes of Thirty Years in the East, with Some Allusions to Oriental Customs as Elucidating Scripture* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1858); Bird, *BibleWork in BibleLand*.

²⁸ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 11.

²⁹ Issam Nassar, "'Biblication' in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography," *Third Text* 20, no. 3/4 (2006): 317.

³⁰ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1.

³¹ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 7.

³² Varisco, "Framing the Holy Land in Nineteenth Century Protestant Bible Customes Texts," 194.

³³ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 2.

and then a few lines later, that “we shall have the opportunity to contemplate them at our leisure.”³⁴ As landscape, the murmurs of the locals can be likened to the breaking of the waves on the seashore, and their wildness is similar to the beasts that live among them. If they are given the space to speak at all, they are often naïve, ignorant, and rashly amusing.³⁵ For him, the natives formed part of the *mise-en-scène*: we hardly ever meet them as characters, and only sometimes as instruments in the roles of cooks, porters, or Oriental hosts. More often, the natives function as biblical illustrations; tanners that evoke images from Isaiah, or patriarchs who have a trivial resemblance to Abraham. “This amazing ability to discover the land without discovering the people,” to use the words of Beshara Doumai, “may very well have paved the way for the emergence of the popular mythical image of Palestine as a land without a people.”³⁶

Take also Thomson’s visual translation of the landscape as divine language. In the travelogue, Thomson included several of his drawings that illustrated the divine splendour of the land. In the drawing reproduced here Thomson achieved, through aesthetic means, this connection between the land and the Bible. In this illustration that he subtitled “The Return of the Ark,” we encounter a scene that is biblical (Fig. 16.1).³⁷ The painting depicts a type of tabernacle, framed through light swathes. This landscape is God’s house, a kind of temporary tent that awaits the more permanent light of God’s grace. The peasant represents the two temporal planes simultaneously: he is a native self, perhaps someone that Thomson encountered as he traversed a Palestinian village. He is also Noah, as the title of the drawing indicates. The ultimate light of the tabernacle comes after the storm (another Exodus?) and parallels a grey rainbow that disappears into the storm. Noah is travelling with his animals on the course that leads them all to the light, and they will cross a meandering river before they arrive. Thomson layers the charcoal illustration into three planes, depicting a more simplified form of Purgatory. The light that centres the painting illustrates the End Time, vertically positioned with the aid of the rainbow. The river that criss-crosses the illustration in its midsection separates what in missionary parlance is called the “temporal world” from the eschatological space of a world that overcomes time. This painting is of a landscape, and the native is inherently part of it; the viewers are detached from the scene, in that they are taking in the landscape from a distance. Yet this is a drawing that invites us to participate. If we take up the invitation, this drawing promises us a tour into the holy; and for the faithful, their footsteps will hasten the turbaned peasant into his journey towards the divine. The title of this drawing is also telling, as it suggests that this world – the one on the right of the river – will be covered with water; the river will arise with all its rush and fury. To borrow from Simon Schama’s great study of landscape, this is the “typology of the Jordan torrent

³⁴ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 7.

³⁵ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 50–51.

³⁶ Nassar, “‘Biblication’ in the Service of Colonialism,” 323.

³⁷ Nassar, “‘Biblication’ in the Service of Colonialism,” 135.

[supplying] the rudimentary rituals of cleansing and redemption that evolved into baptism.”³⁸ It will flood and erase the traces of this world’s sins. The promise of light is then elaborated further in the text of the book that can be also described as a book dedicated to salvation.

Thomson enforced textual – specifically biblical – features on the land as part of a futurative project; a utopian post-temporality of Messianic contours. The depiction of the land into a visual narrative translates the biblical text into landscape painting to make one simple point: the land itself is holy, and its inhabitants need to be alerted to the sacredness of their surroundings to hasten the Messianic future. As part of the landscape, the natives paradoxically belong to a distant past that is denied coevality with the missionary moderns and the natives need to be modernized in the ways of the new religion to accomplish eschatological desires. “The whole narrative,” Thomson repeats with slight variation at different points in the narrative, “is Oriental, pure and simple, and the entire scene might be enacted today in the audience-chamber of any Oriental potentate. And there are plenty of wise widows in this land who could act the cunning emissary of Joab [sic] to perfection.”³⁹

For Thomson, those biblical characters were neither prophets, nor were they chosen people. Rather they were sinners delaying the arrival of the Messiah. In their eschatological worldview, the missionaries believed that their presence in the land of the Bible would teach those biblical natives to become pious Christians. Thomson, who was responsible for the opening and supervision of missionary schools in the Levant, was especially dedicated to correcting the customs of the natives. The eschatological motives were twined with the transformation of Palestine and the Levant into the land of the Bible. Educating the local population, after all, rested on the success of turning them firstly into sinning biblical stock figures. This was done through techniques of temporal distancing that Thomson achieved through landscape. Yet there were other more “scientific” ways of achieving the same effect. Missionary geography through its use of modern technology legitimized the narrative of bibleland in ways that landscape painting and poetic narrative simply could not. I now turn to the travelogue of the first missionary geographical travelogue, a book published in 1841 by Edward Robinson (1794–1863).

Step Two: Cartographic Representation

Upon the publication of his book *Biblical Researches*, Edward Robinson, the Andover Seminary professor of sacred literature extraordinaire, became known as the “father of biblical geography.” Robinson, the nineteenth century founder of today’s thriving

³⁸ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 264.

³⁹ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 331.

discipline of biblical geography, does not share the poetic sensibilities we encounter in Thomson. His narrative voice is less predicated on the aesthetics of landscape; his is a more measured and measuring style. The work is one of biblical cartography and has inspired some of the most famous maps of the Levant. This is how he describes Jerusalem in his notes:

The materials in question have a bearing chiefly upon the more exact measurement of the city walls from one gate or projecting corner to another; upon the direction of the wall from the Yafa Gate northwestwards, (which hitherto has been erroneously given on all plans as due West,) and the consequent slight change in the position of the Latin convent; and upon the more accurate delineation of the vallies of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat with their fountains and reservoirs, as also of the Mount of Olives . . . In constructing this map, after determining the position of the Latin convent, by a mean deduced from the best observations, to be in Lat. 31°46'43"N. and Long. 32°52'36" E. from Paris, or 35°13'E. from Greenwich, the plan of the city and its immediate neighborhood was reduced and inserted as the central point.⁴⁰

Employing a functional tone, Robinson detached himself from the land as he connected its cartographic information to the colonial metropolises of his time. Eli Smith, his companion on this trip, was his translator, assistant and occasional note taker. He had just received approval from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to embark on a new translation of the Bible to Arabic. Smith's rare fluency in Arabic facilitated the "excavations" of biblical topology from the lips of the locals. The trip, one may guess, was part of a crucial preparation for the young Smith to undertake the translation of the Bible. Published in both their names, but written mostly by Robinson, the travelogue was intended to bolster the evidence of the Levantine setting of the Bible. As Robinson notes he is following a cartographic tradition of authorial pilgrimage written by historians and Christian military leaders who charted the Levant geography according to the textual setting of the Bible.⁴¹ The notes that Robinson later composed into this travelogue were extended to Heinrich Kiepert, the famous cartographer, who under Robinson's supervision produced some of the most famous maps of Palestine.⁴²

Despite the dry academic tone that distinguishes Robinson's account from Thomson's, the maps he produced aestheticize the space by providing a clear bird's-eye aerial rendition of the landscape. In Kiepert's Jerusalem map which he based on Robinson's notes, the texture of the lines produces that bird's eye view (Fig. 16.2).

⁴⁰ E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, vol. 3 (John Murray, 1841), First appendix, 39–40.

⁴¹ To hastily indicate the long line of tradition of geographic beliefs, one can glance at the cartographic representation of Ezekiel 5:5 in the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*.

⁴² E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions*, vol. 1 (John Murray, 1841), x. The illustration is a map of Jerusalem produced by Kiepert with the supervision of Robinson. See, Heinrich Kiepert, "Plan of Jerusalem: Sketched from Sieber and Catherwood, Corrected by the Measurements of Robinson and Smith," (London, 1841).

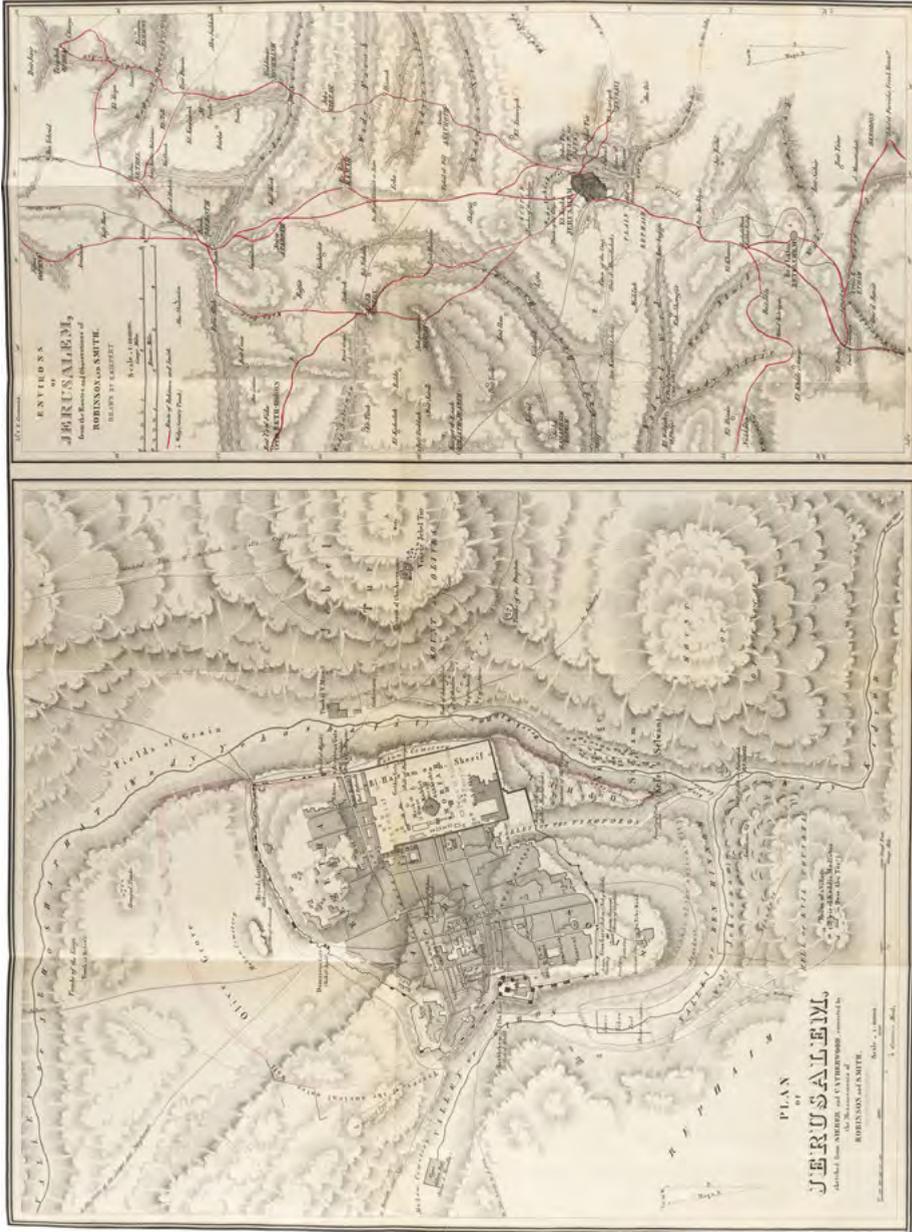


Fig. 16.2: Map of Jerusalem, in Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, 1856.

These techniques reproduce a vertical illusion that separates the missionary perspective from Jerusalem's lived space. Surely, most maps produce such a detachment from lived space, and city maps in general have a tendency to reproduce a vertical perspectival relationship.⁴³ What is different with this map, however, is that it is a cartographic translation of the text quoted above. Robinson's text, as we saw, is functional enough to lend itself rather easily to this kind of translation.

Notwithstanding the modern appearance of this map, Kiepert was following a centuries-old tradition of mapmaking that took the Bible for its geographical truth value. This reliance on Robinson, who in turn had relied on the Bible, obscures the faith-based process that went into the making of this map. Instead the viewer is led to assume its "objective" accuracy because it follows the academic rules of citation. By translating Robinson's cartographic travelogue into a map, Kiepert also shaped his spatial rendition within the framework of the opinion of a missionary who only had eyes for the Bible when visiting Palestine. Kiepert's shading techniques aesthetically represent the perspective of the viewer as an organizer of reality, and it is this perspective that Robinson constructs throughout his narrative.

The temporal distancing that structures Robinson's narrative deploys the trope of biblical time in its communication with the natives. Robinson, like Thomson, also casts the natives in the roles of mass biblical figures. In his account, the missionaries are no less biblical, except that the roles they take for themselves are heavenly rather than human. In one episode, we encounter the narrative setting that allows the missionaries to transcend the "temporal" world and to align themselves with heavenly bodies. After a long and dusty journey, Robinson arrives with Smith in the city of *al-Khalil*/Hebron and enters the house of a powerful man. This story is provided early in the book and sets the general tone of the encounter with the locals. He writes:

Our youthful host now proposed, in the genuine style of ancient hospitality, that a servant should wash our feet. This took me by surprise; for I was not aware that the custom still existed here. Nor does it, indeed, toward foreigners; though it is quite common among the natives. We gladly accepted, both for the sake of refreshment and of the scriptural illustration . . . It was the most gratifying minor incident of our whole journey.⁴⁴

For Robinson, this anecdote, like many others, conflates biblical imagery with the lived reality of the locals, *i.e.* with their daily lives and rituals. As his feet are being washed, Robinson layers this narrative with footnotes from the Bible. Some of the scenes he mentions have Messianic purchase for Christian evangelists, such as Genesis 18:4 when Abraham ordered his servants to wash the feet of a stranger who

⁴³ I was emboldened to suggest the question of perspective after reading Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Maps and Mother Goddesses in Modern India," *Imago Mundi* 53 (2001). In this article, Ramaswamy opposes the view that the map is "empty social space." In my mention of perspective, I am trying to understand how the map gives this kind of illusion.

⁴⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions*, 1, 26.

came to visit him after the birth of Ishmael and John 8:5, when Jesus washed the feet of his disciples. Others like Luke 9:2 and 1 Samuel 25:41 were more illustrative of the situation: evangelists preaching the Bible get their feet washed by a slave girl. As biblical portrait, the scene pegs the cartographic approach to bibleland that Robinson charts out to an interpretation of the scientific findings of his mission within the paradigm of evangelical Christianity.

Robinson, by his own admittance, was not revolutionizing the view of a long canon of biblical pilgrimage. Rather, his research intended to present a more scientific entwinement of the Bible to the Levantine landscape. When he first arrived in Sinai, Robinson realized that his predecessors had neglected much of the landscape in their descriptions. He became convinced that “there yet remained much land to be possessed.”⁴⁵ In order to possess the land, Robinson relied on philology. Before he took his cartographic measurements, he first had to ascertain whether the spot of land being surveyed had any biblical relevance. One way to do so was to look for visible archaeological traces. Another was to match up biblical topology to the names of spaces that were in use at the time. The latter method proved to be most effective, especially because the Arabic place-names were analysed through recourse to phonology. In this philological/phonological operation, Robinson could reiterate, according to centuries of established dogma, that the Bible was born in Palestine.

What is special about Robinson’s phonological method is its reliance on anthropological encounters with the locals, who presumably still use biblical place-names, if with some variation. Kamal Salibi’s controversial treatise *The Bible Came from Arabia*, written over a century later, would rely on phonology to challenge the mainstream discipline of biblical geography inaugurated by Robinson.⁴⁶ Salibi contends that the Hebrew Bible originated not in Palestine but in the Arabian Peninsula. No matter what one makes of his conclusions, his method is similar to Robinson’s: namely, he draws on phonology as a useful tool for locating the biblical geography of the Old Testament. In his phonological operations, Salibi proved that we should be looking for the Hebrew Bible not in Palestine but rather in today’s North Yemen and Saudi Arabia. I mention Salibi not so much to offer a choice between these two truth claims, but rather to point to the underlying assumption carried by Robinson: namely, that the Bible came from Palestine; a claim that the current state of the field of biblical archaeology is too polemical to corroborate.⁴⁷ In other words, if one compares both studies, phonology does not seem like an adequate method to establish whether the Bible is in fact historically linked to what the missionaries called bibleland. Yet the scientific

⁴⁵ Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions*, 1, 32.

⁴⁶ Kamal Salibi, *The Bible Came from Arabia* (London: J. Cape, 1985).

⁴⁷ For more on the biblical origins of archaeology in Palestine and the instrumental use of archaeology for colonial purposes, see N.A. El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (University of Chicago Press, 2001).

merit of Robinson's studies remains more or less intact because Robinson applied a science that is associated with accepted modern disciplines. However, the problem with Robinson's deployment of this method is that it is predicated on the assumption that the Bible comes from bibleland. What Robinson's phonology sets out to do is therefore to use scientific means to revise some details in the Christian cartographic tradition. In this tradition, that the Bible came from bibleland is both the assumption and the conclusion, which as Salibi demonstrated cannot be scientifically corroborated by philological means.

Phonology here works as a kind of anthropological archaeology. However, instead of excavating the land, Robinson excavated from the lips of the natives. Phonology also turns the natives into a landscape. Unlike Thomson, this landscape does not feed into a poetic imagination; rather it is a landscape that must be made to reveal the traces of the Bible scientifically. For Robinson and Smith, the natives unwittingly carry the "divine dialect" of the land. Based on information from their lips, Robinson turns Ain Shams into the Bible's Beit Shemesh, *Ain* and *Beit* being so seemingly common as to be interchangeable.⁴⁸ 'Akir is Ekron, while Dura is the biblical Adora because "dropping of the first feeble letter is not uncommon."⁴⁹ Robinson records what the natives say only to correct their pronouncements about the place names against the Bible. What they have to say is important as raw material, which will ultimately be made to take the shape of a word that occurs in the Bible. Contrast this reliance on native knowledge with Thomson's silencing of native narratives about the space in which they live, and with Robinson's earlier silencing of the native host who ordered his feet be washed. In Robinson's account, either the natives could not contribute any useful historical narrative, or their tales failed to meet the demands of historical accuracy. Thus what the natives said might be deemed valuable in only very limited contexts, and only after Robinson and Smith transformed it into biblical evidence. Even when Robinson describes an encounter with a gracious and well-read host, the reader is shown that natives are incapable of providing precise information about the landscape. As Robinson recounts:

Our young host was well acquainted with the region around; but he was now so taken up with examining distant objects through our telescopes that he did not always stop to look at a place before he told its name. For this reason, there may be doubt as to the accuracy of some of the names of places which we wrote down.⁵⁰

For Robinson, the telescope in the hand of an Arab hampers the unmediated spontaneity that he expected his informants to possess. The Arab without a telescope is more useful because his information yields raw data; data that the Arab transmits without thinking. The telescope, on the other hand, can suggest that the Arab is

48 Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 3, 18.

49 Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 5, 23.

50 Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 29.

making conscious judgements about what he is seeing. A telescope is a technology for seeing and seeing, as the missionaries taught in the elementary schools in Beirut, “is the first task that geography needs from us.”⁵¹ This task of interpretation that is called geography is denied the native, and indeed as a geographical book, Robinson’s travelogue is largely free of natives. Outside the historical travelogues written within the Christian tradition of pilgrimage to bibleland and a few renown Arabic historians, Robinson seems most interested in producing a land without people. The role of the native for Robinson is to provide phonological data that can be used to augment an already trusted methodology of cartographic cross-referencing of the Bible with what remains in the landscape. Robinson longed for their absence – except when he used them as subjects for phonological extraction. He wrote impatiently about how they steered him away from the geographical research, so he kept himself and his company aloof to their hospitality. Despite their kindness, the local hosts “deprived us from the greater portion of our time and . . . prevented us from writing down our notes as we had purposed.”⁵² Instead of such time-wasting interactions, Robinson was more keenly interested in the details of the land, and whether the narrow path described in a place corresponded with what historians before him had described about their travels in the books. This neglect of native consciousness facilitated Robinson’s deliberate marginalization of the historical traces of other narratives that he encounters in his travels.

For him, centuries of Islamic rule over this piece of land can be erased from the narrative, disregarded as a small interruption in the atemporal space of the biblical landscape. This is why Robinson is undisturbed when he discloses to his reader his complete ignorance of Islamic history when he stumbled upon Islamic architecture and archaeological traces of “the Holy Land.” In one episode, when Smith and Robinson visit a tower that was clearly Islamic in its architecture, Robinson provided a date for the tower with a margin of error, from the early days of Islamic occupation of the Levant or after the beginning of Ottoman rule, is a little under a millennium.⁵³ Islamic civilization, from its early days until the time of writing, is considered by Robinson and Smith to be nothing more than a brief and fleeting moment in the chronology of the biblical Kingdom of God.

Through missionary landscaping techniques, whether in the poetic renditions of Thomson, or in the cartographic functionality of Robinson and Smith, bibleland emerged as an important trope in the nineteenth century. I have framed this emergence through the revolution in biblical studies taking place in Europe at the time. As I argued, this revolution destabilized key dogmatic beliefs about what constituted the divine language of God. With the advances in Sanskrit studies, the notion that

51 Unknown, *Al-Hay'ah Al-Bahiyyah Fi Al-Kurah Al-Ardiyyah* (Beirut: American Press, 1910).

52 Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 194.

53 Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine: Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 3, 6–7.

Hebrew was the most ancient language was proved wrong. Rather than contradict the findings of comparative philology, American missionaries resolved the problems this revolution caused for the Christian worldview by constructing the notion of bibleland as the original language of God, which was a necessary step for the reformulation of the entire world of the evangelical endeavour into God's tongue. It was no longer Hebrew, but the land itself that spoke the truth of the Gospels. By their own admission, the missionaries were not deviating from the centuries-old tradition of Western Christian travelogues about the bibleland. However, what was decidedly new in their approach was their acceptance of the discoveries of philology for which they hoped to compensate by foregrounding the trope of bibleland as the organizing logos of the Levantine space in which they were working. For this narrative to work, the missionaries had to ensure that the native interpretations of space would remain silent. Their silencing strategies relied on landscaping Palestine in ways that temporally distanced the natives. The natives were turned into details in a biblical scene, to be saved from their sins by the purer faith of the missionaries. When the natives were allowed to say anything about the space in which they lived, their pronouncements were turned into the unconscious transmission of centuries-old biblical truths. Whereas Thomson used poetic landscapes for this purpose, Robinson used philology for his project. Philology was put in the service of the dominance of the biblical narrative. The space that was so reinscribed was called bibleland.



Fig. 17.1: Flowers from Bethany, from *Wild Flowers of the Holy Land*, pressed flower album, late nineteenth century. Created by Ferdinand Ludwig Vester, Jerusalem; printed by Joseph Schor. Ami Zehavi Collection of Pressed Flowers of the Holy Land, Tel-Aviv. On permanent loan at the American Colony Archive, Jerusalem.

Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati

Chapter 17

The Green Line of the Jerusalem Code: Trees, Flowers, Science, and Politics

This chapter traces what I call the Green Line of the Jerusalem code by focusing on how references to plants, flowers, and trees informed Scandinavian perceptions of the Holy Land from the mid-eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, with repercussions well into the twentieth. This chapter explores how scientific studies in botany and the natural sciences were entangled with literary expressions in novels and travelogues, as well as with political discourses. It also demonstrates a shift in the scientific approach to Palestine: from Linnaean botany to biblical archeology.

To me Israel more and more takes shape as the symbol of life. The symbol of life where one would not think that life could be sustained . . . Early in spring we can often, back home, experience a wonderful sight. In the middle of the deep snow and ice stands a white birch with beautiful, green leaves. Sunlight made the leaves shoot too early. And you say: That tree will die. But it does not die. Miraculously it continues to live and grow. To me Israel resembles these green birch trees, surrounded by cold, icy snow. A great idea as warm as sunshine in the spring brought it forth, after a long, long winter. Some say: That tree will not be able to live. We know better: In its shadows children will play for generations forward, and women and men will rest there after a hard day's work. You have gone through hard times. Hard times are before you. But Israel will live.¹

With these words, the General Secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party, Haakon Lie (1905–2009), addressed the Israeli Workers Organisation, *Histadrut*, at their congress in 1956 in Tel Aviv, held approximately one month after Israel emerged victorious from the Six Days' war in October against its Arab neighbours. The green metaphor – the birch tree, an image of the newly created state of Israel –

¹ “For meg tar Israel mer og mer form av symbolet på liv. Symbolet på liv der man ikke skulle tro at liv kunne opprettholdes . . . Tidlig på våren kan vi ofte, der hjemme, oppleve et fantastisk syn. Midt i den dype snøen og isen står en hvit bjørk med flotte, grønne blader. Solskinn fikk bladene til å sprette ut for tidlig. Og du sier: Det treet vil dø. Men det dør ikke. Mirakuløst fortsetter det å leve og vokse. For meg synes Israel som disse grønne bjørketrærne, omgitt av kald iset snø. En stor ide så varm som solskinn om våren brakte det frem, etter en lang, lang vinter. Noen sier: Det treet vil ikke være i stand til å leve. Vi vet bedre: I skyggene vil barna leke i generasjoner fremover, og kvinner og menn vil hvile der etter en hard dags arbeid. Dere har gått gjennom harde tider. Harde tider ligger foran dere. Men Israel vil leve.” Vebjørn Selbekk, *Korset og Davidsstjernen: Norge, jødene og Israel – fra 1814 til i dag* (Kjeller: Genesis, 2013), 2; Odd Karsten Tveit, *Alt for Israel* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1996), 254.

stands out as viable, tenaciously rooted, and with the potential of growing strong, despite the threatening icy surroundings. The image of the tree may play back on the campaign “Let Israel Live,”² which was launched in 1956 by Norwegian friends of Israel, headed by the Labour Party and General Secretary Lie in collaboration with partners in Israel.³ The campaign aimed at showing solidarity with Israel.⁴ In several Norwegian cities and towns, on May 1, 1956, supporters were marching in the streets with banners and posters depicting a young tree menaced by a blood-dripping axe. The tree symbolized the young state of Israel, the axe its threatening Arab neighbours.⁵

In Lie’s speech, the tree is specified as a birch; a rhetorically interesting feature as the birch is not common in the Eastern Mediterranean, but rather recalls Nordic forests and landscapes. As such, it evokes recent memories in the Scandinavian imagination: the image of the birch, which shielded the Norwegian King and Crown Prince outside of Oslo, during their flight from the Nazi occupants in April 1940; a scene made immortal by an iconic photograph familiar to every Norwegian school-child.⁶ Hence, the image of the birch in Lie’s speech contributes to establishing a close link between the two states: While a birch tree shielded Norway, symbolized by the King, from Nazi Germany’s bombers in 1940, the tree has in 1956 become the Israeli nation itself; it will protect its children and let future generations live.

In his speech, Lie dichotomises the living tree and the deep ice and snow. It is a familiar dichotomy: life opposes death, fertility trumps barrenness. Still, in the context of the Levant, the familiarity acquires a specific meaning. Lie builds, perhaps unconsciously, on recurrent imagery in European depictions of Palestine. In the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scandinavian sources, which inform the current chapter, Palestine is described as fertile, rich, and densely populated in biblical times; contemporary Palestine, on the other hand, is portrayed as barren, dry, and sparsely

2 “La Israel leve.”

3 Hilde Henriksen Waage, “How Norway became one of Israel’s Best Friends,” *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 2 (2000): 204. Waage argues that the campaign was the result of “an extremely close relationship [that] had grown up between the Norwegian and the Israeli Labour parties and, importantly, between the Norwegian Labour Party office and the Israeli embassy in Oslo.”

4 The idea of an information campaign, aimed at raising popular support for Israel in Norway got the approval of the leadership of the Norwegian Labour party in February 1956. Shortly after, a delegation of fourteen journalists, editors, and trade union officials travelled to Israel. They visited industrial and agricultural sites and saw examples of how the kibbutz system gave Jewish refugees a new future. The Norwegians also met influential members of the Israeli political elite and trade union movement. Once returned to Norway, the press close to the Labour party edited several articles from the trip, in addition to the initial declaration “Let Israel Live” published on March 17, 1956, in *Arbeiderbladet* [*The Labourer’s Journal*] and signed by all the delegates. Selbekk, *Korset og Davidsstjernen*, 2.

5 Selbekk, *Korset og Davidsstjernen*, 2.

6 King Haakon VII and Crown Prince Olav were photographed by Per Bratland at Glomstua in Molde, Norway, in April, 1940. The birch is now known as *Kongebjørka* [*The King’s Birch*]. See “Kongebjørka,” in *Store norske leksikon*, <https://snl.no/Kongebjørka>, accessed August 26, 2019.

inhabited.⁷ The barrenness is often – as in the “Let Israel Live”-banner – attributed to the wrongdoings of somebody else, be they Turks, Arabs, or Jews. Nevertheless, despite their thorough insistence on the infertility of the land, Scandinavian as well as other European or American nineteenth-century travellers also observed beautiful green valleys, rich cereal fields, and exotic trees as they rode through the landscapes of Samaria, Galilea, and Judea. In addition, they brought home *naturalia* – dried flowers, plants and seeds, preserved fishes or living turtles; and, later, the idea that the sterile land could again be cultivated and blossom as during the reign of King Solomon gained momentum.

In the present chapter, I trace what I call the green line⁸ of the Jerusalem code through exploring how plants, trees, and landscapes establish symbolic or material connections between Palestine and Scandinavia. I will highlight the interconnectedness of three main points: First, I examine the importance of greenness and fertility in the Scandinavian imaginary involving the Holy Land⁹ as described in literature and

7 The topos of the desolated land was common in most nineteenth-century European and American approaches to Palestine. See for example C. W. Wilson, “Recent Surveys in Sinai and Palestine,” *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London* 43 (1873): 208, 211. See also Glenda Abramson, “Two Nineteenth-Century Travelers to the Holy Land,” *Israel Affairs* 8, no. 3 (2000): 72–3, which analyses the English author Herman Melville’s harsh representation of the land. While Abramson keeps a critical distance to the nineteenth-century sources, Hanna Margalit, in a publication from the early 1960s, takes the representation of nineteenth-century travelers at face value, reiterating the dichotomy of former abundance in contrast to the waste and neglect that occurred in the Middle Ages and under Ottoman rule: “The purpose of this paper is to attempt a reconstruction of the cultural landscape of Palestine at a critical turning point of its history, namely on the threshold of this period of amelioration, at the stage of utmost decline after the desolation of the Middle Ages and 300 years of Ottoman rule.” Hanna Margalit, “Some Aspects of the Cultural Landscape of Palestine during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 13, no. 3 (1963): quote on p. 208, see also pp. 212–17, 220, 223.

8 At first a coincidence, it proved indirectly significant for my argument that the armistice border of 1949 between Israel and its Arab neighbours is called “The Green Line.”

9 The term “The Holy Land” needs some specification. Through a comparison of English nineteenth-century historical geographies using the term, Yehoshua Ben-Arieh finds that it referred to the following territories, ranged in order of holiness: the heartland was composed of Judea, Samaria, Galilea, and the Land of the Philistines. Of second importance was “the land in eastern Palestine and the Negev,” whereas the Sinai Peninsula, Damascus, and the southern part of Lebanon was of “third rate importance.” Other territories were mentioned in the Bible, but did not qualify as the Holy Land, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. Sometimes these territories were referred to as “Bible Lands.” Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, “Nineteenth-Century Historical Geographies of the Holy Land,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, no. 1 (1989): 71. For a critical examination of the term “Holy Land,” see Charlotte Whiting, “Geographical Imaginations of the ‘Holy Land’: Biblical Topography and Archaeological Practice,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, no. 2–3 (2007): 237–50. Maggy Hary also explores the construction of the “Holy Land,” arguing for a connection between nineteenth-century millenarianism and early Zionism. Maggy Hary, “The Holy Land in British Eyes: Sacred Geography and the ‘Rediscovery’ of Palestine, 1839–1917,” in *Encountering Otherness: Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Guido Abbattista (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2011), 339–49.

travelogues. Second, I analyse the connection between greenness and fertility, on the one hand, and the evangelical ideas of reviving the land of the Bible and restoring the Jews to Palestine, on the other; and third, I demonstrate how a focus on plants and landscapes reveals a shift in scientific descriptions of Palestine between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. I argue that the idea of the *terra sancta* as a life-giving element binds these three points together. Holy earth gives life to physical flowers and trees that stimulate the literary imagination and constitute objects of scientific inquiry, but also have symbolic value in theological doctrine and political projects.

In order to unfold my argument, I trace the green line of the Jerusalem code from Lie's speech (1956) to the Swedish botanist, Fredrik Hasselquist's (1722–1752) herbarium (1752); collected according to the path-breaking methods of the prominent Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778).¹⁰ The tracing thus spans two centuries and involves different genres – novels, travelogues, and scientific works. I start out with the role played by fertility and greenness in the Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf's (1858–1940) *Jerusalem* (1901–1902),¹¹ before I turn to Fredrika Bremer's (1801–1865) *Travels in the Holy Land* from 1862,¹² in which she blends personal impressions with insights from scientific treatises on Palestine. One particular section in Bremer's travelogue about her visit to the valley of Artas opens up a discussion about science, more specifically about Scandinavian contributions to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific discourses on Palestine. With regards to the eighteenth century, I dwell on the works of Hasselquist and Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), whom were both influenced by the new Linnaean methods in natural history. The nineteenth century is represented by the works of Volrath Vogt (1817–1889), Principle of the Cathedral School in Oslo and expert in Bible history. Vogt, in turn, was inspired by the American bible scholar, Edward Robinson (1794–1863).

The sources I have studied testify to a shift in the scientific approach to Palestine between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. I follow J. M. I. Klaver's claim that Linnaean taxonomy stood out as a premise for the scientific programs of several large European scientific expeditions to the Middle East in the eighteenth century.¹³ With regard to the nineteenth-century sources, I build on

¹⁰ I use the Latin form Linnaeus which was the name in use when Hasselquist undertook his journey. Linnaeus was ennobled in 1761 and took the name Carl von Linné.

¹¹ Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1901). Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1902).

¹² Fredrika Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I–II* [*Livet i gamla världen – Palestina*], trans. Mary Howitt (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862).

¹³ J. M. I. Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions to the Arab World (1761–1881)* (London, Oxford: Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2009).

research¹⁴ that examines the new engagement with Palestine, which occurred in Protestant circles in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century. In so doing, my chapter also connects to Rana Issa's analysis of the concept of *bibleland*: new findings in philology made it incumbent on Bible scholars to ground the truth of the biblical text in the landscape of Palestine.¹⁵ While Issa focuses on philology, I explore similar issues in works of eighteenth-century natural history as well as nineteenth-century historical geography. I argue that where the Enlightenment travellers collected *naturalia* and other empirical evidence to elucidate the biblical text – often with their focus laying elsewhere – the nineteenth-century Bible scholars who visited Palestine used the Bible to shed light on the empirical evidence they encountered. This aspect profoundly characterizes what we may call the nineteenth-century “science of bibleland” in contrast to eighteenth-century scientific approaches to the Levant. In order to interpret the shift in the scientific approach to Palestine, I borrow two concepts from the historians of science, Lorrain Daston and Peter Galison, namely *truth to nature* and *mechanical objectivity*.¹⁶

Throughout the chapter, I explore the complex nexus in which scientific ideas blend with literary metaphors, theological issues, and political agendas. I demonstrate how ideas about fertility, growth, and cultivation of the land were entangled with ideas of colonization, mission, and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, suggesting that these entanglements remained fertile in the Scandinavian imaginary well into the twentieth century. First, however, let me situate the Scandinavian sources in a broader international context.

Scandinavian Sources

Most English-speaking readers interested in the nineteenth-century Middle East will be familiar with Elie Smith and Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researchers in Palestine*,¹⁷ perceived as a milestone in nineteenth-century American scholarship on the Holy Land, and as a foundational text in the discipline of biblical archaeology.¹⁸ They will also

¹⁴ See footnote 9 for references.

¹⁵ See Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27.

¹⁶ Lorrain Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

¹⁷ Edward Robinson and Elie Smith, *Biblical Researchers in Palestine. Mount Sinai and Arabia Petræa: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, I–III (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, London: John Murray, 1841).

¹⁸ Robinson is characterized as a leading biblical scholar of his day and the founder of the discipline of biblical archaeology. He was extraordinary Professor of Sacred Literature in the Andover Theological Seminary (1830–33) and from 1837, Professor in Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., “Edward Robinson,” in *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* V (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888). Andover was

know that the scientific interest in Palestine was flourishing in the nineteenth century, particularly in the second half of the century. Robinson's work inspired a plethora of publications about the Holy Land, which dealt with topographic measurements and archaeological digs, and these were financed by newly established exploration funds.¹⁹

In the appendix to volume three of *Biblical Researchers in Palestine*, Robinson and Smith present an extensive list cataloguing works about Palestine produced from Antiquity up until their own time. The list includes the travelogues of Carsten Niebuhr, famous explorer of Arabia Felix financed by the Danish King Fredric V; of Fredrik Hasselquist, pupil of Linnaeus; and of the less known eighteenth century Swedish traveller Jacob Berggren (1790–1886). Another interesting connection, which sheds light on the Scandinavian material, is the close connection that existed between Robinson and the reputed German geographer, Carl Ritter (1779–1859), founder of the discipline of scientific geography and author of *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*.²⁰ While Robinson was working on the notes from his first trip to Palestine (1838) in preparation of *Biblical Researchers*, he had access to Ritter's private collections in Berlin and enjoyed his friendship.²¹ Ritter was widely read, also in Scandinavia, and his work inspired other travellers to Palestine, such as Fredrika Bremer. Her travelogue reflects his theory of history, and she cites him as her main source when she gives an outline of the religious traditions in Asia.²²

Scandinavian authors and scientists were thus entrenched in academic traditions and networks that expanded on Robinson's and Ritter's work. Vogt, for example, explicitly states that he was inspired by the work of Robinson before his

the institution in the US that sent the largest number of missionaries to the Middle East in the early nineteenth century. Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 58.

¹⁹ Ben-Arieh characterises “the amount of publications on Palestine by nineteenth-century Western writers as enormous,” estimated to 5000 volumes or more. These include travelogues, letters, and reports by missionaries, consuls and physicians, in addition to more scientific oriented works “pertaining to the historical geography of the Holy Land.” In addition to Robinson and Ritter, Ben-Arieh focuses on the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey and on the works of A. P. Stanley, E. Huntington, and G. A. Smith. Ben-Arieh, “Nineteenth-Century Historical Geographies,” quotes on p. 70. See also C. W. Wilson, “Recent Surveys,” as well as E. C. Mitchell, “The Bibliography of Exploration: A List of American Writers upon Biblical Archæology and the Work of Exploration in Bible Lands, with Subjects They have Discussed, including Review and Magazine Articles as Well as Separate Books,” *The Old Testament Student* 6, no. 10 (1887): 303–15. The last publication lists more than 175 American authors; many with several publications each.

²⁰ Carl Ritter, *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula, Translated and adapted to the Use of Biblical Students* by William L. Gage (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, George Street, 1866), 4 vols. [English translation and abbreviation by William L. Gage of Ritter's *Erkunde von Asien*, part of *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und Geschichte des Menschen* (1822–59)].

²¹ For Ritter's influence on Robinson, see for example, Wilson and Fiske, “Edward Robinson,” 375; Ben-Arieh, “Nineteenth-Century Historical Geographies,” 75.

²² For Ritter's influence on Bremer, see Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

travel to Palestine in 1863.²³ He draws extensively on Robinson and Smith's work in *Reise i det Hellige Land og Syrien*²⁴ [*Travel in the Holy Land and Syria*] as well as in his systematic exposition of Palestine in *Det Hellige Land*²⁵ [*The Holy Land*]. Vogt's overall authorship had an important impact on Norwegian audiences.²⁶ Together, his texts constitute a Scandinavian example of the burgeoning nineteenth-century academic interest in the land of the Bible. Scientific treatises and travelogues share the *topos* of fertility versus barrenness, alimenting through different channels the same imaginary about the Holy Land. This *topos* also had repercussions in literary fiction. It may even be that fiction crystallizes the *topos*, making it more poignant.

Selma Lagerlöf: Flower Cards from Jerusalem – “The only things the poor Holy Land is rich in”?

The works of the famous Swedish author, Selma Lagerlöf, enjoyed a large international public, and in 1909, the novel *Jerusalem* (1901–1902) earned her the Nobel Prize in literature.

In this novel, she plays on the opposition between fertility and barrenness, as in the following passage:

As in other countries one goes berrying, so in Palestine one goes flower gathering. From all the convents and mission-stations they go out to pick flowers. Poor members of the Jewish colony, European tourists and Syrian laborers can be seen every day down in the wild rocky dells carrying flower baskets. At evening these gatherers return to the city laden with anemones and hyacinths, with violets and tulips, with narcissi and orchids. . . .

When the little meadow pinks, anemones and hyacinths are well flattened and dried, they are made up into smaller and larger bouquets – some prettily arranged, some not – and pasted on cards and in small albums with covers of olive wood, upon which have been burnt: “Flowers from Palestine.”

And then all these flowers from Zion, from Hebron, from the Mount of Olives, from Jericho, go out into the wide world. They are sold in shops, they are sent in letters, are given away as keepsakes or in exchange for gifts of charity. Farther than India's pearls and silks from Brussa do these little field blossoms travel; they are the only things the poor Holy Land is rich in.²⁷

²³ Volrath Vogt, *Reise i det Hellige Land og Syrien* (Kristiania: P. T. Mallings Bogtrykkeri, 1865), 16.

²⁴ Volrath Vogt, *Reise*.

²⁵ Volrath Vogt, *Det Hellige Land* (Kristiania: P. T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1879).

²⁶ See Chapter 9 (Kristin Norseth), 163–87; Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409; and Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

²⁷ Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II*, trans. Velma Swanson Howard (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1918), 115–16. For a detailed study of flower cards from Jerusalem, see Margaretha Boockmann, “Flowers from Palestine – A Chapter from Selma Lagerlöf's Novel *Jerusalem* and a Book from the Library of Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg,” *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 41, no. 2 (2008): 18–21.

In this passage from Lagerlöf, the authorial gaze sweeps over the Palestinian countryside, recording the flower harvest carried out by several communities and groups residing in or near Jerusalem. As part of a small-scale local industry, the dried flowers would soon be distributed worldwide as tokens of the Holy Land. The protagonists of Lagerlöf's novel – the Swedish members of the American Colony in Jerusalem – also took part in this yearly enterprise.

*Jerusalem*²⁸ narrates the story of a small community of farmers – 37 families – who emigrated from Dalarna in Sweden to Jerusalem in 1896 to join the American Colony established by Anna and Horatio Spafford.²⁹ When Lagerlöf travelled through Egypt and the Levant in 1900, in the company of her friend Sophie Elkan (1853–1921), she visited the Colony, and in a letter to her mother from Jericho, she describes the kind reception she received from the Swedes living there.³⁰ She was already curious about their existence after Elkan, in 1897, had shown her a notice in the paper about their emigration to Jerusalem. In the novel, she expands upon their life stories in fictional terms, juxtaposing the traditional farming community in Sweden, governed by patriarchal forms of authority, to the newly established community in Jerusalem where family structures are dissolved and where Mrs. Gordon, modelled on the persona of Anna Spafford, rules as a matriarch. In an efficient deployment of dichotomies, Lagerlöf further opposes the rootedness of traditional Scandinavian Protestant Christianity, on the one hand, to the uprooted existence of the radical utopian movement, on the other. Most importantly for the purpose of the current chapter, the novel contrasts the fertility, water, and abundance of Dalarna to the aridity, dryness, thirst, and poverty of Jerusalem and its surroundings, where the early spring flowers represent “the only things the poor Holy Land is rich in.”

The theme of earthly barrenness is also present in Lagerlöf's letter to her mother from Jericho: “Everything is very barren,³¹ yet people could quite obviously farm and work here; but the Turks have such a miserable government here that the people are not allowed to work in peace. This is why nothing gets done.”³² In a later letter, she affirms: “Now I have seen a good part of the land of Judah, and it is a beautiful and fertile land with beautiful inhabitants. If only the government were not so bad, it would still be a promised land.”³³ Hence, Lagerlöf reproduces the

28 For a more detailed reading of Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*, see Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65, and Chapter 23 (Dana Caspi), 466–91.

29 Anna Spafford was originally from Stavanger in Norway. In America, she had founded a premillennialist community, the Overcomers, together with her husband. Following a series of personal crises, the couple moved from Chicago to Jerusalem in 1881 together with their flock, expecting the second coming of Christ to be immediate.

30 Selma Lagerlöf, *Letters from Jerusalem* (Oslo: Forlaget Geelmuyden Kiese, 2000), 89–90.

31 To be fair, just before this passage, Lagerlöf has described the agricultural Plain of Sharon, next to Jaffa as “cultivated everywhere and fertile.” Lagerlöf, *Letters*, 88.

32 Lagerlöf, *Letters*, 88.

33 Lagerlöf, *Letters*, 94.



Fig. 17.2: Anna T. Spafford in American Colony Courtyard, c.1898–1923. Hand-tinted photographic print. Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, the American Colony Photo-Department. The abundance of the garden presents a striking contrast to the arid landscape beyond, as described by Lagerlöf.

topos of potential but unexploited agricultural resources in her novel as well as in her personal correspondence; a theme already developed by Fredrika Bremer in her travelogue, *Travels in the Holy Land* from 1862.

Fredrika Bremer: Botanimizing in Artas

The Swedish feminist, celebrated author, and experienced traveller, Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) visited Palestine in the spring of 1859. At that time, she had already published several novels as well as a travelogue in letter form from America, or the New World, which she visited in 1849–1851. Now, she had travelled through the Old World – Europe, Sicily, and Egypt – and finally reached Palestine, the Holy Land in 1859, with Jerusalem as a somewhat ambiguous goal.³⁴ As a Protestant, she had no theological need to go there. Bremer was convinced that holiness resided in the word of God within a community of believers, and not in relics or holy sites. Significantly, she found spiritual peace in trees rather than buildings, in landscapes rather than ruins; landscapes through which she could walk in the paths of her Savior.³⁵

In her descriptions of the sceneries around Jerusalem, Bremer, like Lagerlöf, underscores the infertility-fertility nexus and links the topics of flora, agriculture, and botanimizing to the themes of conversion, mission, and colonization of the land. She also juxtaposes Swedish and Palestinian sceneries:

Jerusalem, May 1st. – It is Sunday, and the first of May. On this day, in the capital of Sweden, they hold a festival in honour of the spring . . . the most beautiful attraction of the festival is furnished by nature herself. All around the verdant hills, the joyous throng, and the splendid train of carriages, shine out the clear, blue fjords, with their dancing waves and fluttering pennons, seen in all directions. And high above all, the larks pour forth a song of joy in the vernal life of the North, of which the South knows nothing.

Nevertheless, it is now spring here also, in its full splendour. Some showers during the latter days of April have brought out the more tardy foliage . . . The blossoming hawthorns on the Mount of Olives fill the air with their delicate perfume. The greensward and the flowers here are less remarkable for their luxuriance than for their delicacy and brilliancy of colour. In place of the scarlet anemones, a species of ranunculus has now made its appearance, almost of the same colour and size. The grass is brilliant with a number of small sun and star-flowers.³⁶

The date of May 1 and the flowering Palestinian countryside set in motion a recollection of the May festival at Djurgården, back home in Stockholm. The imagery of flowers and rejuvenating landscapes introduces a section in which Bremer will connect the

³⁴ Anna Bohlin, “Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet,” in *Fiktion och verklighet: Mångvetenskapliga möten*, eds. Anna Bohlin and Lena Gemzöe (Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2016).

³⁵ For more on Bremer’s view on nature, see Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

³⁶ Bremer, *Travels II*, 66–7.

revival of nature to the revival of souls.³⁷ Her visit to the “colonist Meschullam,” a German Jew converted to Christianity who had established an agricultural colony in the valley of Artas, next to Bethlehem, further epitomizes the topics of mission and conversion.

Bremer writes that Meschullam who has made “the wilderness blossom as a rose,”³⁸ has entered into a kind of partnership with Mrs. Finn, the wife of the British consul in Jerusalem. Noticing that agriculture in Palestine is in a “very deplorable situation, but might be greatly advanced through the example of good cultivators”³⁹ such as Meschullam, Bremer is convinced that he would be the perfect leader of a settler community that could revive the country, and bring forth anew the abundant countryside and flourishing gardens from the ancient times of King Solomon. At that time, according to Bremer, Palestine housed twelve million inhabitants in contrast to the present-day half a million.⁴⁰ Expressing a mixture of evangelical hope, mission to the Jews, colonization, and contempt for the Arabs, Bremer writes:

That which is wanted is hands – is settlers, who would bring several of these valleys into cultivation, which unquestionably, and without great labour, would soon become equally fertile with the valley of Meschullam. The Arabs can do nothing of this kind. You cannot depend upon their work, neither on their fidelity towards the Christian. But a tolerably strong colony of German agriculturists would assuredly find their advantage here and would easily be able, under the protection of the European consuls, to keep the surrounding robber-tribes of Arabs at a distance. To such a colony as this might be united the various Jewish families in Jerusalem, who are ready to go over to Christianity if they could only escape the bitter persecutions which they have to expect from their kindred in the faith. In the valleys of Urtâs⁴¹ they could find protection, work, and bread, if they found those Christian friends and protectors . . . How beautifully might the ancient gardens of Solomon again flourish in the now desolate, grass-overgrown, or stone-covered levels of the valleys.⁴²

Meschullam, Bremer’s ideal leader, had established a farming project that received international attention and had become an attraction for tourists on their way to Hebron. The Duke of Orleans, for example, had discussed with Meschullam the prospect of establishing a French colony in the vicinity.⁴³

³⁷ Bremer gives a detailed description of the method followed by the missionaries Pastor Hefter and Dr. Atkinson during their regular mission journeys to the Jews of Tiberias and Safed: They pitch their tent near a village or town, spreading the word that an English medical doctor is in the neighborhood. While people come to see the doctor for medical healing, the pastor also addresses the health of the soul. Some people accept a Hebrew copy of the New Testament, while others refuse. Bremer, *Travels* II, 68.

³⁸ Bremer, *Travels* II, 77.

³⁹ Bremer, *Travels* I, 189.

⁴⁰ Bremer, *Travels* II, 72.

⁴¹ Bremer prefers this spelling but also uses “Artas.”

⁴² Bremer, *Travels* II, 70–1.

⁴³ Bremer, *Travels* II, 77–8.

Finally, Bremer describes an evening sermon at Meschullam's house where Mrs. Finn reads aloud from one of Bremer's texts about the fall of man, about women's fault or lack of fault therein, and about the role of women in sacred history. Significantly, the text within the text is also about a garden, about paradise, and the loss thereof. The scene thus plays back on the overall theme of the passage: the opposition between greenness, fertility, and the conversion of souls to the true faith, on the one hand, and barrenness, desolation, neglect, and religious error, on the other. Bremer finds biblical support for her very concrete plans of involving Jews in the recultivation of Palestine. She brings forth a prophecy for Israel, referring to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 11:24–26:

‘The Israelites,’ I said, ‘will one day return hither out of exile, as they were delivered from captivity in Egypt, from bondage in Babylon; they will return richer in spiritual treasures, and then, in connection with the nations of the West, they will commence a new era for religious knowledge and science; for spiritual life, which cannot be attained to before the fullness of the Jews is come.’⁴⁴

The return of the Jews to Palestine in consort with the nations of the West announces a new area, a New Jerusalem. Bremer explains elsewhere that the Christians “possess what the Mohammedans are altogether deficient in, the knowledge of, and the faith in a kingdom of peace and blessedness, a ‘kingdom of heaven,’ which they must realize on earth.”⁴⁵

Bremer believes that German Protestants and converted Jews would be the best to restore the land to its former glory. Indeed, evangelical ideas about new life, in a physical or spiritual sense, underlie her description of the valley of Artas; ideas that are part of a broader current of thought which characterized Evangelical Protestant approaches to Palestine in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ This religious current was in turn entrenched in a scientific episteme that was new in the nineteenth century. Between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, a shift in focus occurred in European and American scientific discourses referring to Palestine. Eighteenth-century Enlightenment sources, inspired by Linnaeus' taxonomic system and interested in natural history relevant for biblical research, looked at Palestine as one of several unexplored parts of the world, while nineteenth-century scientific treatises emphasized the uniqueness of the place, constructing it as bibleland. Bremer's descriptions from Artas constitute a gateway into my discussion of this turn in the scientific discourse on Palestine.

⁴⁴ Bremer, *Travels* II, 85.

⁴⁵ Bremer, *Travels* I, 197.

⁴⁶ Falestin Naili underlines John Meschullam's ties to evangelical and millenarian movements in Europe and America, seeing his settlement “as a good example of the multinational alliances between millenarist Christians in Palestine and their extensive support networks in Europe and North America.” Falestin Naili, “The Millenarist Settlement in Artas and its Support Network in Britain and North America, 1845–1878,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 45 (2011): quote on p. 44. For more on Evangelical mission to the Jews, see Paul M. Blowers, “‘Living in a Land of Prophets’: James T. Barclay and an Early Disciples of Christ Mission to Jews in the Holy Land,” *Church History* 62, no. 4 (1993): 494–513.

Botanizing and the Scientific Exploration of Palestine

During her visit in Artas, Bremer goes for a walk along the path descending from the famous pools of Solomon,⁴⁷ down to the village. While walking, she botanizes – an activity that sets in motion a series of associations and recollections. In these, the Swedish eighteenth century natural scientist, Fredrik Hasselquist, one of Linnaeus’ pupils, is a central piece. Invoking the image of the flower harvest in a rejuvenating Palestinian countryside, Bremer exclaims: “His harvest of flowers alone reached Sweden. Young man, my countryman! . . . Thy memory will not die on the soil of Palestine, any more than on that of thy native land. The flora of Palestine writes it every year anew in her splendid bright-coloured flowers!”⁴⁸ For Bremer, the Palestinian flora recalls Hasselquist’s scientific endeavours by rooting his name in the terra sancta. Her own botanizing also echoes his scientific method. Moreover, the section on botanising connects Hasselquist’s research in natural history to Mechullam’s pioneering agricultural and colonizing project. In Bremer’s narrative, natural history thus blends with the idea of the revival of Solomonic gardens, demonstrating the underlying connection between scientific discourse and religious imaginary that the present chapter aims to explore.

Hasselquist: An Eighteenth-Century Scientific Approach to the Holy Land

Fredrik Hasselquist left Sweden for the Middle East in 1749, more than 110 years before Bremer did. He first travelled through Egypt and arrived in Jaffa in March 1751. He then toured Palestine during the following months and reached Cyprus in early August where he wrote down his impressions from the journey. Later, in Smyrna he contracted a lung disease and passed away on February 9, 1752.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Most travellers mentioned in this chapter visited the pools of Solomon.

⁴⁸ Bremer, *Travels* II, 77.

⁴⁹ Sverker Sörlin and Otto Fagerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur/Fakta etc., 2004), 71–4; Fredrik Hasselquist, *Iter Palæstinum Eller Resa Til Heliga Landet, förrättad ifrån År 1749 til 1752, Med Beskrifningar, Rön, Anmärkningar, Öfver de märkvärdigaste naturalier, på Hennes Kongl. Maj:ts Befallning, Utgifven af Carl Linnæus* (Stockholm: trykt på Lars Salvii kåstnad, 1757), accessed August 26, 2019, <https://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/HasselquistF/titlar/IterPalaestinumEllerResa/sida/1/faksimil>.



Fig. 17.3: Plants collected by Fredrika Bremer. The Bremer Collection at Årsta Castle, Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier (The Årsta Association for Fredrika Bremer Studies). Photo: Lina Stenqvist.

In his travelogue, Hasselquist makes clear that the aim of his travel is not primarily devotional.⁵⁰ At the hostel of the Latin Monks in Jaffa, the procurator asks:

If I had come to see the holy places for the sake of devotion. I answered him without hesitation: No! What? [Why] continued the monk, who was a Spaniard, travel to see the holy places without devotion? I would end such an intimate conversation, and started another which was about money.”⁵¹

Embarrassed by the procurator’s interest in his views on religious devotion, Hasselquist swiftly turns to worldly matters. Hasselquist’s initial downplaying of the spiritual aspects of his journey is repeated several times. Often, he contrasts his scholarly interests to the spiritual ambitions of his companions, a group of pilgrims that Hasselquist joins for the convenience of travel. For example, when approaching the mountain “where CHRIST fasted and was tempted by the devil,”⁵² Hasselquist mentions *en passant* that the remoteness and inaccessibility of the place has made it perfect for Christians in search of solitary piety, but his focus lies elsewhere. He records landscape formations, species of stones, and various types of trees – “*Ceratonia*, *Myrtus*, and *Terebinthus*”⁵³– and when the climbing of the mountain gets rough, he sends forth his servant, all in the name of science:

I went so far up this horrid mount of temptation, as prudence would allow; but did not dare proceed to the summit, where I sent my attendant, to fetch whatever there might be of naturalia, while I below gathered those plants, that were to be found, and insects, of which I later in particular found a rather excellent, and previously unseen Cimex (*) [a bloodsucking bug].⁵⁴

Hasselquist dwells more on the collection of scientific data and “the until now unseen” variety of a species than on biblical connections and religious practices.

50 Thord Silverbark, *Doktor Hasselquists resa: Linnélärjungen i Mellersta Östern 1749–1752* (Stockholm: Alhambra, 2008), 146.

51 “om jag vore kommen at bese de heliga orterna för devotion skul? Jag svarade honom utan omsvep, nej! hvad? fortför Munken, som var en Spanior, resa at bese de heliga orter utan devotion? Jag ville sluta et så förtroligt samtal, och begynte et annat, som angick penningar.” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 124–5. My translation. According to Linnaeus, who edited Hasselquist’s travelogue and wrote an introduction to the volume, Hasselquist had difficulties in financing his travel to the Levant. On his deathbed, he owed his creditors important debts and they seized his scientific collections from Egypt and Palestine as a guarantee. Linnaeus finally succeeded in bringing Hasselquist’s *naturalia* back to Sweden thanks to a generous private donation from the Swedish Queen Lovisa Ulrika. Sörlin and Fagerstedt, *Linné*, 73–4.

52 “Där CHRISTUS fastade och frestades af djefvulen.” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 135. My translation.

53 Hasselquist, *Resa*, 134.

54 “Jag gick så långt upföre detta faseliga försökelse-bårget, som försigtigheten kunde tillåta; men vågade mig ej up til spetsen, dit jag skickade min drång, at hämta hvad där kunde finnas af Naturalier, medan jag nedanföre samlade de växter, som där funnos, och Insecter, af hvilka senare jag i synnerhet fann en ganska artig, och för detta osedd Cimex (*).” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 136. My translation.

Similarly, at a cave near Bethlehem, while his fellow travellers carry out their prayers, Hasselquist observes affairs that are more mundane in character. In the following sequence, the juxtaposition of spiritual devotion to practical, scientific work is striking:

We travelled past Bethlehem, and just on the other side we came to that space, where the Angel appeared to the Shepherds, by where there is a grotto, in which they descend, whom there want to pay their reverence. *While my companions did this, I had the opportunity, to contemplate a sort of plough, that was usable in this country to till the soil, about which I noticed something that I have not seen in other places.*⁵⁵

What Hasselquist notes is an installation on the plough – a thin water pipe that runs parallel to the main wooden axis of the tool and ends in a tract made of skin. The farmer fills water into this tract from a bag that he carries under his left arm, which enables him to water the earth; it is a “useful tool that in dry circumstances can moisten an earth that often is unfruitful due to lack of water.”⁵⁶ The recognition of such an advanced agricultural technique amongst the local peasants does not align with the topos, which was to colour later travelogues, of a land laid barren under Turkish yoke or Arab neglect. Although Hasselquist perceives fields next to the river Jordan that could blossom if correctly tilled, he still recognizes that the locals know how to arbour their land.

In Hasselquist’s narrative, stories from the Bible are present as a matter of course. Where later scholars, such as the American Robinson or the Norwegian Vogt will discuss the biblical authenticity of a given place, Hasselquist simply affirms that “half an hour away from Tiberias is the place where CHRIST fed 4000 men,” “further ahead was the mount where CHRIST held his Sermon on the Mount,” or “the church over the room where Christ transformed water into wine.”⁵⁷ In Jerusalem, he records rather hastily his visit to the different stations of the standard pilgrimage route.⁵⁸ The link between the biblical passage and the landscape or monuments is taken for granted, although Hasselquist is generally sceptical towards the many explanations he is hearing among local Christians, especially monks, who give everything in their surroundings a

55 “Vi foro förbi Bethlehem, och litet på andra sidan kommo vi til det rum, där Angelen för Herdarna uppenbarades, hvarvid är en Grotta, i hvilken de stiga ned, som där vilja begå sin andakt. *Medan mine följeslagare gjorde detta, hade jag tilfälle, at betrakta en slags plog, som var brukelig i detta landet til Jordens upkörande, vid hvilken jag märkte något, som jag ej sett på andra ställen.*” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 153. My translation and emphasis.

56 “behändigt medel at i torr väderlek fukta en jord, som ofta i brist af vatten är ofruktbar.” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 153. My translation.

57 “en half timmas våg från Tiberiad, vistes stället, där CHRISTUS spisat 4000 män”; “Längre fram hade vi bärgen, där CHRISTUS hållit sin bärgs predikan”; “kyrkan öfver rummet där Christus förvandlade vatten i vin.” Hasselquist, *Resa*, 165. My translation.

58 See Introduction, Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50; Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

biblical significance – olives are from the Mount of Olives, the Franciscan guesthouse is located at the same spot as Peter’s house, etc. Hasselquist doubted such unfounded correspondences and was critical to religious zeal in general.⁵⁹ Still, as he travels through the landscape, his descriptions also establish intertextual echoes with the Bible. For example, he mentions that one night he slept with his herbarium as a pillow⁶⁰ while the rest of the company had to dwell directly on the earth,⁶¹ which echoes Jacob’s dream: While Jacob reposes his head on a stone and imagines a ladder to heaven, Hasselquist rests on the toolbox of his scientific project.

Indeed, scientific interest imbues Hasselquist’s account of the Holy Land. Scholars have often characterized his approach as one of rational deism; the view that God is found in the laws of nature. Biblical narratives and traditional Protestant knowledge, however, are also present in his text. Hasselquist’s outlook on the world can be placed at the intersection of Enlightenment rationalism and Protestant orthodoxy, which would explain for example his critique of pilgrimages, uncritical devotion of holy places, or miracles.⁶² By pointing to Hasselquist’s Protestant heritage, Måns Ahlstedt Åberg concludes: “Hasselquist was not a one-dimensional personality, rather, he seems to have been able to reconcile what appears to be irreconcilable positions in one and the same worldview. He was, even as odd as it might sound, an enlightened Lutheran, a Caroline [era] orthodox natural scientist – a Linnaean.”⁶³

Hasselquist’s teacher and later publisher, Linnaeus, emphasizes that scientific eagerness motivated his student to explore Palestine.⁶⁴ According to Linnaeus, theologians and philologists had ignored the natural history of the Holy Land and had not explored its *realia in situ*, and had thus missed knowledge that could shed light on the biblical text.⁶⁵ This was to change with Hasselquist’s journey, which would demonstrate that natural history could complement philology. Indeed, a mapping

⁵⁹ Silverbark, *Doktor Hasselquists resa*, 146.

⁶⁰ *örmagätt*.

⁶¹ Hasselquist, *Resa*, 135.

⁶² Måns Ahlstedt Åberg, “En obegripelig Religions-ifver – Värderingar rörande religion i svenska reseskildringar om osmanska riket 1657–1780” (Master’s thesis, Lund University, 2017).

⁶³ “Hasselquist var ingen endimensionell personlighet, utan tycks ha kunnat förena dess till synes oförenliga ståndpunkter i en och samma världsbild. Han var, hur märkligt det än kan låta, en upplyst Lutheran, en karolinskt ortodox naturvetare – en linnean.” Åberg, *En obegripelig Religions-ifver*, 61–2. My translation.

⁶⁴ Sörlin and Fagerstedt, *Linné*, 66–7.

⁶⁵ One of Linnaeus’ lectures addressed the puzzle that Palestine remained one of the less scientifically explored parts of the world despite the fact that numerous pilgrims and theologians had visited the place for generations. In Uppsala, as elsewhere in Europe, theologians and philologists had worked to identify the natural objects, *naturalia*, described in the Bible. Linnaeus thought that there was much more to be done in this field. The information about biblical plants gathered by his colleagues in Uppsala, Olof Rudbeck and Olof Celsius, was for example only based on textual evidence or their scant knowledge of the flora and fauna of their home district. Silverbark, *Doktor Hasselquists resa*, 30–1.

of the Holy Land according to the principles of natural history and in line with the Linnaean system, would demonstrate that empirical natural research could settle philological questions and attest to the usefulness of the Linnaean methodology.⁶⁶

Carsten Niebuhr's Expedition and Michaelis' View on Bible Studies

Only ten years after Hasselquist passed away in Smyrna, Carsten Niebuhr's expedition to Arabia Felix [the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula] and the Levant ensured the continuation of Scandinavian scientific and political interests in the region. The expedition was financed by the Danish Crown and inspired by Linnaeus' methodology, and it included Scandinavian scientists, such as the Swedish botanist, Pehr Forsskål (1732–1763), another of Linnaeus' disciples. Palestine was not the focus of this excursion, which aimed at exploring Egypt and parts of the Arabian Peninsula, but Niebuhr made a short visit to the Holy Land on his way back to Europe as the only surviving member of the expedition.

The expedition was initiated by an expert in biblical philology, the German scholar, Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791).⁶⁷ Michaelis had received instruction in oriental languages by his father, a professor of Syriac at the University of Halle. He later moved to the newly established August University of Gottingen where he first became private docent in 1745 and later professor ordinaries in 1750.⁶⁸ Here, his modern views on historical scholarship and his general scholarly standpoint, described as a “form of deistic empiricism” found acceptance.⁶⁹ Michaelis' view was that scripture “could, and should, be subjected to the independent historical and linguistic exercise of judgement (‘criticism’).”⁷⁰ Textual criticism could be supported by insights from other disciplines. For example, Michaelis was interested in how the tides of the Red Sea could explain the miraculous Exodus of the Jews from Egypt.⁷¹ He also wanted to know whether empirical evidence could substantiate the

⁶⁶ Silverbark, *Doktor Hasselquists resa*, 31; Sörlin and Fagerstedt, *Linné*, 66. For a review of some of the naturalia collected by Hasselquist, see F. S. Bodenheimer, “Frederic Hasselquist in Palestine, 1751,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 2, no. 1 (1952): 6–14.

⁶⁷ J. M. I. Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions to the Arab World (1761–1881)* (London, Oxford: Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁶⁸ For more about the development of modern educational institutions in Protestant Scandinavia, see Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 2, 12–48.

⁶⁹ Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions*, 45.

⁷⁰ Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions*, 45.

⁷¹ Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions*, 47–8.

passage from Leviticus 14:33–57 about the leprosy of house and garments, or whether it was to be understood as a metaphor.⁷²

In arguing that biblical scholarship should “be cast as a new comprehensive science that includes anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, and natural science,”⁷³ Michaelis’ approach recalls Linnaeus’ argument that natural history could shed light on biblical philology. However, Linnaeus’ focus was on natural history, Michaelis’ on the biblical text. Scholars agree that Michaelis’ interest in other disciplines was situated within the framework of biblical philology and that the expeditions’ initial goal was to shed light on the biblical text.⁷⁴ In hindsight, however, the Linnaean scientific project came to dominate the mission. Lawrence J. Baack argues that the stringent methods within the empirically based disciplines of astronomy, geography, cartography, and natural history soon outshone the methodologically weaker biblical philology of Michaelis.⁷⁵ Forsskål, for example, knew the Linnaean taxonomic system from having worked together with Linnaeus in his botanical garden in Uppsala, while Niebuhr had learned the latest astronomical method by the reputed German scientist, Tobias Mayer (1723–1762).⁷⁶ They were both proficient in empirical sciences in which careful observation of the world was paramount.⁷⁷ Baack

72 These questions constitute two of Michaelis’ so called *Fragen* to the expedition. The *Fragen* engulfed a variety of issues related to topography, astronomy, natural history, and social custom. The idea of putting questions to travellers represented a century old custom, which aimed “to regulate travel and maximize its impact on knowledge.” In Michaelis’ case, the questions were meant to guide the participants’ attention and contribute to the collection of new data. Michaelis included the European scientific community in his endeavour to establish the research questions. He circulated his questions in letters and publications, asking for corrections, amendments, and additions. Daniel Carey, “Arts and Sciences of Travel, 1574–1762: The Arabian Journey and Michaelis’s *Fragen* in Context,” in *Early Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and ‘The Arabian Journey,’ Proceedings of a Symposium on the Occasion of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia Felix*, eds. Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, Scientia Danica, 2013), 46.

73 Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions*, 46.

74 An expedition to Arabia (the Yemen) “would reveal unknown aspects of nature, while its ancient history would shed new light on many passages of the Old Testament.” Klaver, *Scientific Expeditions*, 47. Alternatively, as Carey frames it: “Of course the overwhelming interest that drove Michaelis was to illuminate Biblical history – not that this excluded attention to natural history.” Carey, “Arts,” 46.

75 Lawrence J. Baack, “From Biblical Philology to Scientific Achievement and Cultural Understanding: Carsten Niebuhr, Peter Forsskål and Frederik von Haven and the Transformation of the Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761–1767,” in *Early Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and ‘The Arabian Journey,’ Proceedings of a Symposium on the Occasion of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia Felix*, eds. Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, 2013), 74–5.

76 Roger H. Guichard, *Niebuhr in Egypt: European Science in a Biblical World* (Cambridge, UK: The Lutterworth Press, 2018), 38–9. Baack, “From biblical philology,” 69.

77 Baack, “From biblical philology,” 68–78.

concludes that their empirical methodologies “superseded the biblical philological objective of Michaelis which the former were originally intended to serve.”⁷⁸ Baack builds on a verdict given by Carsten Niebuhr’s son, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831), in the biography he wrote about his father. Here, Niebuhr Jr. claims that the initial aim of the expedition became “an infinitesimally trivial matter of secondary importance.”⁷⁹ This remark corresponds to Thord Silverbark’s argument that one of the reasons why Linnaeus wanted to send Hasselquist to Palestine was not only to demonstrate the utility of natural history to biblical philology, but, more importantly, to prove that his systematic approach to nature was valuable on its own terms.

Hasselquist’s account from his travel in Palestine aligns with Linnaeus’ vision. On the one hand, his travelogue is characterized by frequent biblical references and his negative evaluation of pilgrimages and the veneration of saints is in line with Lutheran orthodoxy. On the other hand, his almost indifferent attitude to religiously charged places and religious practices are in sharp contrast to the eagerness he displays while collecting naturalia or scientific data from Palestine. It is clear that his primary motivation is scientific, not devotional. For him as for his teacher, Palestine stands out as one corner of a vast world – like the Americas or the Indies to which Linnaeus also sent his disciples – in need of exploration. In a similar manner, the expedition instigated by Michaelis, which took its point of departure in biblical philology, did not target Palestine but rather Arabia Felix as the most valuable place to shed light on the Hebrew Bible. Eventually, Michaelis used the data collected by the expedition in his work on the Hebrew Bible, but he acknowledged that with regard to the expedition, the role of “biblical philology had become marginal.”⁸⁰ In the eighteenth century, therefore, it appears that Palestine was not the centre of attention in the natural sciences or in biblical philology.

This changed in the nineteenth century. Hasselquist’s emphasis on natural history in Palestine was soon replaced by a scientific program in which the Holy Land took centre stage and the Bible acted as the ultimate scientific reference; the yardstick against which other scientific evidence must be measured. For nineteenth-century Bible scholars such as Robinson or Vogt, the scientific exploration of Palestine must necessarily be framed by the biblical text and the exploration in itself represents an act of devotion.⁸¹

78 Baack, “From biblical philology,” 74–5.

79 Quoted in Baack, “From biblical philology,” 74, note 76. Robinson translated this biography from German to English, see below.

80 Baack, “From biblical philology,” 74.

81 A precise definition of the Bible as ultimate yardstick is given in one of the objectives of The American Holy Land Exploration Society, namely: “To furnish information through skilled and pious lecturers upon all subjects wherein the lands of Holy Scripture sustain the accuracy of the Bible.” A. L. Rawson, “Palestine,” *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 7 (1875): quote on p. 106. See also p. 103 where Rawson underlines Robinson’s achievements: “but none [until Robinson] had ‘spied out the land’ to show its accordance with the Word of God.”

Recuperation of Eighteenth-Century Natural History Within the Program of Biblical Archaeology

In a publication from 1836, entitled *The Students Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts, Vol. III, Biographical series*, Robinson gives an indirect argument for why it is important to know the biography of Carsten Niebuhr, the great explorer:

No event in the literary world has had more direct and important bearing upon the study of the Bible, and the branches of learning connected with it, than the scientific expedition sent out by the King of Denmark to Arabia and the adjacent countries, in 1760. Viewing the subject in this light, I have thought that an account of the origin and progress of that expedition, would . . . afford much useful and interesting information to the student of biblical literature, and to readers in general.⁸²

Robinson translated Barthold Niebuhr's biography about his father from German to English for the benefit of students of biblical literature. At the outset, contrary to the biographer who claimed that the initial religious impetus behind his father's expedition had waned, Robinson characterizes it as a major event within the field of biblical studies. He has to admit, however, that the son's account leaves

His [Niebuhr's] religious character . . . entirely out of sight; except in one short paragraph near the close, where his firm belief in the special interpositions of Providence is mentioned. We have no means of supplying this deficiency, except so far as his faith in miracles is attested, in his remarks on the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; where he regards the circumstances as the 'work of Providence, as a miracle.'⁸³

Robinson employs the word "deficiency" in order to characterize the downplaying of religion in the portrait of Carsten Niebuhr. This may reveal Robinson's bias and his critical attitude to Enlightenment science in general.⁸⁴ Moreover, one may argue that in emphasizing Niebuhr's faith in miracles and in presenting knowledge about the expedition as particularly beneficial to the student of biblical literature, he tries to recuperate the work of Carsten Niebuhr into the fold of biblical research.

Robinson's recuperation of Niebuhr has echoes in Bremer's characterization of Hasselquist and his work in natural history. She indirectly places his endeavour within a biblical and Christian framework as she gives Linnaeus' naming and systematizing of

⁸² Barthold Georg Niebuhr, "Carsten Niebuhr: The Oriental Traveler, with an Appendix by J. D. Michaelis," in *The Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts III*, trans. Prof. Robinson, ed. Thomas Clarke (Edinburgh: James Burnet, printer, 1836), 3.

⁸³ Niebuhr, *The Oriental Traveler*, 8.

⁸⁴ Whiting underlines Robinson's critical attitude to "the increasing influence of biblical criticism" which was imported to American theological seminars from Germany. Robinson was part of those American theologians who formed a new conservative school at Andover seminary as a "conservative defense against the 'heretical' liberal attack" coming from the more progressive milieus at Harvard. Whiting, "Geographical Imaginations," 245.

plants an aura of God's creative powers. As Adam according to God's scheme gave animals and plants their name, Linnaeus does the same in Bremer's narrative: "When the flower-king at Upsala sent out pupils to all parts of the world to collect their plants and flowers, and bring them to him to be classified and to receive their names, Hasselqvist proposed himself to undertake the flora of Palestine."⁸⁵ Both Robinson and Bremer illustrate the new tendency in nineteenth-century approaches to Palestine, namely the emphasis on the religious dimension and biblical framing of scientific works.⁸⁶

Volrath Vogt: Nineteenth-Century Science about the Holy Land

The biblical framework was also decisive for the Norwegian bible historian, Volrath Vogt. Vogt had already written his well-known and widely read Bible history for Norwegian schoolchildren when he travelled to Palestine in 1863.⁸⁷ While this book reflected his thorough knowledge of biblical history, impressions from his journey to the Holy Land in addition to the inspiration he found in Robinson influenced his later works.

In Vogt's *magnus opus* *Det Hellige Land [The Holy Land]*, the only inscription on page two reads as follows: "On this book I have spent 15 years of work. Christiania in December 1879. Volrath Vogt,"⁸⁸ as if the sentence, in its simplicity on an otherwise empty page, announces the grandeur of what follows. The table of contents already alludes to this grandeur. It completes the five following pages of Vogt's book and stands as a token for the encyclopaedic nature of his approach. The volume is divided into 24 sections [referred to as paragraphs by Vogt], which again are divided into chapters and sub-chapters. The first seven sections analyse different names given to the Holy Land: its borders and size, population groups, languages, religious groups, geographical divisions (for example into Judea, Samaria, and Galilea at the time of Jesus), and population size throughout history. The next sections (8–23) explore geographical aspects of Palestine: plains, mountains and valleys; rivers and streams; lakes; sources and springs; wells and cisterns; dams; water pipes; the climate⁸⁹; rocks; caves; deserts;

⁸⁵ Bremer, *Travels* II, 76–7.

⁸⁶ To denote this blend of science and religion, Whiting employs the term "Geo-Piety," borrowed from Vogel: "Vogel has used the term 'geo-piety' to explain this interplay between imagery, reality, geography, and sacred space." Whiting, "Geographical Imaginations," 243. The reference is to L. I. Vogel, *To See the Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1993), 7.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), 390–409, and Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

⁸⁸ "Paa denne Bog har jeg arbeidet i femten Aar. Kristiania i December 1879. Volrath Vogt." Vogt, *Det Hellige Land*.

⁸⁹ *veirlag*.

forests, groves,⁹⁰ and peculiar trees; fruit trees; gardens; animals; and roads. The final section, number 24, constitutes an overview of “cities, landscapes, monuments etc., in Alphabetic order” – the list starts with “Abel, Abel Bet-Ma’aka”⁹¹ – the name of a village, and ends with “Ænon, in Greek Ainon, from the Hebrew Ain: Spring, only mentioned in John 3, 23: ‘John baptised in Ænon, close to Salim.’”⁹² Section 24 covers the largest bulk of Vogt’s work, approximately 550 pages. It is easily accessible to the reader thanks to an alphabetic overview over place names, inserted at the end of the volume. The overview includes approximately 1,620 names, listed in three columns on eleven pages and a half. If the reader seeks information about a given biblical place, she can go to the alphabetic list, where she most probably will find the place she searches for. Vogt’s book also includes 99 illustrations distributed throughout the volume and 6 maps placed at the end. Again, an alphabetic list, this time presented at the beginning of the work, guides the reader to each illustration.

Although lists and facts mark Vogt’s approach, he arrives at drawing an impressive tableau of the Holy Land. It is as if he takes the bird’s-eye perspective, gradually zooming in on the country: first, he supplies general information about its name; then he draws the contour of the Holy Land, before he starts to fill in and colour the surface of his textual map. He recounts the stories of those who have populated the territory and draws a detailed image of the land itself, starting in the North with the land bordering Lebanon and descending towards the South following the valley of the Jordan River. On the way through the Holy Land, his gaze records valleys, mountains, and plains; water systems, natural and artificial, as well as roads and paths. He sees deserts and forests; trees, plants, and animals; villages and cities. He analyses the air and the climate, but also reaches underneath the surface of the ground, seeking for grotts and caves and examining different species of stone. Vogt’s magnum opus thus reveals itself as a work of art. From dry facts, systematized lists, and numbers, a colourful image of the Holy Land emerges; an image depicting the core of the Christian storyworld as interpreted by a Scandinavian scholar in the second part of the nineteenth century.

The systematic presentation of the material in Vogt’s book may indicate that he saw it as a work of reference or encyclopaedia to the Land of the Bible. By choosing an encyclopaedic format, Vogt breaks with his forerunners Robinson and Smith, who – building on a long tradition – used the travelogue as scientific genre.⁹³ They

⁹⁰ *lunder*.

⁹¹ Vogt, *Det Hellig Land*, 204.

⁹² “Ænon, paa Græsk Ainon, af det hebraiske Ain: Kilde, omtales bare Joh. 3, 23: ‘Johannes døbte i Ænon i Nærheden af Salim.’” Vogt, *Det Hellige Land*, 767.

⁹³ For more on the travelogue as scientific genre, see Carey, “Arts,” 27–32.

deliberately made this choice to make the observations from the land of the Bible more vivid in the mind of the reader:

I have therefore everywhere interwoven the personal narrative; and have endeavored so to do it, as to exhibit the manner in which the Promised Land unfolded itself to our eyes, and the processes by which we were led to the conclusions and opinions advanced in this work.⁹⁴

Later, in the posthumously published *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*,⁹⁵ Robinson chose a systematized approach, not so unlike the one found in Vogt's *The Holy Land*.

The scientific character of Vogt's enterprise is also evident in his mode of argument. Vogt follows the academic criteria of clarity, reliability, and verifiability. He cites all his sources, critically juxtaposing them while discussing a given topic. In addition, he draws on a varied material, including reference to recent archaeological digs in Jerusalem, earlier travel descriptions of Palestine, as well as historical and religious treatises. He regularly cites Josephus, Eusebius, Hieronymus, the Pilgrim from Bordeaux, the English travellers John Mandeville (fourteenth-century) and Henry Maundrell (seventeenth-century),⁹⁶ the already mentioned Edward Robinson, as well as James Ferguson who wrote *The Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*,⁹⁷ but also occasionally the Greek author Dio Cassius (d. 229 CE) and the Iberian Benjamin of Tudela who travelled to visit his brethren in Palestine in 1160–1173.⁹⁸ To Vogt some of these accounts only transmit legends, but he underscores that many questions remain open and that if skilled archaeologists would get access to important places, such as David's tomb, they could corroborate or reject earlier narratives. Ottoman authorities, however, often hinder such efforts. David's tomb, for instance, has not been researched because it is a holy site in Islam.⁹⁹

Vogt is concerned with what he calls the genuineness¹⁰⁰ of place names. In order to discuss the authenticity of a given site, he often recurs to the following pattern: He juxtaposes different kinds of sources, including the biblical text. If the sources concur, then fine. If not, he chooses the explanation that agrees with Scripture. Hence, the Bible frames Vogt's scientific enterprise. He may question outcomes of the Christian tradition such as the authenticity of the placement of the Holy Sepulchre,¹⁰¹ but not the holy text itself. The text is present as part of his scientific reasoning. As

⁹⁴ Robinson and Smith, *Biblical Researchers in Palestine*, I, v.

⁹⁵ Edward Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land* (London: John Murray, 1865).

⁹⁶ Vogt, *Reise*, 33.

⁹⁷ Vogt, *Reise*, 52.

⁹⁸ Vogt, *Reise*, 38.

⁹⁹ Vogt, *Reise*, 40.

¹⁰⁰ *ektehet*.

¹⁰¹ To question the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became a favorite topic among Protestant travelers to the Holy Land. In addition to question the correctness of its location, most of them also criticized the religious rituals that were practiced by Catholic and Orthodox Christians.

such, his method is in line with that of Robinson and Smith. In following the academic rules of citation, it acquires an apparent “objectivity.”

According to Rana Issa, Robinson’s phonological method – which consisted of locating the places referred to in the Bible through deriving biblical place names from the current pronunciation of local Arabs – “deploys a science that is associated with accepted modern disciplines.”¹⁰² Still, she argues that it constitutes an example of circular reasoning: “the problem with Robinson’s deployment of this method is that it is predicated on the assumption that the Bible comes from bibleland. What Robinson’s phonology sets out to do is therefore tautological. The bible came from bibleland is both the assumption and the conclusion of his travelogue.”¹⁰³ The thinking of Vogt and Robinson is similar: If evidence from archaeology or historical treatises contradicts the letter of the Bible (and especially the New Testament), the text of the Bible prevails. This approach to the Bible is in contrast to Hasselquist’s occasional references to the holy text, where he referred to the Bible as part of his religious heritage, but not as an argument in his scientific reasoning.

“Truth-to-Nature” and “Objectivity” – Codes of Epistemic Virtue

In their book, *Objectivity*, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison trace the development of objectivity within the history of science. *Objectivity* focuses on what the authors define as codes of epistemic virtue, arguing that “epistemic virtues permeate scientific practice as well as precepts.”¹⁰⁴ They define three different codes of epistemic virtue, corresponding to different periods in the history of science: “truth-to-nature, mechanical objectivity, and trained judgment.”¹⁰⁵ Put shortly these codes produce different kinds of science. The first two are relevant for the discussion in the current chapter.

102 Rana Issa, “The Bible as Commodity: Modern Patterns of Arabic Language Standardization and Bible Commoditization in the Levant” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2014), 215.

103 Issa, “The Bible as Commodity,” 215. Whiting makes a similar point in her article discussing the concept of the “Holy Land”: “Robinson’s topography thus represented a landscape comprised of the biblical narratives mapped out in contemporary Palestine to the exclusion of all else. Here, for the first time, we see the biblical map of the ‘Holy Land’ that existed in the western mind mapped out in concrete geographical terms.” Whiting, “Geographical Imaginations,” 246. Whiting further argues that Robinson’s “biblical identifications” have influenced archaeological excavations up until today, “determining the interpretation of the excavated material culture.” Whiting, “Geographical Imaginations,” 246–8, quote on p. 246.

104 Daston and Galison. *Objectivity*, 19.

105 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 18.

Daston and Galison take the Linnaean method and taxonomy as paradigmatic for the epistemic virtue they refer to as truth-to-nature. This virtue is thus relevant for Hasselquist's exploration of Palestine, as well as for Niebuhr's expedition to Arabia Felix. Truth-to-nature is characterized by a search for the ideal type that comes to the fore in each specimen:

'typical phenomena' were those that hearkened back to some underlying Typus or 'archetype,' and from which individual phenomena could be derived, at least conceptually. The typical is rarely, if ever, embodied in a single individual; nonetheless, the astute observer can intuit it from cumulative experience.¹⁰⁶

In order to record the reality truthfully, the scientist thus needed experience in collecting and comparing data. Only the trained eye would know how to distinguish the essential from the accidental, the typical from the deviation, and "the genuine species from mere varieties."¹⁰⁷ In truth-to-nature, the intervention of the trained scientist was indeed deemed necessary in order to obtain valuable results: "[Linnaeus] would have dismissed as irresponsible the suggestion that scientific facts should be conveyed without the mediation of the scientist and ridiculed as absurd the notion that the kind of scientific knowledge most worth seeking was that which depended least on the personal traits of the seeker."¹⁰⁸

Linnaeus' position stands in sharp contrast to the epistemic virtue that gradually was to replace truth-to-nature, namely mechanical objectivity, which aimed at reducing the human element in scientific research to a minimum: "To be objective is to aspire to knowledge that bears no trace of the knower – knowledge unmarked by prejudice or skill, fantasy or judgment, wishing or striving. Objectivity is blind sight, seeing without inference, interpretation, or intelligence."¹⁰⁹

Mechanical objectivity arose in the first decades of the nineteenth century, reaching its heyday in the second half of the century. Disregarding the ideal type, it paid attention to the particular occurrence in a series. It was no longer the inner nature of the object, the archetype, that was sought, but the most objective description of the specimen. Generalizations were reached by juxtaposing series of individual items, not by searching for an archetype underneath the surface. In aiming for "the removal of individual judgement,"¹¹⁰ mechanical objectivity favoured mechanization.¹¹¹ It took the machine and the repetitive series produced by the machine as a guarantee for objectivity. Photography thus came to constitute the preferred

106 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 69.

107 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 59.

108 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 59.

109 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 17.

110 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 172.

111 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 172.

medium of mechanical objectivity, as photography, at least in the beginning, was believed to offer a “defense against figments of imagination.”¹¹²

I argue that nineteenth-century sources on Palestine reflect aspects of “mechanical objectivity.” For one, Robinson and Vogt are extremely interested in correct measurements. While Hasselquist estimated the distance between two spots in terms of the length of a pistol-shot,¹¹³ and the early nineteenth-century Swedish traveller Berggren calculated the circumference of the Pools of Solomon by means of his own foot, Robinson required sophisticated tools in order to map the landscape. For example, from the top of Mount Tabor he contemplates the great plains of Esdraelon, complaining that “there yet exists no correct nor intelligible account of the eastern portions of this plain.”¹¹⁴ The scholar sees the landscape as a panorama from above, and thus may give an approximate account of its features. In order to find, however, the precise positions of different locations that may later figure in maps, he is in need of triangulation and other precise methods of land measurement that require sophisticated and specialized tools. Robinson himself did not possess such advanced instruments. Still, his efforts were held in high esteem by later surveyors: “Provided only with a large compass, his numerous and careful bearings, and his strikingly accurate measurements and topographical descriptions, afforded such voluminous data that Professor Kiepert, of Berlin, was enabled to construct a new map, which almost entirely superseded that of Berghaus.”¹¹⁵ When C. W. Wilson wrote these lines in 1873, going through the different surveys of Palestine that had been undertaken since Robertson’s time, he uses several paragraphs to describe the instruments employed by the surveyors; such as a 7-inch compass with two levels, a cross-threaded plunging telescope, a 7-inch sextant, a box chronometer, and a theodolite.¹¹⁶ Like Robinson, Wilson also favoured the viewpoint from above, noticing for example how he was “struck by the character of the country as affecting its survey; the clearness of the atmosphere and extensive views from many points offer great facilities to the surveyor.”¹¹⁷ This emphasis on vistas favouring over-

112 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 161.

113 Bodenmeier, “Frederic Hasselquist,” 10.

114 Robinson and Smith, *Biblical Researchers in Palestine* vol. 3, 227.

115 Wilson, “Recent Surveys,” 212–13. To underline my point that Robinson’s name may be linked to mechanical objectivity, I refer to Haim Goran who emphasizes that Robinson “mark[s] the beginning of the modern period of scientific research and survey in Palestine.” Haim Goren, “Sacred, but not Surveyed: Nineteenth-Century Surveys of Palestine,” *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): quote on p. 92. For more on Robinson’s method, see Albrecht Alt, “Edward Robinson and the Historical Geography of Palestine,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58, no. 4 (1939): 373–7, 374.

116 Wilson, “Recent Surveys,” 214, 215, 219.

117 Wilson, “Recent Surveys,” see also 209, 217.

view is in line with the epistemic virtue of objectivity.¹¹⁸ One may imagine that it is easier to approach the ideal of blind, disinterested sight when the onlooker is situated at a distance from what he observes. Outlines and panoramas from the top of mountains, or from a bird's-eye view as in Vogt's scriptural map of the Holy Land, give an illusion of disinterested sight; at least it is in contrast to Hasselquist's bending his eyes towards the ground in search for "until now unseen" naturalia.

Reflecting the enormous interest in the Holy Land, which characterised the nineteenth century, the scientific canvases that both Robinson and Vogt unfold in their systematic works on Palestine also embody the epistemic virtue of objectivity. We may therefore ask whether the shift towards the ideal of an accurate depiction of the specimen (and not of the underlying archetype) contribute to explaining why the precise geography of Palestine became so important in the nineteenth century. Scholars have explained the renewed interest for Palestine in terms of the discipline of historical geography, developed by Ritter.¹¹⁹ Ben-Arieh suggests, for instance that the reason "for nineteenth-century writers' preoccupation with detail in their physical-geographical descriptions of the land must have been their conviction that the history of the Holy Land was tied closely with its geography; hence, in order to understand its unique history one must first become acquainted with the layout of the land and its physical-geographical structure."¹²⁰ This is in line with Ritter's theory of the interdependence of history and geography,¹²¹ and his idea that the evolution of history was laid down in the earth crust:

It would certainly be impossible to conceive of the development of such a history as that of Israel taking place anywhere else than in Palestine. Nowhere else on the earth could that series of events and the peculiar training which the people of God had to pass through have found a theatre so conspicuous to the eyes of the world as the narrow land of Palestine.¹²²

Still, I think Ritter's theory must be combined with the developing epistemic virtue of objectivity in order to fully describe the keen interest for detail and exactness that characterized nineteenth-century approaches to Palestine.

118 For a discussion of the nineteenth-century preference for tableau and display, see Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50.

119 For an account of Ritter's theory of history and geography, see Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50, and Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

120 Ben-Arieh, "Nineteenth-Century Historical Geographies," 75.

121 See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50, and Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

122 Ben-Arieh, "Nineteenth-Century historical geographies," 75, quoting Ritter in William L. Gage's edition. See note 20 for full reference to Gage's edition. Quote is from vol. 2, chapter 1: "A General Comparative View of Syria," 5.

The construction of “bibleland” or the “Holy Land” was closely connected to the epistemic virtue of mechanical objectivity. In truth-to-nature, Palestine stands out as a location from which specimens of nature (flowers, stones, and animals) may be collected as tokens of archetypes to be inserted into a scheme; a universal system intended to map nature as such. Linnaeus sent Hasselquist to collect plants from Palestine not, primarily, because they were plants from the Holy Land that could shed light on biblical passages, but because they could contribute to complete his universal system. It was the system, not the specimen, which reflected the creative powers of God. Within this system, there was no particular need for the surface of the Holy Land as such, for exactly that place, exactly that stone or that mountain. God resided in the universal, underlying *typos*, in the regularities or laws of nature, and not in one particular geographical location. By contrast, for Robinson, Smith, and Vogt, inspired by Ritter,¹²³ the particular geography of the Holy Land was more important than the geography of other places; it was on this specific surface of the globe that the Savior had wandered; here, not elsewhere. Therefore, nineteenth-century scholars had to scrutinize the particular location of Palestine with the best scientific methods available to them; they had to see the land through the lenses of mechanical objectivity. Still, ambiguously, the Bible framed their project of objective seeing. Hence, in the nineteenth century, Palestine and Jerusalem constitutes anew and in an ambivalent manner the pivotal point of the Christian storyworld.

Conclusion

Eighteenth-century scientific travels to the Orient, including Palestine, were primarily interested in exploring and collecting new information about the empirical world. They were truly Enlightenment projects. Later, nineteenth-century scholars focusing on Palestine built on this knowledge, but their focus was narrower and they were willing to interpret the findings of their forerunners within their own scientific-religious worldview. The Bible that was relegated to the periphery in Hasselquist’s examination of Palestine or in Niebuhr and Forsskål’s exploration of Egypt, the Sinai, and Yemen, regained centre stage in Robinson and Smith’s scientific mapping of Palestine in the 1830s as well as in Vogt’s approach to the Holy Land in the 1860s. It appears that science about the Holy Land took a textual (biblical) turn in the nineteenth century,

¹²³ For an account of Ritter’s theory of history and geography, see Chapter 18 (Anna Bohlin), 360–89.

which, interestingly and perhaps counterintuitively, was combined with the epistemic virtue of objectivity. Scholars aimed at a disinterested view using new and sophisticated tools to measure the land, and through adhering to the scientific criteria of veracity and juxtaposition of sources. Nevertheless, this aiming for the epistemic virtue of objectivity took place within the limit of the biblical horizon; for the nineteenth-century explorers of bibleland, the Bible constituted primary scientific evidence. For their forebears who practiced the epistemic virtue of truth-to-nature, and lived in a world in which the Bible was not yet challenged by historical criticism and new findings in philology or geology,¹²⁴ narratives from the Bible were simply taken as a matter of course.

The nineteenth-century scientific discourses on Palestine had echoes in literary texts. The descriptions of flowers and agriculture in Bremer and Lagerlöf are also about growth, new life, mission, and conversion. Bremer's travelogue connects directly to an evangelical scientific program for Palestine: Measure the land, map its topography and cities, dig out its archaeological treasures, recover the fertility of its soil, and recuperate its souls.¹²⁵ The program works on the surface of the ground, under the ground, and aspires to heaven. It constitutes a combination of science and faith. To better read the Bible and understand the divine message, theologians and laypersons must know bibleland in a scientific manner, which includes a scientific approach to its flora. Hence, the description of flowers conducts us from the romantic image of flowering hills in springtime to the strategic use of power to discipline the landscape and its inhabitants. The green line of the Jerusalem code is not only about ranunculi, anemones, and other Mayflowers, but also about reverting bibleland to its former fecundity, which in turn implies colonization of the land, connected to European imperial expansion.

The narrative sequences of flowers, plants, and agriculture also establish a clear bond between roots (in Sweden) and routes (in Palestine) in both Bremer and Lagerlöf. While Lagerlöf juxtaposes the fertile, moist ground of Dalarna to the barren landscape outside of Jerusalem, Bremer compares the flowers of Palestine to those of the first of May festival in Djurgården, Stockholm. In Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*, Dalarna finally stands out as the Promised Land, while in Bremer's texts Palestine

124 See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50.

125 Wilson notes that the objective of the Palestine Exploration Fund, founded in 1865 under the patronage of Queen Victoria, was “a systematic examination of the whole country” divided into “the examination of the archæology, the manners and customs, the topography, the geology, as well as the botany, zoology, meteorology, etc., of the Holy Land.” Wilson, “Recent Surveys,” 220–1. The Palestine Exploration Fund Survey may stand out as the epitome of mechanical objectivity in Palestine.

remains promised as she foresees its rejuvenation through new farming and colonization projects; foretold, Bremer believes in the Bible. The green line of the Jerusalem code, including the image of verdant bibleland, contributed to shaping the Scandinavian imaginary and to establishing connections between Scandinavia and the Holy Land to the point that in 1956 there was no contradiction involved in letting a Norwegian birch symbolize Israel.



Fig. 18.1: Fredrika Bremer photographed by C. J. Malmberg in 1862 upon return from her journey to Southern Europe and Palestine. By courtesy of Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier (The Årsta Association for Fredrika Bremer Studies).

Anna Bohlin

Chapter 18

Geography of the Soul – History of Humankind: The Jerusalem Code in Bremer and Almqvist

This chapter will investigate the incipient splitting of the Jerusalem code through the encompassing of new epistemological regimes and political demands. Three traditional topoi are studied in mid-nineteenth-century literature by the Swedes Fredrika Bremer and Carl Jonas Love Almqvist: Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the Holy Land as the landscape of the soul, and the heavenly city as a model for utopian societies. The recurrent use of allegory reflects the fact that Christian salvation history provided a meta-theory for scientific endeavours, even though the emphasis in the allegorical operations had shifted from heaven to earth, the human body, and a national home.

The geography of the Holy Land is designed to spread the Christian faith across the world. Or so the Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) claimed, and she meant this quite literally: the very topography was shaped to ensure that “the Gospel might find ways open into all lands, east, north, south, and west, and thus from little Palestine to the very ends of the earth.”¹ In Bremer’s account, Christian salvation history determined the shape of the earth’s crust. One of her contemporaries, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866), also featured the Palestinian landscape in one of his novels, albeit in an altogether different function, in a passage called “Själens Geografi” [“The Geography of the Soul”]. “In our spirit,” he writes, “Emotion is the kingdom of Judea; Thought, the kingdom of Israel. Emotion holds the focal point of our spirit, which is belief in Eternity . . . that is the capital, Jerusalem of our soul.”² In his account, the geography of the Holy Land serves to spatialize human capacities in a typological exegesis of Biblical history. Bremer and Almqvist’s

¹ Fredrika Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I–II*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Henry Colburn, publisher, 1862), I, 273–74.

² “Känslan är Juda rike i vår ande; Tanken är Israels rike. I Känslan ligger vår andes medelpunkt, som är tron på det eviga . . . det är hufvudstaden, är Jerusalem i vår själ.” C. J. L. Almqvist, *Samlade Verk 25: Tre fruar i Småland*, ed. Lars Burman (Stockholm: Vitterhetssamfundet, 1998), 287. The novel *Tre fruar i Småland* [*The Three Wives of Småland*] (1842–43) was translated into German as *Drei Frauen in Smaland* (Stuttgart, 1844), but to my knowledge, there is no English translation. All translations from this volume are therefore my own.

different ways of making sense of the geography of Palestine may seem contrary to one another, but, in fact, they both form part of the same re-signification of the Jerusalem code.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the re-signification of the Jerusalem code in mid-nineteenth-century literature by Bremer and Almqvist, focusing on three traditional *topoi*: Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the Holy Land as the landscape of the soul, and the heavenly city as the model for utopian societies. As the epistemological regimes of modernity provided a new theoretical underpinning, these *topoi* were redefined. Originally, different aspects of the same storyworlds of Christian salvation history, pilgrimage, the landscape of the soul, and Utopia began to diverge; eventually constituting different fields of knowledge. The Jerusalem code was cracking. The examples by Bremer and Almqvist will allow for a study of some of the mechanisms of the splitting process. In particular, I will discuss the impact of the new academic discipline of comparative geography, represented by one of the German founders, Carl Ritter (1779–1859). Using Christian salvation history as a meta-theory for explaining the surface of the earth, Ritter's concept of geography relied on an allegorical interpretation. At the time, the allegorical notion of geography had a great influence, and an examination will clarify how the Jerusalem code simultaneously produced, and was re-signified, by new epistemic regimes. An earlier Swedish traveller to Palestine, the minister at the Swedish legation to Constantinople, Jacob Berggren (1790–1868), who spent two and a half months in the Holy Land in 1821, provides a point of reference for the displacement of the Jerusalem code. The problem addressed in the following chapter is thus: how was the Jerusalem code re-signified through the encompassing of new epistemological regimes and political demands in mid-nineteenth century Swedish literature?

First, I will analyse the allegorical geography in Bremer's travel book *Travels in the Holy Land* (1862) and discuss her critical method of reassigning significance to pilgrimage sites in contrast to Jacob Berggren's older epistemological framework. Second, the analysis will show how the Jerusalem code was not only redefined by, but also produced the prerequisites for new epistemologies, as Christian salvation history functioned as a meta-theory for the human sciences. Third, two novels by Almqvist will provide examples of the landscape of the soul in the process of transforming into the modern science of psychology, as the emphasis is displaced from heaven to the human body. Finally, the Jerusalem code activated in the construction of fictive societies that were informed by Utopian Socialism will be analysed.

Despite the fact that Almqvist repeatedly attacked Bremer in the press, they had many things in common.³ Rooted in Romanticism, they created the Swedish

³ Lars Burman, *Tre fruvar och en mamsell: Om C.J.L. Almqvists tidiga 1840-talsromaner* (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 1998).

indigenous realistic novel – that is, Bremer created it and Almqvist followed.⁴ More importantly, with regard to the issue at hand, they were both Christian Liberals, influenced by Utopian Socialism, and committed to the idea of building God’s kingdom on earth.⁵ Though their religious inclinations were unorthodox, they shared an ambivalent attitude towards the Revivalist movement. Bremer approved of the sentimentality and the idea of turning away from earthly pleasures, but abhorred intolerance and deemed Revivalists hopelessly stuck on the letter of the Bible.⁶ The Moravians, on the other hand, she considered to be “the most liberal of the Christian sects within the Lutheran church,” and she admired them for educating women and for letting the principle of love overrule eternal punishment.⁷ The long-standing influence of the Moravians – and even more so of the Swedish scientist and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) – on Almqvist’s authorship will be highlighted in the analysis. Swedenborg’s belief in rationality and his mysticism had an early impact on Bremer as well.⁸ Her ecumenicalism was extraordinary for her time.⁹ In fact, one of her main objectives for travelling around the world was to study different Christian denominations, including their organizations and spiritual life. In her travel book on Palestine, *Travels in the Holy Land* (1862), this task was expanded to include an understanding of the history of the human race. This scientific undertaking was of paramount importance for how the Jerusalem code was re-signified.

4 Birgitta Holm, *Fredrika Bremer och den borgerliga romanens födelse* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1981).

5 See Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–49; Inger Hammar, “Kvinnokall och kvinnosak: Några nedslag i 1800-talets debatt om genus, medborgarskap och offentlighet,” in *Kvinnor på gränsen till medborgarskap: Genus, politik och offentlighet 1800–1950*, eds. by Christina Florin and Lars Kvarnström (Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 2001); Inger Hammar, “Fredrika Bremers *Morgon-väckter*: En provokation mot rådande genusordning,” in *Mig törstar! Studier i Fredrika Bremers spår*, eds. by Åsa Arping and Birgitta Ahlmo-Nilsson (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2001); Anders Burman, *Politik i sak: C.J.L. Almqvists samhällstänkande 1839–1851* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2005); Edvard Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen: Nils Ignell – Viktor Rydberg – Pontus Wikner* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1935).

6 Olle Bergquist, *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud: Studier i Fredrika Bremers religiositet och författarskap* (Skellefteå: Artos bokförlag, 1995), 53–4; Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen*, 27.

7 Fredrika Bremer, letter to Caroline Frumerie 17.02.1863, in Fredrika Bremer, *Fredrika Bremers Brev IV*, eds. Klara Johanson and Ellen Kleman (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1920), 253. See also Bremer, *Fredrika Bremers Brev IV*, 220, 261–2; Bergquist, *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 72–5. Late in life, Bremer visited Herrnhut and the Swiss Moravian colony of Neu Dietendorff, and she also planned a stay in the Danish settlement named Christiansfeld. See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammershøy), 117–25.

8 On Swedenborg, see Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85. On Bremer’s contact with Swedenborg’s teachings, see Bergquist *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 50–5, 85–90.

9 Torsten Bohlin, “Fredrika Bremer och kyrkoläran,” *Årsbok för kristen humanism* 28 (1966).



Fig. 18.2: Fredrika Bremer's travel cutlery. Travelling in the Holy Land as a European lady in the mid-nineteenth century required equipment of different sorts; for example, bringing your own cutlery. The Bremer Collection at Årsta Castle, Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier (The Årsta Association for Fredrika Bremer Studies). Photo by Lina Stenqvist.

The Mount of Olives – the Navel of the World

Fredrika Bremer (Fig. 18.1) never intended to become a pilgrim. As a Protestant, she repeatedly claimed, “Whether it were exactly here or there is of little importance to the spiritual mind.”¹⁰ Nevertheless, while travelling in southern Europe, she felt an overwhelming inner need to visit the Holy Land. She arrived in Jerusalem in January 1859 and stayed for five months. By 1859, Bremer's novels, translated into several languages, were famous all over the Western world, and she was already an experienced traveller. Ten years earlier, she had embarked on a two-year visit to America and Cuba, resulting in a travelogue, *Hemmen i den Nya Verlden* (1853–1854), published in an English translation even before all the three volumes were published in Swedish, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of*

¹⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 136.

America (1853).¹¹ The journey to southern Europe and Palestine, and back again through Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Germany would last nearly five years (1856–1861), and the travel book *Lifvet i gamla världen [Life in the Old World]* (1860–1862) would encompass three large volumes.¹² The second volume became the most popular and was translated into English under the title *Travels in the Holy Land* (published in two volumes), as well as into French, German, and Dutch.¹³ As it had been to so many pilgrims before her, Jerusalem was a disappointment to Bremer. Her chief complaint about the Ottoman rule of Palestine was that Islam did not encourage the construction of the kingdom of God on earth. In her view, Muslims spent their lives waiting for Paradise after life instead of making it real during life, which was why the whole region had turned into a barren wasteland.¹⁴ I will return to how the Celestial City of Revelation informed her nation-building project back in Sweden, but I will first examine her redefinition of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site.

One night late in March, Bremer and her friend stayed the night in the tower by the mosque at the top of the Mount of Olives, guarded by the sheik and his wife. Bremer wanted to see the sun rise over the Holy Land. This moment calls for an extensive quotation, as the description of the sunrise suggests an allegorical explanation of geography. The skies were cloudy, which enabled them to watch the sun without hurting their eyes:

All the more *symbolic and significant*, therefore, appeared to me this sunrise. And softly and mildly, but with ever brightening light, ascended the king of the day above the mountains, above the waters of the Dead Sea and the Valley of Jordan, which became visible below from this point as I had never seen it before – the wild, rocky desert of Judea. Jerusalem, with its beautiful temple-square and grey masses of houses, its verdant hills on the south and on the west, the dark olive-groves outside the Damascus gate on the north, *stood forth in bold relief from the shadows* in the glory of the morning sun. Ever wider and wider became the circumference of the scene which was lit up by the sunlight to our gaze, and *ever more extensive was the sphere occupied by our thought*, farther than our eyes could follow from the mountain of Palestine – this mountain, upon which “He will destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations” [Bremer referenced Isa 15:7] – to the lands of Europe and Africa, and beyond the

11 Fredrika Bremer, *Hemmen i den Nya Verlden: En dagbok i bref, skrifna under tvenne års resor i Norra Amerika och på Cuba I–III* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1853–1854); Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co, 1853).

12 Fredrika Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen: Dagboks-anteckningar under resor i Söder- och Österland I–III* (Stockholm & Uppsala: Adolf Bonnier, 1860–1862).

13 Carina Burman and Lars Burman, “Kommentarer och ordförklaringar,” in Fredrika Bremer, *Livet i gamla världen: Palestina* (Stockholm: Svenska Akademien & Bokförlaget Atlantis, 1995), 406.

14 Anna Bohlin, “Jerusalem in Every Soul: Temporalities of Faith in Fredrika Bremer’s and Harriet Martineau’s Travel Narratives of Palestine,” in *Time and Temporalities in European Travel Writing*, eds. Paula Henrikson and Christina Kullberg (London and New York: Routledge, 2021).

sea, to that *distant part of the world where all the people and all the fruits of the other world's quarters come together*; where, perhaps, the noblest fruits of the light may ripen . . .¹⁵

Protestant pilgrims usually preferred (and still prefer) to imagine Jesus, walking beside them in the landscape, rather than visiting Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches and shrines.¹⁶ In Charles Lock's study of British Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century, he calls the preference for the open landscape over monuments "aesthetic idolatry": the sublime nature provides the proper site for worship.¹⁷ The quotation above, however, is not merely an aestheticized landscape for experiencing the presence of Jesus. Nor is it just a pedagogical trick to vivify and memorialize the cartographic picture of the Holy Land. This representation of a sunrise is informed by the then brand-new scientific discipline of comparative geography and aims to be a contribution to understanding world history.

Bremer alerts the reader to pay attention to the "symbolic" significance, and the richly embellished description of the contrast between "the wild, rocky desert" and the "beautiful temple-square"; the even, "verdant" hills of Jerusalem, boldly standing out against the shadows, should therefore not go unnoticed.¹⁸ Neither should the imagery of power over territory. The sunlight widens "the circumference of the scene" and encourages the mind to move beyond what is perceptible to the eye to conquer the world: "ever more extensive was the sphere occupied by our thought."¹⁹ In her mind,

15 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I*, 213–4, my italics. "Desto mera symbolisk och betydande synes mig denna soluppgång. Och sakta och mild, men med klarande sken steg dagens kung öfver bergen, öfver Döda hafvets vatten och Jordans dal, som derunder blef åskådlig härifrån, som jag aldrig sett den förr. Judeas vilda bergsöken, Jerusalem med dess sköna tempelpplats och grå husmassor, dess grönskande kullar i söder och vester, de dunkla olivlundarne utom Damascus-porten i norr, framstodo i skarp relief ur skuggorna i morgonsolens glans. Allt vidare blef den krets, som solstrålarne upplyste för våra blickar, och än vidare följde dem våra tankar dit våra ögon ej längre kunde nå, från Palestinas berg – dessa berg, på hvilka bortläggas skulle svepeklädet, hvarmed allt folk besvept är [Bremer's ref.: Es.: kap. 25] – till Europas och Afrikas länder och bortom hafvet till den fjerran verldsdel, der alla verldsdelars folk och frukter komma tillsammans, der kanske ännu ljusets ädlaste frukter skola mogna. . . ." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 171.

16 Glenn Bowman, "Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Charles Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone: One Way to be a Pilgrim," in *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. Simon Coleman and John Elsner (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003); see also Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29, Chapter 21 (Magnus Bremmer), 430–45.

17 Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone". For an extended discussion on the importance of the aesthetic impression in Bremer's travel book on Palestine, see Anna Bohlin, "Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet," in *Fiktion och verklighet: Mångvetenskapliga möten*, eds. Anna Bohlin and Lena Gemzöe (Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2016).

18 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I*, 213.

19 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I*, 214.

Bremer follows the sun even across the sea to America, “where all the people and all the fruits of the other world’s quarters come together.”²⁰ What might seem like a casual fantasy on the growing migration to America had, in fact, the utmost importance for Bremer: to her, this was God’s plan for humankind. She was not alone in this belief. It was supported by, among others, the German geographer Carl Ritter, and choosing the pivotal moment of the sunrise also echoed his scientific works.

Ritter argued that history lies *within* nature; history needs to be supplemented by geography just as geography needs history to be properly understood. Earth and Man constitute one, big organism guided by God, according to his ground-breaking work published in 19 volumes, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* (1817–1859).²¹ As opposed to earlier climate theories by Montesquieu and Herder, Ritter claimed that the interaction between topography and human culture encouraged people to move at certain times; different landscapes were beneficial to different stages of the progress of mankind.²² Culture moves and geography provided a Christian teleological explanation for migrations. The words used by Ritter for “western” and “eastern” countries were *Abend-* and *Morgenlande* [Evening- and Morning Land], common notions at the time. For Ritter, they contained a literal meaning: the course of the sun indicated the direction of human progress from East to West. Europe was the Occident in relation to the Asian Orient, and it was transforming into the new Orient in relation to America, which was becoming the new Occident. Then, in due course, America itself became the Orient as the initiative for cultural development crossed the Pacific Ocean – an evolutionary version of the medieval *translatio imperii*.²³ This was the scientific underpinning of Bremer’s view of the sunrise. The site, the Mount of Olives, was no less randomly picked; in the quotation above, she indicates its importance for revelation with a Bible quote from Isaiah.

²⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 214.

²¹ Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen der allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* [A Study of the Earth in its Relationships with Nature and the History of Man, or General Comparative Geography as Sound Foundations for the Study and Teaching of Physical and Historical Sciences], *Theil XV. Palästina und Syrien I* (Berlin: Reimer, 1850), 6–7.

²² Andreas Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859): Naturphilosophie und Geographie. Erkenntnistheoretische Überlegungen, Reform der Geographie und mögliche heutige Implikationen* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 53–8.

²³ Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859)*, 47–9. For a discussion on *translatio imperii* and *translatio templi*, see Chapter 3 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 1, 49–55. Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem, with an edition and translation of the Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae (BAV Reg. Lat. 712)*, in *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2019), 11–9.

Bremer enthusiastically refers to Ritter as she explains the “peculiar position” of Palestine as an act of “Providence.” The divine plan is “evident,” she claims, in Palestine’s

separation, by means of the desert and the sea – by a coast containing no harbour – from the surrounding great cultivated nations . . . at the same time also by its relationship to them through its connexion with the three great divisions of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Thus sundered, thus isolated by nature as that country must be which is intended to serve as the fostering home of the elect son of Providence – . . . it must at the same time lie so near to the great cultivated nations, the great paths of diffusion, that when the time was come, the Gospel might find ways open into all lands, east, north, south, and west, and thus from little Palestine to the very ends of the earth.²⁴

Bremer explicitly relates the topographical peculiarities, ensuring the spread of the Gospel, to the Great Commission in the version provided in the Gospel of Mark. The landscape is prefigured by God’s plan, announced in the Gospels, just as the New Testament is prefigured by the Old; I have therefore called Bremer’s operation of attributing meaning to the landscape, backed up by Ritter, “allegorical geography.” “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature” (Mark 16:15) – the far-reaching view over the landscape, as Bremer notes, “in the central point, in short, of all the parts of the earth” proves the Mount of Olives to be the correct site for the utterance.²⁵ This was the reason for watching the sunrise from this spot. To a Protestant such as Bremer, in an era of expanding missionary work all over the world, the Great Commission granted Christianity superiority over all other religions: in her view, Christianity aspired at universality and might, therefore, unite humankind in one family of God. The sunrise indicated the progress of the entire human race to be God’s plan, inscribed in nature, transforming Orient to Occident as the sun shed light over the different parts of the planet. Redefined within a nineteenth-century framework of the Christian notion of evolution and Ritter’s allegorical concept of geography, the Mount of Olives is indeed the navel of the world.

24 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I*, 273–4. “Den försynens plan, som tydligt röjer sig i Palestinas egendomliga läge, så väl i dess afskildhet medelst öknen och hafvet, – vid en kust utan hamnar – ifrån de rundtom liggande, stora kultur-folken . . . såsom ock i dess förbindelse med dem genom dess sammanhang med de trenne verldsdelarne Asien, Afrika och Europa. Så afskildt, så genom naturen isoleradt måste det land ligga, som skall tjena till uppfostrande hem åt försynens utkorade son, det Israel . . . så nära måste det ock ligga de stora kultur-folken och vägarne, på det att, när tiden var kommen, evangelium måtte finna öppnade vägar till alla länder i öster, nord, söder och vester, och så ifrån det lilla Palestina ‘allt intill världenes ändar.’” Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 217–8.

25 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I*, 123.

The Battle over the Holy Sepulchre

Exactly how allegorical geography displaced the Jerusalem code may be clarified by a comparison with the minister Jacob Berggren. Even though he was contemporary with Bremer, he relied on an older concept of geography and the earlier Protestant distinction between scientific research on the Holy Land on the one hand and pilgrimage on the other. Bremer's allegorical geography entailed a different approach. The great importance Bremer attributed to the Mount of Olives did not involve the legend claiming that the last footprint of Jesus was preserved in the rock. Like many of her Protestant contemporaries, she ridiculed most traditions and religious practices performed by Christians of other denominations.²⁶ In fact, she elaborated a critical method for reassigning significance to pilgrimage sites.

Starting with a report on non-Protestant pilgrims' rituals, she moves on to dismiss the location by presenting scientific evidence, often from modern Biblical archaeology. In the third and final step, a new and allegorical meaning is attributed to the site. The Via Dolorosa was obviously not the original route but had all the same a "dramatic interest" for Bremer, as "this long, narrow way, with its dark stations of suffering" reminds the pilgrim of the painful way of life deliberately chosen by Christ.²⁷ Whether Jesus truly recalled Lazarus from death is a matter of no consequence – what is important, however, is the fact that Jesus cried and showed God's compassion with human suffering. "Amongst these rocks," Bremer writes, "a circumstance occurred which revealed the heart and the power of our Lord."²⁸ She goes on: "For me, the tears of Jesus have sanctified the soil of Bethany."²⁹ The critical method ends up re-inscribing holiness as an emotional quality containing theological truth.

By the time Bremer visited Jerusalem in 1859, "Evangelical, thinking men," as she called them, had recently found what they perceived to be the true Calvary. Bremer was convinced that this was indeed the case, not by archaeological evidence or the authority of the learned men, but by the "affecting symbolism" of the place.³⁰ The site was separated from Jerusalem, but had a view on the Mount of Olives. Bremer

²⁶ Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone"; Ruth Hummel and Thomas Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred: English Protestant and Russian Orthodox Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995); Dan Landmark, "Pilgrimsresan berättad: Om svenska resenärer i det Heliga Landet," in *Svenska överord: En bok om gränslöshet och begränsningar*, ed. Raoul Granqvist (Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1999), 171.

²⁷ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 174. "Det dramatiska intresset för mig, ligger i karakteren af denna långa trånge väg med sina mörka smärtstationer . . ." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 139.

²⁸ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 136. "bland dessa klippor, i denna omgifning tilldrog sig ett uppträde, som uppenbarade Jesu hjerta och Jesu kraft." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 108.

²⁹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 137. "För mig hafva Jesu tårar helgat Bethaniens jord." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 109. For an extended discussion on Bremer's critical method, see Bohlin, "Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet".

³⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* II, 57.

supposed that Jesus' most cherished memories were connected to the Mount of Olives, where he wandered with his disciples and enjoyed happy moments with the siblings in Bethany. In his utter suffering, his view would have been on the beauty of life. This was the significance of the place because to Bremer, this was the meaning of the Passion. She was concerned with reconfiguring historical events as the spiritual meaning of contemporary sights. However, whereas the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may indeed have served as an important site for worshipping the memory of the death of Christ, according to Bremer, the site could not convey any truth. Based on learned men's arguments and her own inspection of the surroundings from the balcony of her hotel, she claimed that the location was simply wrong.³¹

Nearly forty years earlier, the minister at the Swedish legation in Constantinople, Jacob Berggren, adopted the opposite approach on his visit to Palestine. He conducted a research trip to Syria, Egypt and Palestine, which resulted in a three-volume travel book, *Resor i Europa och österländerne [Travels in Europe and in the East]*, (1826–1828).³² Berggren spoke several languages, including Arabic, and would later publish a study on the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. As an eyewitness, Josephus was Berggren's chief guide in Palestine, as the latter had no problem accepting the authority of ancient sources and faithfully reported on all kinds of religious traditions.

The one holy site that caused the most controversy and indignation in nineteenth-century travel books and geographical accounts was by far the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The proportions of the battle over the location of Golgatha and the Tomb would grow as the century proceeded. Berggren, for his part, expressed utter contempt for those who questioned the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and strongly suspected that the reason for disbelieving the tradition was pure vanity and taking pleasure in doubt.³³ He presented a three-fold argument in favour of the Church's correct location: the unanimous testimony of Josephus (the most reliable source), the Bible and the Church Fathers; a living tradition based on the claim that Jerusalem was never closed to Christians for a long period of time; and, finally, landmarks constituted by heathen Roman idols placed on sites of worship. The Roman

³¹ Bremer *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 89.

³² Jacob Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* I–III (Stockholm: Sam. Rumstedt, 1826–1829). I am indebted to Paula Henrikson for directing my attention to Berggren. Henrikson is currently working on a study on Berggren. On Berggren's travel to Palestine, see also Robert Murray, *Till Jorsala: Svenska färder under tusen år* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1969), 182–200.

³³ Jacob Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II (Stockholm: Sam. Rumstedt, 1826–1829), 477. Vilhelm [Wilhelm] Fredrik Palmblad's textbook *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning [Palestine. A geographical, archaeological and historical description]*, (1823) was Berggren's main case in point, as Palmblad followed Edward Daniel Clarke in arguing that the Tomb of Christ must have been elsewhere. Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning* (Uppsala: Palmblad & co., 1823), 29–37. Murray notes: "Berggren, in many respects, was the last representative of old-time travellers to the Holy Land." Murray, *Till Jorsala*, 200. My translation.

idols would have made it easy for the empress Helena to find the right spot.³⁴ Tradition must be trusted. Berggren still retained this view several decades later, only the discussion had intensified and he had found a new antagonist.

At the same time Bremer published her travel book on Palestine, Berggren published a renewed defence of the location of the Holy Sepulchre in German, and his new chief adversary is clearly stated in the title: *Bibel und Josephus über Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab wider Robinson und neuere Sionspilger als Anhang zu Reisen im Morgenlande* (1862).³⁵ Robinson and Smith's *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1841) had a major impact on research on the Holy Land; for example, the book was enthusiastically referred to throughout Ritter's account of Palestine in *Die Erdkunde* as well as in a popular Swedish textbook, *Palaestina*, published by Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad.³⁶ Berggren, on the other hand, considered Robinson to show a serious lack of judgement, which was explained by his inability to properly pay attention when visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁷

On entering the Church for the first time, Berggren had an outburst of feeling; a rare moment in his travel book.³⁸ The gold, myrrh, and oil lamps – he was emotionally overwhelmed by everything that Bremer coldly dismissed as “a childish spectacle of a tasteless and false character.”³⁹ Bremer's feelings were, on the contrary, aroused by the olive trees in Gethsemane, possibly connected to the very trees at the time of Jesus, as olive trees regrow from the roots of older trees. She felt no inclination to bend the knee and kiss the stone known as the navel of the world in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but she did have a hard time restraining herself from kissing and embracing the old olive trees. The description amounted to an allegorical interpretation of the trees as representing Christ: the twisted trunks were grieving faces, offering shelter and bearing bitter fruits that, in the end, turn into life-giving oil.⁴⁰ Bremer's most emotional response to the Passion of Christ was not before the cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre but before the olive trees. Allegorical interpretation and organical material took precedence over written and oral tradition. Berggren, on

³⁴ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 377, 382, 474–5.

³⁵ Jacob Berggren, *Bibel und Josephus über Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab wider Robinson und neuere Sionspilger als Anhang zu Reisen im Morgenlande* (Lund: Verlag des Verfassers, 1862).

³⁶ On Robinson and Smith, see Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27. Palmblad stated in the preface to the third edition of *Palaestina*, issued in 1842, that Robinson and Smith's work had necessitated a comprehensive revision of the original text. Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archaeologisk och historisk beskrifning*, 3rd ed. (Uppsala: P.M. Lindhs Förlag, 1842), V.

³⁷ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 235, 244.

³⁸ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 498.

³⁹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 113.

⁴⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* II:I, 96. For an extended discussion on Bremer's interpretation of the olive trees, see Bohlin, “Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet”.

the other hand, disposed of Gethsemane in a few lines, noting that rosaries for the Catholics were manufactured from the olive-pips.⁴¹

The differences between Bremer's and Berggren's accounts are clearly an issue of epistemological regimes – of whether truth is found in ancient texts and traditions or in the findings of the modern sciences, such as archaeology and geography. Furthermore, Berggren's travel book shows an obsession with measuring: lengths, depths, and breadths are meticulously estimated concerning everything from distances between cities to details in buildings, seemingly for no other reason than measurement itself. His idea of scientific research was informed by what Michel Foucault labelled the *classical episteme*, characterized by taxonomic ordering, whereas, in Foucault's terms, the *modern episteme* structured Bremer's thought; featuring Man as simultaneously subject for and object of scientific knowledge.⁴² These opposing epistemologies are also reflected in their different concepts of geography. Whereas Bremer adhered to Ritter's new ideas of geography as the study of the surface of the earth, theorized as salvation history, Berggren's account was informed by the older concept of geography, focusing the state as the object of study.⁴³ Geography, as statistics on inhabitants, climate, industries, and political circumstances, forms the basis of the narrative, and the historical account keeps the perspective of the state throughout. Consequently, Berggren did not end his history, as Bremer did, with Jesus but quoted

⁴¹ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 517. Yet another approach is represented by the Finnish Orientalist Georg August Wallin (1811–1852), who went to Egypt in the 1840s to examine Arabic dialects and the teachings of the Wahhabis and travelled in Palestine in the spring of 1847. As he had adopted Arabic dress and posed as a Muslim, he was able to regularly pray in the Al-Aqsa Mosque, otherwise closed to Christians at the time (unless granted a special permission by the Pasha, as Bremer was on her visit in 1859). Whether Wallin truly converted to Islam or not is unclear. He had completed a pilgrimage to Mecca, and in Jerusalem, he visited many Christian pilgrimage sites, including frequent visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In Jerusalem, he socialized with the German Consul as well as with Muslim Sheikhs. According to his travel notes and letters, his main issues with the Christian shrines were the typically Protestant complaints about the disturbing religious practices of non-Protestant Christians. On the Mount of Olives, on the other hand, he experienced religious emotions, and therefore deemed it a proper Christian place of worship. In his travel notes, there is no discussion of the correct locations of shrines, nor does the view from the Mount of Olives carry any allegorical significance. Obviously, Jerusalem as a site had no scientific value for Wallin, other than it being yet another place to study the Arabic dialects and characteristics of the people, whereas for Berggren and Bremer alike, the site was of paramount importance, although interpreted according to different conceptions of the Jerusalem code. Georg August Wallin, *Skrifter 4: Färderna till Mekka och Jerusalem 1845–1847* (Helsinki and Stockholm: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2017), 153–210, 326–90. I am grateful to Patricia Berg for suggesting Wallin to me.

⁴² See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50; Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966).

⁴³ Hanno Beck, *Carl Ritter. Genius der Geographie: Zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1979), 21–5; Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859)*, 15–26.

at length, for example, the Arabic historian Omad-el Dîn on Saladin's victory in 1187.⁴⁴ In Bremer's understanding of God's plan for humankind, displayed as the surface of the earth, the Jewish nation had a vital importance indeed, but the state did not.

The classicist epistemological regime had implications for the Jerusalem code, especially in Protestant countries such as Sweden, where, on the one hand, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was prohibited after the Reformation and on the other, travels to Palestine for scientific purposes were encouraged.⁴⁵ Berggren basically upheld this distinction between research and faith, making sense of the Holy Land in keeping with his classicist approach to scientific knowledge. However, when religious feelings did overwhelm him, for example, upon seeing Jerusalem at a distance for the first time, he interestingly enough expressed his emotions in the words of the Catholic Torquato Tasso's poem on the Crusades.⁴⁶ In fact, Berggren repeatedly quotes from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), and the crusades are evoked throughout the narrative.⁴⁷ In Bremer's travel book, the crusades are not even mentioned. Collapsing faith and rationality, and following Ritter in applying Christian salvation history as a meta-theory, Bremer is an example of the new human sciences, which placed Man in a double position as both empirical object and transcendental subject.⁴⁸ This enterprise also encompassed relating the different kinds of inquiry regarding Man to each other. For Bremer and Almqvist, as for many of their contemporaries, the common meta-theory was Christian salvation history. The Jerusalem code was re-signified in accordance with new epistemological regimes but was also active in producing the very same epistemologies.

44 Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 329–32.

45 See the introduction to this volume, Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50; and Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 2, 12–48.

46 Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 342. Still, on entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he sticks to a psalm by Johan Olof Wallin, later archbishop of the Swedish Church.

47 Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* was translated into Swedish in 1798 by G. J. Adlerbeth, and became very popular. Almqvist still refers to the names of Tasso's protagonists as a marker of chivalric virtues in the novel *Syster och bror* as late as 1847, and clearly expects his readers to recognize the source without pointing it out. In *Lycksalighetens ö* (1824) by Per Daniel Amadeus [P.D.A.] Atterbom (1790–1855), *Gerusalemme liberata* has a vital function in the plot. Furthermore, the Romantic poets did use the crusades as a theme – for example in Atterbom's *Fågel Blå*, published in different versions from 1814 to 1858, enacted on Cyprus with the former King of Jerusalem as one of the characters, still engaged in war with the Muslims. The shift from other religious systems to Christianity was a central issue for Romantic poets and historians alike. Urban Josefsson, "*Det romantiska tidehvarvet*": *De svenska romantikernas medeltidsuppfattning* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002), 155–80. For a discussion on the conception of the crusades in late nineteenth-century Scandinavian culture, see Chapter 28 (Torild Gjesvik), 550–77.

48 "Car le seuil de notre modernité n'est pas situé au moment où on a voulu appliquer à l'étude de l'homme des méthodes objectives, mais bien le jour où s'est constitué un doublet empirico-transcendantal qu'on a appelé l'homme." Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 330.

Geography – Mythology – Philology – History

In the middle of Bremer's travel narrative of Palestine, there is a section on the Old Testament history of the Jewish people – not unusual for a nineteenth-century travel book on the Holy Land – but in this case, an even larger section follows on the old peoples and religions of Asia. Bremer quotes several pages verbatim from Ritter's introduction to the exposition on Asia, providing a geographical underpinning of the philologists' conclusion that Sanskrit was the original language and that Asia therefore must be the original home of mankind. "Asia, and Central Asia alone, and no other country whatever, could be the great fostering home of the childhood of the human race," Ritter contends.⁴⁹ His introduction ends with a statement, starkly reminiscent of his background in Romanticist philosophy (which Bremer quotes): "There exists in every western country a memory of an eastern country, as of its childhood and first youth, as well as a yearning towards it as to a primeval home . . ." ⁵⁰ For Bremer, the quotations from Ritter formed a point of departure for her reflections on the progress of religions. Geography, world history, the history of religious myths – they were all part and parcel of the same inquiry into Man's relationship with God.

Bremer's purpose was to recognize ancient Asian peoples as her "brothers" and to appreciate the significance of different nations as limbs belonging to the same organism, namely, the great family of humanity. In Jerusalem, she studied not only the Old Testament afresh but also documents of several world religions in search of God's plan as world history. Quoting Zoroaster, Lao-Tseu, Confucius, the five Commandments of Buddhism and some of the other teachings of Buddhism as well as the Quran, she separated what she perceived to be superstition and morally deficient attitudes from the fruitful seeds that would eventually lead to Christianity. In this account, progress is instigated by God's voice, perceptible in the conscience, which she calls "that innermost sanctuary."⁵¹ Ultimately, this account of world history results in a welcoming attitude towards Western imperialistic interest in Palestine.⁵²

An even more ambitious attempt at giving an account of world history inspired by Ritter was made by Almqvist twenty years earlier in *Menniskoslägtets saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi* [*The Saga of Mankind, or General World History in Connection with Geography*] (1839–1841).⁵³ Almqvist's grand idea

⁴⁹ Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde* II (Berlin: Reimer, 1832), 84; Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 316.

⁵⁰ Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen der allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* II, 84; Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 317.

⁵¹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 324.

⁵² For a discussion on imperialism in Bremer's travel narrative, see Bohlin, "Jerusalem in Every Soul".

⁵³ C. J. L. Almqvist, *Samlade Verk 19: Menniskoslägtets Saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi*, ed. Jon Viklund (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2002). Ritter's ideas were acknowledged in Sweden at an early stage. As early as 1819, the poet Atterbom wrote about the first two

was to present the geography of the entire world in relation to an analysis of political systems, backed up by the history of all religious myths. Out of the planned four parts, Almqvist managed to complete only the first on Asia.⁵⁴ The text was basically compiled from a few sources, among them Ritter's *Die Erdkunde*.⁵⁵ In the preface, Almqvist draws up the contours of the project completely in line with Ritter's argument. His own addition consists of etymological hypotheses to corroborate the idea that all ancient sagas and myths reflect common events in ancient human history—hypotheses that he willingly admits might not prove to be entirely true. For example, the phonetic likeness of mythological names connects the Indian Bali and the Syrian Bal to the Biblical Abel, the Ancient Greek Apollon, the Gallic Bellen and the Old Norse Baldr to a common original myth of a murder. Thus, the very sounds suggested a possible historical truth for Almqvist.⁵⁶ The response from the academic community was silence.⁵⁷ His second original contribution to the compilation consisted of a Swedenborgian allegorical interpretation of the Bible, which did not help to convince his fellow liberal publicists that *The Saga of Mankind* would further their cause.⁵⁸

Almqvist's authorship displays, in a conspicuous way, one aspect of how the cracking of the Jerusalem code was set in motion. Starting out as a true disciple of the Swedish eighteenth-century scientist and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and envisioning the New Jerusalem and a future theocracy, Almqvist ended up a journalist writing for the liberal press and a fierce promoter of societal reforms. In his youth, he was introduced to the Moravian Brethren in Stockholm by his grandfather and stayed in contact with people from a Moravian background; it has been suggested that women's prominent position among the Moravians inspired Almqvist's support of women's emancipation.⁵⁹ Almqvist's turn from stressing inner and moral reform to the demand of legal reforms and societal change happened in the late 1830s, at the same

parts of *Die Erdkunde* in a letter from Berlin to his friend and publisher W. F. Palmblad, who went on to publish a geography textbook on Palestine in 1823 in which he refers to Ritter on numerous occasions. Apparently, Palmblad's book was a success, as three editions of it were published over the next twenty years. P.D.A Atterbom letter to W.F. Palmblad 19.06.1819, in P. D. A. Atterbom, *Minnen från Tyskland och Italien* II, ed. Bengt Lewan (Stockholm: Svenska Akademien and Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2002), 656; Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning*.

54 Jon Viklund, "Inledning," in C.J.L. Almqvist, *Menniskoslägtets Saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi: Samlade Verk 19* (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2002), xix.

55 Almqvist used works by the mythologists Friedrich Creuzer and J.G. Rhode and the geographers Georg Hassel, Conrad Malte-Brun and Carl Ritter. Kurt Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet": *Samhällsanalys och historiespekulation: Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists författarskap åren kring 1840 I* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söners förlag, 1979), 132–6; Viklund, "Inledning," viii–ix.

56 Almqvist, Almqvist, *Samlade Verk 19*, 27–8.

57 Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet"; Viklund, "Inledning," xxiv.

58 Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet."

59 Burman, *Politik i sak*; Karin Westman Berg, *Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists kvinnouppfattning* (Göteborg: Akademiförlaget, 1962).

time he began to write as a journalist. This change of career was partly because his scandalous writings against the institution of marriage left him with no source of income other than the liberal press – he was dismissed from his position as headmaster for a school, failed to be appointed a professorship at the university and, though ordained in the Swedish church, failed to be assigned to a parish. Nevertheless, the turn from inner truth to legislation was obviously fuelled by a radicalization of the political landscape across Europe, not in the least by Utopian Socialism.⁶⁰

Swedenborg's influence continued throughout Almqvist's writing career, despite the political turn of his writings. In *Historiens idéer [The Ideas of History]* (1819), Almqvist (Fig. 18.4) faithfully followed Swedenborg in presuming five epochs of world history – or five “churches,” in Swedenborg's terminology.⁶¹ The purpose of the fifth church, the New Jerusalem, was to restore the innocence of the first church, the Adamitic church. Furthermore, the Moravian Brethren supposedly carried the tradition of the old, original Christianity, whose wisdom would be available to the new epoch. Almqvist claimed that the New Jerusalem began with Swedenborg himself, but also suggested the Romantic philosopher Friedrich von Schelling, the American War of Independence, and the French revolution to be earthly correspondences to the fifth church.⁶² In his theoretical writings of the 1840s, underpinning his Liberal politics, he still employed Swedenborgian allegorical Bible exegesis to make sense of history. Almqvist's account of the geography of the world in *The Saga of Mankind* starts with a paraphrasing of Genesis, and the political analysis is guided by Swedenborg's idea of Cain and Abel as a splitting moment in human history with repercussions in contemporary cultures. Societies are either characterized by “cainistic” violence, obedience, and stagnation (as in the case of China and, to some extent, Sweden) or by “abelistic” peacefulness, fantasy, and inner, poetic mobility (as in the case of the Hindus).⁶³ He adapted Swedenborg's five churches to Ritter's scheme of the progress of mankind; his object was now to fit together all kinds of religious myths, world history, and geography in the tradition of Romanticist natural philosophy.⁶⁴

The Christian teleological salvation history was still in place; the figure of the Jerusalem code remained, but the New Jerusalem had lost its name, relativized by

60 It might seem somewhat ironic that Almqvist's *Det går an* (1839), the novel that upset the authorities and started an agitated debate on the institution of marriage, was based on a Moravian apprehension of love as *unio mystica* and Swedenborg's concept of the true marriage as a holy community of souls, irrelevant to ecclesiastical and state authorities. Westman Berg, *Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists kvinnouppfattning*; Burman, *Politik i sak*.

61 Emanuel Swedenborg, *Nya Jerusalems lära om den Heliga skrift samt Nya Jerusalems lära om tron. Levernes-lära för Nya Jerusalem*. trans. C. J. N. Manby (Stockholm: Swedenborgsbiblioteket, 2011); see Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85.

62 Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*.” 31.

63 Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 28–9. Aspelin shows that the Cain myth was used in different ways by several Romantic writers such as Böhme and Wergeland. Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 157–62.

64 Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 21, 138–9.



Fig. 18.4: Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, painting attributed to Johan Gustaf Köhler, date unknown. The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm. Photo: Erik Cornelius, 2007.

Romantic philology in relation to other religious myths and by historical-critical interpretations of the Bible. The final vision of an earth-soul – a “universal unity” of humankind, “the spiritual life of our entire planet brought together as *one soul*” – was a perfect mix of Ritter’s conception of the Earth as an organism and Swedenborg’s idea of a *Homo maximus*, the physical covering of God at the end of times.⁶⁵ This was indeed a version of chiliasm, as Almqvist himself pointed out: humankind manifested as the soul of the earth, represented an evolutionistic redefinition of the Second Coming of Christ.⁶⁶

Not only was the Jerusalem code compatible with concepts that would become cornerstones of scientific developments up to the present day, such as evolu-

tion and the comparative study of religious myths and of languages. The Jerusalem code even furthered these ideas, as the Christian salvation history functioned as a meta-theory that allowed for the possibility of formulating the very concepts that would ultimately split the code. Traditional complex ideas pertaining to the Jerusalem code, such as chiliasm, the navel of the world, and *translatio imperii*, opened up for and were simultaneously redefined by the new epistemological regimes. However, the Jerusalem code continued to produce a moral meaning: the geography of the Holy Land as a metaphor for the soul.

⁶⁵ Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 9; “universal förening,” “hela vår planets andeliffs bringande till en själ.” See also Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 24, 174.

⁶⁶ Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 174–5.

The Geography of the Soul

Almqvist was a keen traveller. Although he never went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, one of his characters did. In the novel *Baron Julius K** (1835), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has a very different significance for the title character than it did for Berggren or Bremer.⁶⁷ The correct location is of no consequence, and the baron is even less preoccupied with critical methods. The controversy over modern epistemologies does not concern Baron Julius K*, because at the Holy Sepulchre, he visits the tomb of his own heart.⁶⁸ Almqvist follows an old Protestant tradition in valuing the inner pilgrimage over the physical journey.⁶⁹ In the novel, Baron Julius K* does indeed admit to travelling to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, but his travel narrative is characterized as an inner journey, and he motivates this Catholic practice in the same way Bremer does in her travel book. As Protestants, they claim to undertake a pilgrimage for the “right” reasons – not as what they consider to be an empty custom, but out of an inner need.⁷⁰ The baron seeks atonement for sins against his beloved Cecilia, but even though he travels all over the Holy Land, he does not find absolution. Significantly, he identifies Cecilia with Christ; Cecilia is the one he is looking for in the Palestinian landscape, “but Cecilia was not there, she was among the living.”⁷¹ The beloved body has thus taken the place of Christ, and it is only from Cecilia’s body, mediated through the eyes of her son, that the baron will receive forgiveness. Earthly love has become the model for heavenly love, not vice versa.

The encounter between the baron and Cecilia’s son takes place in Sweden, on the mountain Omberg in the province of Östergötland, but for the baron, Omberg is a miniature model of Carmel:

Carmel, just like this [Omberg], is not a high nor a very peaked mountain, but a wide and broad plateau, some hundred feet above the mirror of the sea. On the top, there is a captivating view far away over the Mediterranean in the West, just like we may here look upon our small middle sea, Vättern. If the lake Tåkern would be located farther away from us, I would compare it to Tiberias Lake or Lake of Gennesaret.⁷²

⁶⁷ C. J. L. Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” in *Samlade Verk 7*, ed. Bertil Romberg (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 1998).

⁶⁸ Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 123.

⁶⁹ Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 11–2; see also Simon Coleman and Jon Elsner, *Pilgrimage Past and Present: Sacred Travel and Sacred Space in the World Religions* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 80–1.

⁷⁰ Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 122, 107–8; Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, I:II, 203.

⁷¹ “Men Cecilia var ej der, hon var hos de lefvande.” Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 110. My translation.

⁷² “Carmel är, liksom detta, icke heller ett högt eller så spetsigt berg, utan en vid och bred plateau, några hundra fot hög öfver hafvets spegel. Deruppe har man en intagande utsigt långt bort öfver Medelhafvet åt vester, liksom vi här skåda öfver vårt lilla medelhaf, Wettern. Vore Tåkern belägen

It is no coincidence that the Holy Land, defined by its geographic characteristics, is projected upon the national landscape.⁷³ This is the proper site for redemption, according to Almqvist's novel. The beloved body and the Swedish nature will provide love and forgiveness that transcend earthly conditions and turn the national home into a representation of the Holy Land. On this spot, the baron may die redeemed of his sins and enter heaven.

The Palestinian landscape as the landscape of the soul was further developed some years later in the novel *Tre fruar i Småland* [*The Three Wives of Småland*] (1842–1843). In the chapter “Själens Geografi” [“The Geography of the Soul”], Almqvist draws on the traditional allegorical genre of psychomachia; the most famous work in this genre is, of course, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–1684) – another example of the Protestant preference for inner pilgrimage – but the genre was named after Prudentius' *Psychomachia* in the late fourth century.⁷⁴ However, the landscape of the soul in Almqvist's nineteenth-century version is neither a battleground for Virtues and Vices, as it was for Prudentius, nor is the landscape the manifestation of obstacles on the soul's journey to salvation, as it is in Bunyan's Valley of the Shadow of Death and The Hill Difficulty (Fig. 18.5). “The Geography of the Soul” is a full-fledged typological exposition in a Swedenborgian manner of Biblical history – encompassing Old as well as New Testament history – where different regions in Palestine represent different capacities of the human mind.

In our spirit, Emotion is the kingdom of Judea; Thought, the kingdom of Israel. Emotion holds the focal point of our spirit, which is belief in Eternity, and enthusiasm for God, the highest and holiest of manias: that is the capital, Jerusalem of our soul.⁷⁵

Psychological properties, spatially located, are the landscape for this particular nineteenth-century storyworld of salvation history, engaged in Biblical history.

Initially, emotions and rational thoughts were united, as was the Jewish Kingdom, Almqvist's narrator explains, but “Reflexion” split the soul, and to regain the original unity of salvation, the soul had to succumb to an agonizing history, prefigured by the

längre ifrån oss, så skulle jag jmföra den med Tiberias sjö eller Gennesaret.” Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 107. My translation.

⁷³ For a discussion of Almqvist's novel as national cartography, see Anna Bohlin, “Den svenska 1840-talsromanen som nationell kartografi,” *Samlaren* 137 (2016). For a discussion on place in *Baron Julius K**, see also Roland Lysell, “Solens gyldne kula. Påboda och Omberg: Platsens transformationer hos Almqvist,” *Almqvistiana* 34 (2012).

⁷⁴ On Bunyan, see Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition*, 187–95. On Prudentius and the genre psychomachia, see for example Ulf Olsson, *Levande död: Studier i Strindbergs prosa* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 1996), 314–7.

⁷⁵ “Känslan är Juda rike i vår ande; Tanken är Israels rike. I Känslan ligger vår andes medelpunkt, som är tron på det eviga, är entusiasmen för Gud, den högsta och heligaste manie: det är hufvudstaden, är Jerusalem i vår själ.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 287.



Fig. 18.5: *The Pilgrim's Progress* or Christians journey from the City of Destruction in this evil World to the Celestial City in the World that is to Come, 1813. Published by J. Pitts, London. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum. In this early nineteenth-century version, the Celestial City is clearly a depiction of the earthly Jerusalem. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–1684) enjoyed a continuous popularity in Sweden throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was issued in several different Swedish translations.

Bible. In an exegesis resembling a Catechism, Biblical history is interpreted as the history of the individual soul; the occupation of Jerusalem and captivity of its children represent the destruction of the soul by worldly forces. Jesus's movements between Bethlehem, Galilee and Jerusalem are attributed a major significance:

God was born in man in the part of the spirit, which is Emotion; he appears first in the most humble and despised region of Emotion; he reveals himself in deep humility and heart-broken sorrow. This is the Bethlehem of our soul. . . . Thereafter, he wanders into the space of our modes of Thought – that is Galilee, in Israel. He purifies, enlightens and sanctifies our notions,

delivers us sound principles and transforms our ideas. Ultimately, he returns to the home of Emotion – to the kingdom of Judea – to perform his work in the highest sense.⁷⁶

Christian salvation history is represented as Jesus wandering through and doing work on the capacities of the mind.

This extraordinary exegesis is presented in the novel by one of the titular three wives of Småland, whose status as allegorical personifications is spelled out: Poetry is weak on earth, but carries a heavenly hope and is strengthened by her friend Religion, who is endowed with an impressively rational mind. Of equally vital importance is their third friend, Practical Life, without whom Poetry and Religion would perish.⁷⁷ The three wives represent the Kantian epistemological categories with a Romanticist accent. Thus, the human mind is allegorized twice: as a basic division between emotion and thought in a typological allegory and as personifications of different epistemological qualities.⁷⁸ Obviously, what Almqvist's allegory is trying to come to terms with is Man rather than God. Needless to say, the wife who exposes the geography of the soul is Religion, who, apart from her geographical knowledge, also shows a remarkable knowledge of phrenology, the modern science that locates mental properties spatially, as Religion does in her interpretation of the Bible.⁷⁹

The objective of Almqvist's typological Bible exegesis is the development of the human subject. Even though geography has a different function from the allegorical geography of Bremer's travel book and Almqvist's *The Saga of Mankind*, the novel is clearly an example of the same shift of epistemological regimes: the establishment of the ambiguous position of Man as both the object of knowledge and the knowing subject.⁸⁰ The landscape of the soul, for centuries an essential *topos* of the storyworld of salvation history, took one step towards the modern science of psychology that would ultimately leave the Holy Land behind.⁸¹ By the 1840s,

76 "Gud födes hos menniskan i den del af dess ande, som är Känslan; i den ringaste och mest föraktade region af Känslan uppstår han först; i den djupa ödmjukhet och förkrosselse, som sorgen skänker, uppenbarar han sig. Det är i vår själs Bethlehem. . . . Så vandrar han derefter ut i våra Tankesätts rymd – det är i Galileen, i Israel. Han renar, lyser och helgar våra begrepp, gifver oss fasta grundsattser och förvandlar våra föreställningar. Slutligen återgår han igen till Känslans hem – till Juda rike – och han verkar här i sin högsta mening." Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 288.

77 Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 435–6.

78 On the distinction between typological allegory, which Auerbach calls "figural realism" and personification allegory, see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Task (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 195–8.

79 For a discussion on phrenology as a popular reference among British Owenite feminists in the mid-nineteenth century, see Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 22.

80 Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 323.

81 Historian Rob Boddice dates the emergence of comparative psychology as a discipline to the middle of the nineteenth century and highlights Alexander Bain's *The Emotions and the Will* (1859) as a ground-breaking work, not in the least because Bain detaches the study of psychology from

however, the geography of the soul was still identified with the Biblical landscape in Almqvist's novel and was key to another *topos* in activating the Jerusalem code: the utopian society.

The Heavenly City in Sweden

The model society envisioned by Almqvist in *The Three Wives of Småland* was not very detailed. However, he did attempt an elaborate plan for a new set of principles for the entire society, concretized in proposals for new legislation. From the late 1830s, he worked on his treatise titled *Europeiska missnöjets grunder* [*The Reasons for the European Malcontent*] (1850), eventually published within a literary framework in 1850, but the plan remained unfinished.⁸² The colony of Mariendal in *The Three Wives of Småland*, on the other hand, was a prison camp, but its purpose was expanded to encompass all humans: we are all sinners.

Swedenborg taught that criminality is a sickness in the soul that needs to be cured rather than punished – an idea that Almqvist embraced wholeheartedly.⁸³ The peasants in the novel are guilty of stealing as a last resort to feed their families. In Almqvist's view, the guilt therefore lies with the legal system that has prevented them from earning a livelihood. The ideal community is built in a desolate place in the middle of the province of Småland, where the criminals clear the forest, farm the land and build their own neat houses, taking comfort from the Bible. It might seem odd, though it is completely in line with Almqvist's general idea, that the three wives entrust their children's education to the supervisor, Alexander Medenberg, and his wife, Maria, living next to the prison camp. Medenberg makes a point by mixing with "the other criminals, our equals."⁸⁴

Although the "plan for the improvement of the fallen" is attributed to the Medenberg, he is inspired by Religion, who teaches him about the Fourierist Gatti

the soul: "Human bodies and human minds were in and of the world and, as such, subject to the world's influence." Hence, there was no longer any "need to account for the soul." Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 19.

⁸² C. J. L. Almqvist, "Europeiska missnöjets grunder," in *Samlade Verk 14. Törnrosens bok*, ed. Bertil Romberg (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2005). Following Luther, Almqvist understood society as consisting of three parts: 1) life in the family (regulating the relationship between man and woman), 2) life in the congregation (regulating the relationship between God and man – the foundation that made everything else possible), and 3) life in the state (regulating the relationship between the people and the government and providing the necessary means to perform the other parts). Almqvist, "Europeiska missnöjets grunder," 52.

⁸³ Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet", 32–3; Burman, *Politik i sak*, 39.

⁸⁴ Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 483.

de Gamond.⁸⁵ The phalanstery is “the greatest idea of the age to extinguish all spiritual and bodily distress from humankind,” she claims, and she identifies the phalanstery with the first Christian community.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the problem with Fourier’s plan is that it requires a morality that is not yet at hand. Religion stresses the necessity of the

renunciation of false ways of thinking, habits, abuse, and everything that keeps the spirit in untrue bonds. Thus the system is unrealizable without a previous opening, an intermediate form in civilization. . . . This is merely a question of putting in order the economy of the soul, as that of the bodily life, so that vice and crime are wiped out of the former, just as every timely need, every wretchedness and all misery will be wiped out from the latter.⁸⁷

Mariedal purports to be this intermediate step that will perfect the soul and free the body of material harm. In other words, the colony will establish the eternal Kingdom of God within the limits of time.

In the frame story, a discussion of the correct apprehension of Christianity is taking place, concluding that neither a purely earthly understanding nor a purely heavenly understanding will do: “It must be heaven and earth simultaneously, still in *such* a way, that the heavenly is completely in command.”⁸⁸ “Heaven and earth simultaneously” is a reminder of Swedenborg’s correspondences, and this doubly working ontological underpinning of world history sets the stage for “The Geography of the Soul”, where Religion states: “The spirit of man is the *promised land*. Whatever exists in an earthly way on the surface of our planet and in nature, is also present in the soul of every man in an unearthly way.”⁸⁹

Religion emphasizes that heaven and earth do not *signify* each other; they both exist as each other’s likeness. *The Three Wives of Småland* is basically a realistic novel, set in a contemporary society and localized to various places in the province of Småland with realistically described travel routes.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, an allegorical mode pervades the narrative in regard to the politically most pressing issue: societal reform. “The Geography of the Soul” is clearly a description of how to achieve

85 Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 448. For a discussion on early nineteenth-century utopian socialism, feminism, and millenarianism, see Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*.

86 “Jag anser tidehvarfvets största tanke, till utrotande af själens och kroppens nöd från människoslägtet, ligga förborgad i Phalanstären . . .” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 223–4.

87 “Afsägande af falska tänkesätt, vanor, missbruk och allt detta, som lägger själen i osanna bojor. Systemet är således utförbart utan genom en förutgående inledning, en öfvergångsform i civilisationen. . . . Här är blott frågan om ordnandet af själens, likasom af det kroppsliga lifvets ekonomi, så, att laster och brott utrotas från det förras område, likasom timlig brist, hvarje uselhet och allt elände från den sednares.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 224.

88 “Det skall vara himmel och jord på en gång, men så likväl, att det himmelska råder fullkomligt.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 490.

89 “Menniskans ande är det förlofvade landet. Vad som finnes jordiskt ute på vår planets yta och i dess natur, det finnes öfverjordiskt i varje människas själ.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 286.

90 Bohlin, “Den svenska 1840-talsromanen som nationell kartografi.”

the morality necessary for the phalanstery to work, for the Kingdom of God to be realized on earth.

In Bremer's ideal society, the presence of the Jerusalem code is even more conspicuous. Bremer's *Syskonlif*, in English translation *Brothers and Sisters* (both issued in 1848), is the story of nine adult siblings who aim to become true citizens of the Kingdom of God.⁹¹ The intrigue centres on them determining how this goal will be achieved. In the end, they inaugurate a newly built society, which is also inspired by Utopian Socialism. Bremer studied Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Pierre Leroux, and Robert Owen, and she found "a seed of the future" but was discontented with what she deemed to be their too-loftily ideal man and their too impersonal God.⁹² During her journey to America, she visited the New American Phalanx and Lowell, a cooperative fabric establishment famous for progressive working and housing conditions for its female workers.⁹³ In *Brothers and Sisters*, Lowell is explicitly the model for the ideal society: the community will be "a Swedish Lowell," aiming "to elevate the work-people to the highest possible improvement, freedom and happiness," especially the young Swedish working women, "future mothers," and citizens.⁹⁴

It is unclear what the factory will produce, but the organization is meticulously planned. A great lecture hall will be built, but there will be no "Phalanstrian establishments" as the Swedes, according to Bremer, desire their own homes with a garden.⁹⁵ Therefore, two households, or four at most, will share the same building, with two rooms and a kitchen for each household. The eldest brother, Augustin, relies on the Bible to figure out a banking system, supervised by himself to ensure high morality, and plans to establish a peace court after the Norwegian model and inspired by the

91 Fredrika Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet 8* (Stockholm: L.J. Hjerta, 1848). The novel was immediately published in an English translation, Fredrika Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Henry Colburn, publisher, 1848).

92 Eva Heggstad, *En bättre och lyckligare värld: Kvinnliga författares utopiska visioner 1850–1950* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2003), 35–9. The reception of the novel in the Swedish press was slightly condescending, describing the Socialism presented in the story as "a sweet mistake," whereas a British journal warned the public of Bremer's dangerous Communism. Carina Burman, *Bremer: En biografi* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2001), 255. Bremer's novels were very popular among British "Radical Unitarians" thanks to her translator, Mary Howitt. Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movements, 1831–51* (Basingstoke, London: St Martin Press; New York: Macmillan Press LTD, 1995), 42–3, 48–53, 60, 95–106, 181. On Owenite socialists and millenarianism, see Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*. The novel was also translated into Danish, *Søskendeliv*, in 1848 and into German, *Geschwisterleben*, in 1858.

93 On her way back from America, Bremer also met with Charles Kingsley, the leader of the British Christian Socialists and was very much taken by him. Burman, *Bremer. En biografi*, 314–6.

94 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters. A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 131, 140. Original quote: "lyfta arbetarena till möjligaste förädling, frihet och lycka." Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet 8* II, 145, 152.

95 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 167.

ancient village communities in the Swedish province of Dalarna.⁹⁶ The community of property is thus fairly restricted; the ideal community turns out to be more of a Liberal than a Socialist utopia. The spiritual needs will be met not only with a library, lectures, and religious services, but also with music: the singing sister, Gerda, plans to organize the workers in different “choirs” after the Moravian example.⁹⁷ Augustin’s very name gives a hint of the tradition upon which the society is built – after all, Augustine is the author of *De civitate Dei*.

The name of the ideal society is not Jerusalem, but there can be no doubt about the original model:

I baptise the new town by the old Swedish name of *Birka!* . . . It was in that old Birka in this region, that Christianity was first preached. It is a grain of that seed which now is growing up in the old ground, with harvests for the seed-time. No! not for time merely, for eternity! Not for earth merely, but for Heaven.⁹⁸

The city that connects history with eternity and earth with heaven shows the Jerusalem code firmly in place. However, in the novel, the city is renamed after the Viking age town of Birka, where the presumed first Christian missionary to Svealand, Ansgar, formed a small Christian congregation in the middle of the ninth century that, surprisingly, survived for at least a few years. The Jerusalem code is thus transported into nationalist history. Furthermore, one of the sisters predicts that “a garden, which formerly lay in the land of Mesopotamia, called Paradise” will be removed “into the Association.”⁹⁹ Although this is a realistic novel and not an example of the genre allegory – it is explicitly set in Stockholm in the 1840s, dealing with contemporary problems with a keen eye to realistic details – there are allegorical features underpinning the narrative.¹⁰⁰ Most conspicuously, important moments in the story have biblical correspondences that are clearly pointed out; a superposition of the Bible on the realistic story is crucial to the whole idea of the novel. The Bible is the key to grasping the inner

⁹⁶ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 169–71.

⁹⁷ Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 II, 146–7; Bergquist, *Om "Frälsarens dyra blod" och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 73.

⁹⁸ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 172. “Jag döper den nya staden med det gamla svenska namnet *Birka!* . . . Det var i det gamla Birka, i dessa trakter, som christendomen först predikades. Det är ett frö af dess säd, som nu växer upp på den gamla grunden, med skördar för den nya tiden. Nej! icke för tiden blott, för evigheten! Icke för jorden blott, utan för himmelen.” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 II, 173.

⁹⁹ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life*, 257, “öfverflytta till samfundet en trädgård som förr låg i thet landet Mesopotamien och som kallades *Paradiset*,” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 II, 231. As Carina Burman has noted, this is indeed a Messianic task. Burman, *Bremer: En biografi*, 260.

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion on the distinctions between allegory as a genre, as a model for interpretation, and as a mode, see Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1979); Olsson, *Levande död: Studier i Strindbergs prosa*.

meaning of the society the novel intends to bring about and the code without which the Utopia will fail to contribute to progress.

The entire scheme is explained by a new sense of unity of humankind. The narrator even addresses the reader, imploring her/him to listen to the voice of Universe and feel “the spirit of Christianity” as a wind uniting the entire globe:

It is the song of union, of fraternization on earth, of a great brother-and-sister-life, in which all mankind shall recognise each other as children of the same father-house, born to divide with each other the same inheritance of goodness and joy.¹⁰¹

Obviously, the children of the same father run the risk of excluding people of other religious beliefs. This is indeed a major problem in *The Homes of the New World* (where the Indians are excluded) as well as in *Travels in the Holy Land* (where the Muslims must be converted). In *Brothers and Sisters*, however, Jews are invited into the national community on the grounds of their highly moral family standards, whereas the atheist Uno poses a greater threat, even though he believes in the holiness of duty to mankind. Atheism necessitates a long argument that concludes that different views are part of God’s plan and that Uno, even though he does not know it, is a member of God’s invisible, eternal church.¹⁰² The belief in God’s plan for mankind, which will ultimately result in the realization of God’s Kingdom on earth, uniting all nations in one Christian family, is the hallmark of Christian Liberalism and a belief Bremer shared with Almqvist. The storyworld of salvation history, in these cases, features material welfare, including plans for housing and a banking system. To make sense of the Celestial City, it must be imagined as a national community. Or put the other way around: progress is prefigured.

Splitting the Jerusalem Code

In *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, Walter Benjamin reflects on the concept of progress, understood as “progression through a homogenous, empty time,” as opposed to the study of history, which inevitably apprehends time as “filled by the presence of the now” – a “Messianic time.”¹⁰³ Benedict Anderson used Benjamin’s distinction to theorize the new temporality of the nineteenth-century national communities, by linking Benjamin’s term to Erich Auerbach’s discussion of the temporality structuring the

101 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 130. “Det är sången om förening, om förbrödring på jorden, om ett stort syskonlif, i hvilket alla menniskor erkänna hvarandra, såsom barn af samma fader, födda att med hvarandra dela samma arf af godt och glädje.” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 II, 145.

102 Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 I, 176–80.

103 Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 261.

writings of the Church Fathers.¹⁰⁴ Augustine, Auerbach writes, “introduces an entirely new and alien element into the antique conception of history”: prefiguration, a simultaneity of “something which has always been, and which will be fulfilled in the future.”¹⁰⁵ Auerbach’s main example of this allegorical operation is *Civitas Dei* and “the progress (*procurus*) of the City of God on earth.”¹⁰⁶ Anderson claims that this kind of Messianic time is exactly what is replaced in the nineteenth-century periodic press and the realistic novel, which, according to him, is characterized by Benjamin’s notion of progress. The “homogenous, empty” time will allow an entire nation to share the same moment, creating a sense of community, which is the hallmark of modern nationalism.¹⁰⁷

However, the realistic novels by Almqvist and Bremer show that at the heart of the Liberal, nationalist project of the construction of a new society, Messianic time paradoxically made sense of modernity precisely as progress. As Bremer puts it in the quotation above: “No! not for time merely, for eternity! Not for earth merely, but for Heaven.”¹⁰⁸ Biblical history was being interpreted as a prefiguration of the most pressing needs of their contemporary society that simultaneously contained eternity – that is, the Messianic time of Augustine was structuring the reform programme of two mid-nineteenth-century Swedish writers, whose contributions to the twentieth-century welfare state have often been stressed.

This apprehension of time, activated by the Jerusalem code, also entailed an allegorical mode in the midst of realistic fiction, arguing for political reforms. Even though Almqvist suggested that the simultaneity of heaven and earth did not give precedence to either, it is obvious that the point of departure for the allegorical operation shifted from the spiritual to the material. The heavenly city was redefined by these Christian Liberals as a material welfare project, inspired by Utopian Socialism and Liberalism and evoked to bring about legislative reforms. The landscape of the soul – the basic *topos* for the classical genre *psychomachia* – in Almqvist’s fiction, turned into an allegory of spatially located properties of the human mind, and a typological exegesis of the Bible explained the moral history of the subject. Furthermore, the human body of a beloved person acquired the position of Christ in the Holy Land, projected onto the national landscape. Thus, the beloved body and the nature of a national home functioned as preconditions for redemption in Almqvist’s fiction, transcending earthly conditions and representing the Holy Land. The landscape of the soul was still imagined within the storyworld of salvation history, but the focus changed from heaven to earth and from Christ to the human body, preparing for psychology as a separate field of knowledge.

104 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 23–4. See also Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50.

105 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 73–4.

106 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 74.

107 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 22–36.

108 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 172.

The storyworld of salvation history was fundamentally changed in Bremer's and Almqvist's mid-nineteenth-century literature by modern sciences. Philology and a pre-Darwinist notion of evolution entailed new epistemological regimes, which redefined traditional *topoi*. The idea of *translatio imperii* may be recognized in Ritter's evolutionistic conception of human progress moving from East to West, transforming Occident to Orient. The Second Coming of Christ in Almqvist's evolutionist redefinition consisted of the human race eventually uniting in one earth-soul. The navel of the world, redefined in accordance with modern archaeology and evolutionist geography, was relocated by Bremer to the Mount of Olives. Bremer's allegorical conception of geography featured the Great Commission as the formulation of God's plan, prefiguring the landscape.

The battle over the location of the Holy Sepulchre made it clear how a different epistemological regime displaced the Jerusalem code: a classicist regime trusting ancient authorities and tradition and upholding the earlier Protestant distinction between pilgrimage and research travel was replaced by a modern, Romanticist regime encompassing salvation history with archaeology and a critical, historical interpretation of the Bible. The Jerusalem code was still essential to making sense of the Holy Land, understanding the human mind and arguing for political reforms, but new epistemological regimes re-signified the code, which eventually split the Jerusalem code into different fields of knowledge.

This article has dealt primarily with traits in Bremer's and Almqvist's works that current research tends to overlook, dismiss as embarrassing speculations, or explain away as Romantic irony when studying nineteenth-century writers that so obviously speak to our own ideas of the welfare state based on Liberal and Socialist ideas. However, the very ideas that we consider part of our modern-life orientation in the world were formulated within the framework of the Jerusalem code. Christian salvation history retained its status as an explanation of the world during a major part of the nineteenth century; it was not rapidly replaced by a secularized, rationalistic paradigm, as is often contended, but coexisted with and opened the way for modern science. Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the landscape of the soul and the Celestial City would split into different fields of scientific knowledge – archaeology, psychology, political science; at the same time, theological reflection on these *topoi* are still abundant but removed to a metaphorical plane. However, that process of dislocation occurred only slowly. As these examples show, the Jerusalem code was, for a long time, adapted to the epistemic regimes of modernity, providing a meta-theory for modern science.

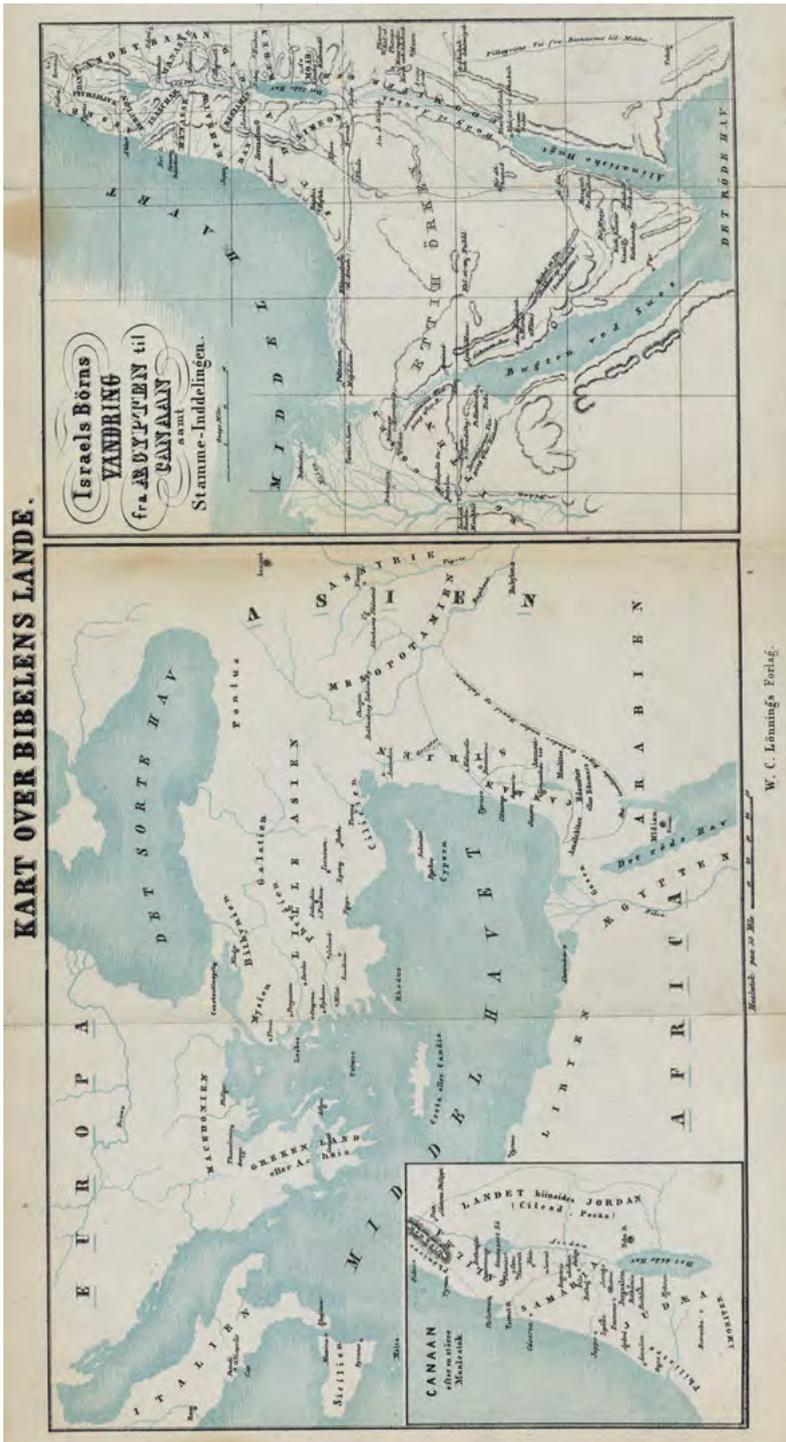


Fig. 19:1: Map over *The Lands of the Bible*, in Hans Julius Knudsen, *Bibelsk Geographie for Skoler og Familier*, 1858.

Erling Sandmo

Chapter 19

Paradoxes of Mapping: On Geography and History in the Teaching of Christendom in Norway, c.1850–2000

This chapter deals with the relationship between physical geography and the geography of biblical history as subjects in Norwegian childrens' schools from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Jerusalem itself plays no significant role in the teaching of secular geography, and so the comparison rests on the general geographies of the Holy Land on the one hand and Palestine, eventually Israel, on the other. My aim is to compare representations of a terrain and a territory that is both physical and metaphysical. At this level, the difference between city and land is primarily one of scale, not of substance. The Jerusalem "code" is here a historical entanglement; a knot which may or may not be in the process of being untied.

The material here is maps in textbooks on two subjects: geography and biblical history. The history of the relationship between them is partly about separation, of subjects moving in different directions, but it is also a history of a paradoxical convergence: at the end of the twentieth century, contemporary textbook-maps of the Holy Land may have been unprecedentedly dissimilar to mainstream, geographical cartography, but their function is so traditional as to be almost archaic.

I am not presenting a systematic study. The material – textbooks on Christendom, biblical history, biblical geography, and religion – is enormous, and a detailed discussion is impossible within the framework of one chapter in a book. Interested readers should explore the existing literature in the field.¹ In-depth discussions of official norms for religious education and of the differences between age groups is also beyond my scope now, although these are clearly topics of interest in this setting. Still, I have

¹ See, for instance, these recent studies: Kim Helsvig, "Kristendom og dåpsopplæring i norsk skole 1739–2003," *Kirke og Kultur* 5/6 (2003): 447–61; Olav Hovdelien, "Fra kristen trosopplæring til pluralistisk religionsundervisning: den religionspedagogiske utviklingen i norsk skole," *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift* 5/6 (2003): 272–81; Dagrun Skjeltbred, Norunn Askeland, Eva Maagerø, and Bente Aamotsbakken, *Norsk lærebokhistorie: Allmueskolen – folkeskolen – grunnskolen 1739–2013* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017); Geir Skeie, "Where is Norwegian religious education research heading? A discussion based on two dissertations," *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education* 1 (2017): 27–48. I am greatly indebted to Harald Torgersen for his expert advice on the material.

endeavoured to base my study on textbooks that are representative and/or important, in the sense that they have been distributed nationally and been published in several editions, some – like Volrath Vogt’s *Bibelhistorie [Biblical History]* and Ivar Refsdal’s *Skoleatlas [School Atlas]* – dominated the market for decades.²

I begin with a work that is primarily typical, Hans Julius Knudsen’s *Bibelsk Geographie [Biblical Geography]*.³ It is not only typical in terms of content; it is an example both of the transnational character of Biblical history and of how it has been produced under specific, local circumstances. Knudsen is a curious historical figure of a kind that was on the wane: the lonely, local scholar whose work gave him a connection to wider academic circles. Later on, textbook production became professionalized, centralized, and decontextualized – except in its adherence to changing national didactic, disciplinary, and political demands.

Biblical Geography Reaches its End

Hans Julius Knudsen was a vicar in Klepp in Rogaland in southwestern Norway from 1849 to 1858. He was known for his work for the poor and for travellers, whom he welcomed to the vicarage. Travellers from large parts of the country came to stay and to receive not only alms and support, but a basic education and confirmation. Many of them married in his church and were thus protected from being arrested on the road and sent to work-houses. This did not endear him with his parishioners, and the conflicts around his work seem to be the reason why he left Klepp after ten years.

During his time in Klepp, Knudsen also found time to publish his *Biblical Geography*, printed in Stavanger in 1858. This was a Norwegian edition of Calwer Verlagsverein’s *Biblische Geographie [Biblical Geography]*, a guide for other kinds of travellers than those who had gathered on Knudsen’s land – it was written for pilgrims in the widest sense, for readers, dreamers, and even for those who eventually journeyed to the Holy Land.⁴ The book is a late example of Biblical study as the preparation for the actual, physical voyage, interesting not least because it was aimed at “schools and families”; a textbook for children and a general audience. The original had been a great success: Knudsen could base his version on the seventh edition of the German work. The Norwegian reception was rather more modest, and *Bibelsk Geographie* does not appear to have been printed more than this once.

² Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie med lidt af Kirkens Historie* (Kristiania: Steensballes Forlag, 1858); Ivar Refsdal, *Atlas for skole og hjem* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1902), later revised and printed as *School Atlas*. Both these books were the first in a long series of editions.

³ Hans Julius Knudsen, *Bibelsk Geographie for Skoler og Familier* (Stavanger: W.G. Lønning, 1858).

⁴ Christian Gottlob Barth, ed., *Biblische Geographie für Schulen und Familien. Herausgegeben von dem Calwer Verlagsverein* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1836), and a large number of later editions.

Nevertheless, Knudsen's book is a typical example of the intimate connection between geography, history, and religion in Northern Europe. In volume 2 of the Jerusalem Code trilogy, I have explored the convergence between physical and sacred geography in European cartography, and discussed how maps of the Holy Land reflect the general development towards a cartography concerned with what one might call pure, universal space.⁵ The medieval *mappaemundi* had been centred on Jerusalem, oriented towards the East, and were proportioned to accommodate both physical and temporal space: they showed not only rivers, coastlines, and islands, but depictions of important events *in situ*, placing both biblical and secular history. The reader of the map could then not only use it for imaginary travelling, but for private pilgrimage. The Holy Land would typically be equipped with the desert itinerary followed by Moses and the Israelites, represented by a line to be followed with a finger or the eye. In biblical maps of the Renaissance, this line would often be divided into stations marked with references to the corresponding passage from the text, transforming the maps into sites of re-enactment. The epistemology and ontology of these iconic maps were in other words very different from those of our time: To their readers, they were not simply representations of the Holy Land; they *were* those sacred spaces.

This sacred cartography changed, however. After the reinvention of Ptolemaic geography, maps generally came to be oriented towards the North. As discussed earlier, the maps of the Holy Land were slower to take this turn: throughout the sixteenth century, many of these maps were oriented in other ways, and still seemed to reach for the East. By the eighteenth century, however, even sacred territory had aligned to the universal compass: North was up, regardless of time and space. There was no longer a sacred compass.

This chapter follows the aftermath of this greater development in a specific setting, the Norwegian school since the late nineteenth century. What was the importance of religion in geography – and what was the importance of geography in the textbooks on religion?

Knudsen's edition of the *Biblische Geographie* was one of the last works to attempt the classical integration of the two. It is a broad description of the Middle East, divided into two main parts: "Det forjættede Land" og "Hedningernes Lande", i.e. "The Promised Land" and "The Land of the Heathens." The two parts are different in terms of historicity: both are described as contemporary landscapes, but the Promised Land is also historical; both now and then, worldly and sacred. This double nature is now perhaps less striking than the fact that the world of the heathens is only current and without temporal depth – with a few notable exceptions, first and foremost the desert where the Israelites wandered. Their journey is described in some detail, but otherwise, the lands of other peoples in the region is immediate

⁵ See Chapter 10 (Erling Sandmo), vol. 2, 179–96.

and traversable. The orientalism in this distinction between the merely physical and the physico-spiritual terrains of the region is obvious, and detailed: whereas the entire region would be directed eastwards in the Renaissance when classified as *terra sancta*, the geographical discourse in this work carefully reserves the historical dimension for the land of Israelite experience.

In a brief and curious postscript, included “since we have room for it,” the book presents a few words of advice for the reader who desires the actual, personal, physical journey to this historically asymmetrical territory. It gives estimates for the duration and the costs of travel, provides tips for currencies and clothing – but is silent when it comes to the reason and benefits of the long and costly journey. Maybe it is self-evident; maybe the advice is mundane simply because worldly travel is the only possible object of common advice. The spiritual travel, the pilgrimage, is necessarily an individual, unique act.

The page-long juxtaposition of practicalities is not the end, however. The last item in the book is a triptych of maps of “The Lands of the Bible”: one overview of the region, from Rome in the North-West to the Ararat-Niniveh-Babylonia axis in the East, and one detailed map of Canaan (Fig. 19.1). The final map shows the Israelites’ journey and their land divided between the twelve tribes. The route taken is traced in a thin blue line: it takes an effort to see the path through the Red Sea, but it is there.

Eventually, then, Biblical time permeates the geographical world: The Middle East shows itself to be the lands possessed by the Bible, belonging to the Scripture. The highlighted sites and places are included because of their spiritual significance, silently countering the practical tips of the mundane postscript: the lands without history turn out to be colonized, not so much by the powers of the present as of the power of the Biblical past, emerging from the distinctive geography of the modern world.

The Separation of Times

Maps very similar to these remained part of Biblical history for a long time, but the past and the present ceased to converge in the same manner. Volrath Vogt, a theologian who taught at the Cathedral School in Christiania [Oslo] from 1839 to 1889, wrote one of the most lasting successes in Norwegian publishing history: *Bibelhistorie, med lidt af Kirkens Historie* [*Biblical History, With a Little History of the Church*]. The first edition was first published in 1858, the same year as Knudsen’s *Biblical Geography*, but it was a brief history and a modest publication, with no maps.⁶ However, Vogt’s book

⁶ Vogt, *Bibelhistorie*. Cf. note 2, above. On Vogt, see also Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.



Fig. 19.2: Map of Canaan, in Volrath Vogt, *Bibelsoga med noko av kyrkesoga*, 1900.

reached more than a hundred editions and was the standard textbook for generations of pupils. Later editors and publishers kept Vogt's succinct, almost laconic style, but supplied the text with maps. A 1900 edition, published in *nynorsk*, New Norwegian, included two maps.⁷ The first was a representation of the Eastern Mediterranean, the western margin as far east as Greece, but with the same eastern border as the one used by Knudsen. The other map shows Canaan and is in practice identical to Knudsen's, down to the naming of the area in the east as "the land beyond Jordan." However, Vogt's maps are strictly historical and are not connected in any way to contemporary geography: The Biblical past may be of special importance to contemporary understanding of religion, but this religion is becoming an object of knowledge rather than a mode of experience or even as a series of eternal events to be recreated and experienced. It is of particular value, but it is history, nonetheless.

The largest of Vogt's two maps in this 1900 edition underlines this point (Fig. 19.2). It provides the reader with the location of important historical sites, but it does not to

⁷ Volrath Vogt, *Bibelsoga med noko av kyrkesoga*, trans. Per Riste (Kristiania: B.F. Stensballes bokhandels efflg., 1900).

the same degree as Knudsen's present the Holy Land as a space both past and present, with tribes; it is not colonized or immersed in the past. It is a political map of the area at the time of David and Solomon, and it includes a number of sites and cities of general, not Biblical, importance, such as Athens and Constantinople.

The exception is the inclusion of the Israelites' journey through the desert, marked with traditional emphasis as "the road they wandered" [*Vegen dei vandra*]. An intriguing detail, however, is that the route differs slightly from traditional depictions such as the one used by Knudsen: the crossing of the Red Sea seems to take place further to the North, so close to land that it is not clear if the Israelites are actually crossing the sea or walking around it. Another interesting detail is that the mountain on the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula is marked "Sinai or Horeb," apparently suggesting that there is no significant difference of meaning or ontology behind the two names, but that they are rather to be seen as synonyms. This resolution of an important enigma in Biblical geography is a clear historicist move away from the idea of this geography as a manifestation of the words of God.

The maps changed more dramatically than the text in subsequent editions of Vogt's *Biblical History*. These changes may be said to have a general direction, but there is no simple, linear development. In the 1921 edition, for instance, there are four maps: the first a large map of contemporary Jerusalem; the second a smaller, historical map of the city as it developed from the time of Christ to the destruction in 70 C.E.⁸ Although produced by the same lithographical workshop in Kristiania – Qvistgaard & Co, Litographisk Anstalt – the two are designed very differently; the first lavish in its typography and execution, the second clear and simple and stylistically similar to the last two, one small, of Sinai with the journey of the Israelites, and one large map of Palestine – divided between the twelve tribes. The map of present Jerusalem was by this time becoming unusual: its inclusion in the otherwise purely historical account seems to mark a return to the temporal depth of earlier Biblical history. It then becomes particularly intriguing that this very map is visibly older, with its Gothic lettering – it seems to be returning in a setting where it is impressive, but out of time.

The historical maps are modern and clear, typical of their time – and in terms of technology and design very similar to those found in contemporary atlases. Even this, however, would change: In the 1931 edition of Vogt's history, the maps are illustrations to the text, not, as in earlier editions, placed at the end, as appendices.⁹ This was not a new practice: Vilhelm Poulsen's *Bibelhistorie for Folkeskolen* [*Bible History for the People's School*] was first published in 1890, and had then its maps at the end of the book, but in the 1911 edition, the maps were reduced in size

⁸ Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie for middelskolen* (Kristiania: P.F. Steensballe Bokhandels efftg, 1921).

⁹ Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie for folkeskolen* (Oslo: Stenballe, 1931).

and inserted in the text as traditional illustrations.¹⁰ This book included a small map of the Israelites' journey as part of the appropriate passage.¹¹ What was new in the 1931 Vogt edition was the design: the illustrations were now visibly different from the maps that could be found in atlases, they were not geographical in the strict sense (Fig. 19.3). Any detail was gone, the map is now a rough image, highlighting names rather than the terrain. The typography is prominent: despite its small size, the map shows how the journey through the desert connects not only Egypt and Arabia, but Africa and Asia, labelled in large, transparent letters. Canaan stretches towards the Northeast; the name

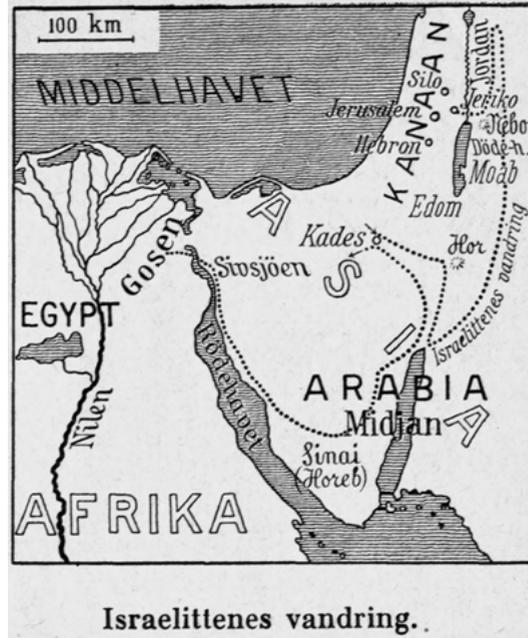


Fig. 19.3: *The Wandering of the Israelites*, in Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie for folkeskolen*, 1931.

Canaan printed in a manner which directs the reader's gaze away from the region and from Israel's prehistory. As far as I have seen, this map is rare in its emphasis on this global dimension of the Old Testament; the narrative moving away from Africa and even transgressing Asia on its way towards the main stage of Church history.

By 1993, the letters had changed again, this time appearing as written by hand, unevenly, maybe even by a child (Fig. 19.4).¹² In this edition, the lack of geographical realism is even more pertinent. Much of the Sinai Peninsula is taken up by a drawing of the tabernacle, surrounded by the Israelites' tents; a ship is heading towards the Canaan coast, sails bulging in the wind. A few changes are geographically very specific, however: the line marking the journey no longer crosses the Red Sea, but seems to move through one of the small lakes in the Land of Goshen in the North. Most curiously, a thin, dotted line marks an "Ordinary Route of Travel" [*Vanlig reiserute*] following the Mediterranean coast

¹⁰ Vilhelm Poulsen, *Bibelhistorie for Folkeskolen* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1890). The 1911 edition (Kristiania: Aschehoug) was a major revision of Poulsen's text by theologian and school politician Sven Svensen, an important early proponent of "enhetskolen," the unified Norwegian school.

¹¹ Poulsen, *Bibelhistorie for Folkeskolen* [1911], 35.

¹² Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie* (Det evangelisk-lutherske kirkesamfunn, 1993), 41.

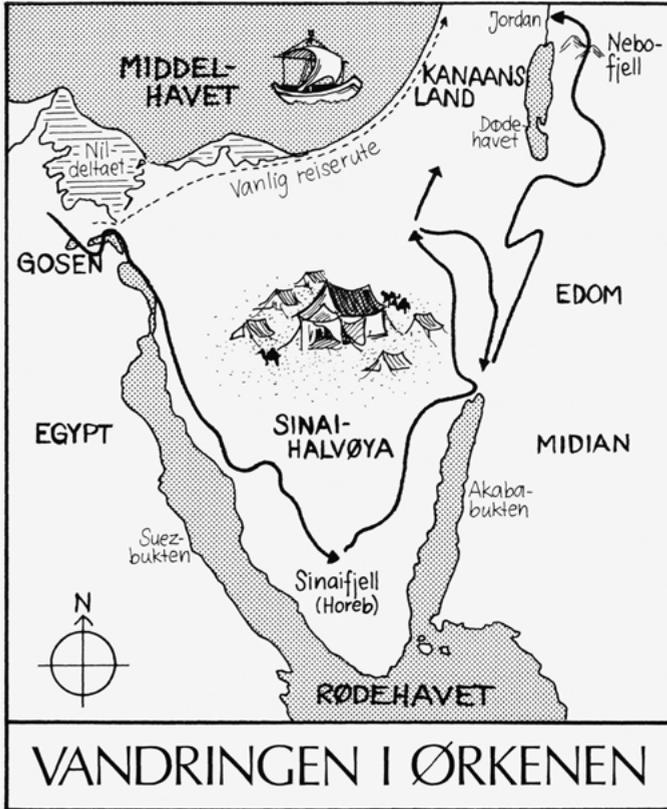


Fig. 19.4: *The Wandering in the Desert*, illustration by Kathrine Kleveland, in Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie*, 1993.

northwards: the Israelites had a choice, and chose to take the less ordinary path. This dotted line, then, seems to subvert the entire religious dimension of the Exodus.

What we see appears to be, first, a breaking of the old bond between the teaching of Christian religion and geography: Biblical geography is no longer geography in any strict sense, but a textbook aesthetics. The map becomes a stage; the idea of a recreation of the original journey, is no longer supported by precise information. The information of Knudsen's old textbook is replaced by historical imagery, inviting fantasy and re-staging rather than actual pilgrimage. Second, however, details in the process of cartographic revision suggest not only this separation of religion and geography, but a growing hesitancy towards presenting the journey through the desert in general and the crossing of the Red Sea in particular as actual, physical events. The course taken is moved ever northwards, eventually north of the Red Sea altogether, and the 1993 inclusion of an "ordinary" route towards what was once labelled the promised land reduces the 40 years in the desert from miracle and religious ordeal to an act of extraordinary travel.

The textbooks in biblical history close two doors: one towards traditional religious experience, towards the study of biblical history as a deepening of faith; one towards the understanding of the Holy Land as an actual, physical space. What opens up between these two doors is an allegorical space, mapped as an imaginary and imagined terrain. Other textbooks seem to follow the same ontological and epistemological course – exemplified for instance by the map in Elsa Joranger's *Verdens lys* [*The Light of the World*], which has given up any attempt to outline the journey through the desert and settles for a simplistic drawing of a small group of travellers in the desert with their backs to the viewer, themselves gazing towards two future images of Joseph and Mary, on their way to Bethlehem and on their way to Egypt.¹³ This map seems to hark back to medieval maps, where space becomes a meeting-ground for different times. Other books combine this primarily illustrative cartography with a certain game-like design, such as Anna Amundsen's *Jeg så ham som barn* [*I Saw Him as a Child*] (1954), where one of the two maps of Palestine (Fig. 19.5)¹⁴ bears a strong likeness to one of the most popular board games in the Nordic countries, *The Lost Diamond*, which is laden with imperialist exoticism (Fig. 19.6).¹⁵ It might be argued that this simplistic representation of Palestine is a form of exoticization, but this is not mirrored in the material I have studied here. It should rather be read as a domestication, as a step towards a stylization which turns Biblical geography into a ever-present non-space – like a board game.

Geography Secularized

If we turn momentarily to the textbooks in geography, we find the same movement – in this case, then, a movement away from the Biblical. Those who read Knudsen's *Biblical Geography* may also have been familiar with Georg Prahls *Alminneligt Norsk Skole-Atlas* [*Common Norwegian School Atlas*] (1836).¹⁶ This atlas, in a way which would become traditional, began with a presentation of the planetary system, the sky, and the globe, before zooming in on Europe and then Norway and its partner in the political union, Sweden. After presenting more large-scale overviews of the other parts of Europe, Prahls zoomed out and showed the continents on single-page maps. At the very last full page, he presented a map of Palestine, the most detailed in the book. It blends times, providing both contemporary names and Biblical legend – and, in the lower right-hand corner, a small, but detailed map of Jerusalem at

¹³ Elsa Joranger, *Verdens lys*, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974), 26.

¹⁴ Anna Amundsen, *Jeg så ham som barn – Bibelhistorie for folkeskolen* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1954), 148.

¹⁵ The game was first produced in Finland in 1951 as *Afrikan tähti* [*The Star of Africa*] by game designer Kari Mannerla and sold in very large numbers both in Finland and the Scandinavian countries.

¹⁶ Georg Prahls, *Alminneligt Norsk Skole-Atlas* (Bergen: Prahls, 1836).

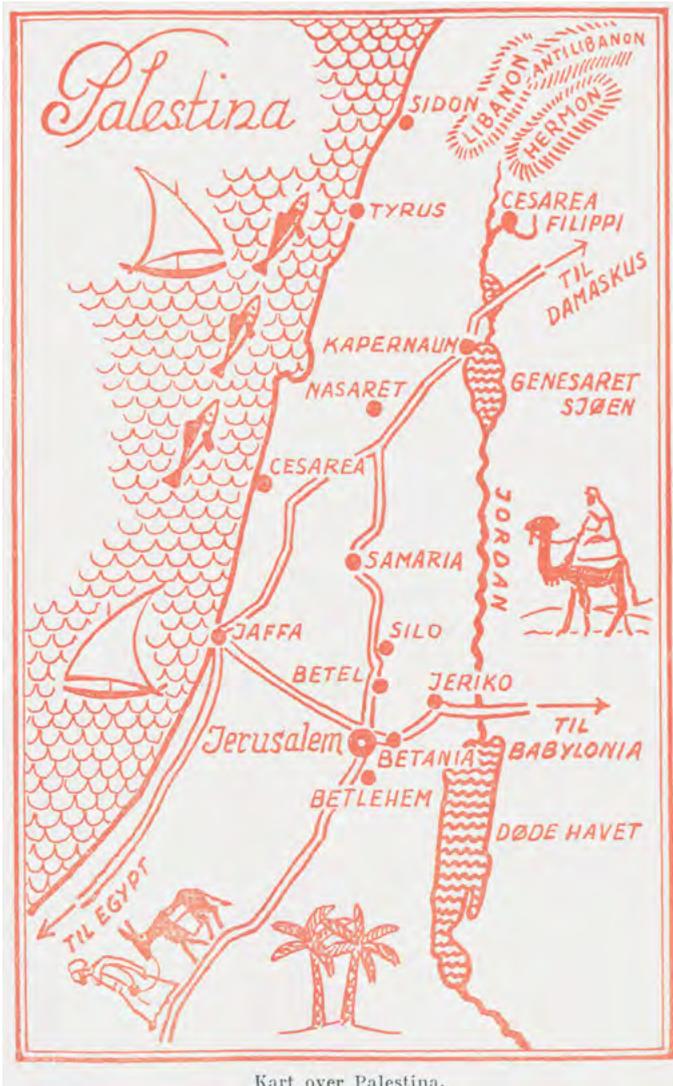


Fig. 19.5: Map of Palestine, illustration by Lars Wangensteen Berge, in Anna Amundsen, *Jeg så ham som barn – Bibelhistorie for folkeskolen*, 1954.

the time of Christ. In other words, the atlas approaches the world from outside and moves through the regions that might be expected to be familiar to its Norwegian audience, and ends at what could well be interpreted as the world's core – the world still understood, then, as a conjunction of time and space.¹⁷ In 1880, in *Kortbog eller nyt*

¹⁷ See Helge Jordheim and Erling Sandmo, "Introduction: The World as Concept and Object of Knowledge," in *Conceptualizing the World: An Exploration Across Disciplines*, eds. Helge Jordheim and Erling Sandmo (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).



Fig. 19.6: *Den forsvunne diamant* (detail), Norwegian edition of the Finnish board game *Afrikan tähti*. By courtesy of Egmont Kids Media, Norway. All rights reserved to the rights holders of Kari Mannerla.

geografisk Atlas til Brug for Skolen og Hjemmet [Map Book or New Geographical Atlas for Use in School and at Home], the temporal hybridity is still there, but the detailed Jerusalem map is replaced by a general outline of the city's surroundings.¹⁸ The disappearance of Biblical time and geography from the school atlases seems to set in from around this time, at the end of the nineteenth century: in 1884, C. Schollert's *Norsk Skoleatlas* [Norwegian School Atlas] shows the region which was formerly the Holy Land only as an unnamed part of the Ottoman Empire, with physical features and place names, but devoid of any history.¹⁹

Throughout the main part of the following century, Ivar Refsdal's *School Atlas* dominated Norwegian the teaching of geography. Its 20 editions between 1902 and 1964 reflect a growing expertise in the depiction of the physical and natural aspects of

¹⁸ N.C. Rom and Colonel J.H. Mansa, *Kortbog eller nyt geografisk Atlas for Skolen og Hjemmet* (Copenhagen: N.C. Roms Forlagsforretning, 1880).

¹⁹ C. Schollert, *Norsk skoleatlas* (Kristiania: Det private Opmaalingskontor, 1884).

geography, but the maps of Palestine and eventually Israel play no important role. On the contrary: Seen in the light of the history of the mapping of the regions of Biblical history, Refsdal embodies an almost demonstrative break. Already the first edition divides the region in two, separating what was once its southwestern part – Eastern Egypt, the Red Sea, and Sinai – from the Northeast. The Southwest is depicted, enlarged, on what appears to be part of a collage of political maps of Asia; the Northwest is not given any particular attention and appears only on a large-scale map of Asia Minor, as part of Ottoman Syria.²⁰ In later editions, Refsdal kept this division, despite the insistence on unity in contemporary textbooks in religion and Biblical history, but there were some slight changes in the placings of the special mappings of these divided parts of the Middle East. In the fourth edition (1916) they were both inserted on a page featuring Africa; in the last edition (1964), an intriguing revision opens for more information – and a striking non-visualization (Fig. 19.7). The Middle East is now on a double page collage of African physical and political geography. The main physical map shows the globe seen from a vantage point high above Central Africa, with a rapidly diminishing North stretching so far as to include even Scandinavia. A smaller map is cropped so that the southern tip of Israel, stretching down to the Red Sea, appears to be hidden under the North Sea.²¹

There is perhaps an ambiguity to this obliteration of the southern part of the quite new Israeli state. It can be seen both as a denial and as an oblique reconnection of the Holy Land to Norway: for the informed reader, it would be clear that the hidden tip of Israel would just reach the Norwegian west coast – maybe even touching Sogn, the district in Western Norway where Refsdal himself had been born, but this is purely speculative: the main point here is that the school subjects of Biblical history and geography were moving away from each other, like epistemological continents adrift.

New Remnants of an Old Tradition

Works on Biblical geography were of course still published for a general audience, but even they display a historically new uncertainty, a distance, when discussing the formerly fundamental issue of the continuity between the religious then and now. This continuity had been the premise of the very idea of this particular geography, with the land of the Bible as the territory of the still present, living past – as Biblical geography in the literal sense. *Dreyers Bibelatlas [Dreyer's Biblical Atlas]* (1961), for instance, presents a brief retelling of the Bible and the history of the

²⁰ Refsdal, *Atlas for skole og hjem*, 1902.

²¹ Ivar Refsdal, *Skole-Atlas*, 20th ed., 2nd printing (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1968), 26–7.



Fig. 19.7: Map from Aschehoug's *School Atlas*, by Ivar Refsdal, 1964.

early church up until the time of Constantine the Great. In the very last paragraph of the text, the reader learns that

When Emperor Constantine came to power in year 313 C.E., Christianity's time of troubles was definitely over. Although the Emperor himself did not let himself be baptized on his death-bed, he privileged Christianity and made it the religion of the State. Thus began that era of the relationship between Church and State, between Christianity and culture, in which we still live, in a way.²²

The hesitancy in the somewhat awkward “in a way” [*på en måte*] exposes the vast difference between the late mysticism of Knudsen's *Biblical Geography* and this post-war book: The ultimate conjunction of past and present has been replaced by two entirely different ways of knowing, understanding, and even mapping the Middle East.

Remnants of the older mode of thinking lingered on: change in this field was slow and gradual, and in practice also uneven because individual textbooks and other didactical tools were in use for a long time. One such tool was a large, undated map of the Holy Land that was used in a large number of Norwegian classrooms throughout much of the twentieth century (Fig. 19.8).²³ It showed the Holy Land with a smaller map of the inner Oslo Fjord in the top left-hand corner. The point was that the Holy Land was the same size as this part of Norway; Jerusalem thus corresponding silently with the Norwegian capital. Similarly, Arne Fjellbu's *Hvorledes Kristendommen ble til [How Christianity Was Made]* (1939) introduced its first chapter, on “The Religion of Israel,” with a map of Southern Norway accompanied by a small map of Palestine in the same scale.²⁴ The book is a hybrid in the geographical sense: it also presents a map of Biblical Palestine in the emerging simplistic style, with a stylized map equipped with miniature drawings. The juxtaposition of the maps of Norway and Palestine are interesting, however, because of their implied insistence of a particular connection between the two lands and, consequently, the two histories: knowing one opened for a deeper understanding of the other.

Modern Times, Ancient Ideas

Despite the marked and systematic changes in the relationship between geography and Biblical history between the late nineteenth and the mid-twentieth century, signs of older ways of thinking emerge once we look for them. On the surface, the classroom map's juxtaposition of the permanently Biblical Holy Land

²² Peter Wilhelm Bøckman, *Dreyers Bibelatlas* (Oslo: Dreyer, 1961), 62. My translation.

²³ *Aschehougs kart over Palestina på Kristi tid* (Oslo: Aschehoug, n.d.).

²⁴ Arne Fjellbu, *Hvorledes Kristendommen ble til* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1939).



Fig. 19.8: *Aschehoug's Map of Palestine in the Age of Christ*, classroom map, mid-twentieth century. Constructed and drawn by B. Luncke and Scott-Ruud. Courtesy of Aschehoug & Co., Oslo. Photo: Are Flågan, National Library of Norway, Oslo.

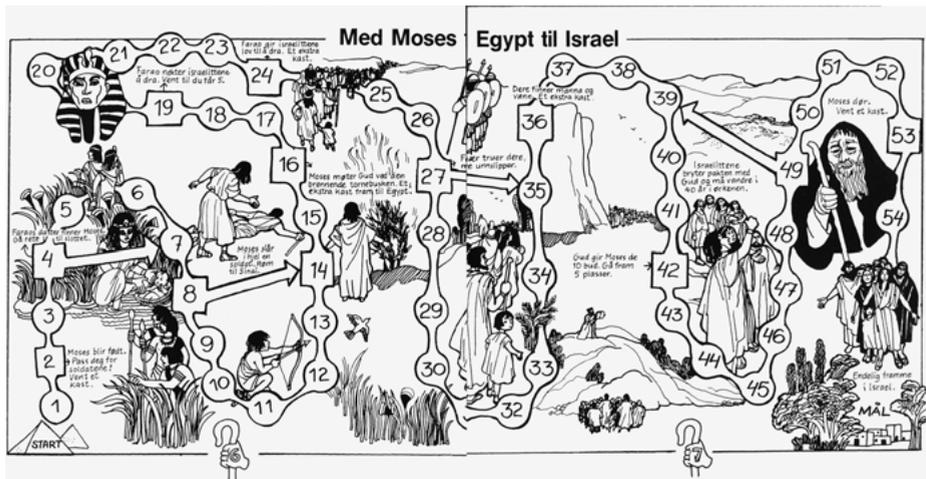


Fig. 19.9: *With Moses from Egypt to Israel*, illustration by Kjersti Scheen, in *Jeg kan: Kristendomskunnskap for grunnskolen 2. Arbeidsbok*, by Bjørn Gjefsen, Randi Dyrerud, and Helene Dæhlin, 1993.

and contemporary Norway is a strict and unimaginative piece of modern cartography, but, at the same time, it is an almost secretive suggestion of an inner connection between the two lands and two times. Not only did the map depict and manifest such connections – it may be said to have brought a pre- or at least early modern experience of sacred cartography to the classrooms of social democratic and highly secularized Norway.

One could even argue, modestly, that even if the historical process I have outlined here is fairly clear, its direction is not. The subject of geography is clearly moving away from religion towards a strictly secular knowledge of the physical and to some degree political dimensions of the world. At a general level, it reflects the earlier development of an atemporal, purely spatial geography. The history of visual Biblical geography may be less linear, and that is striking in the case of the emergence of the very distinct, naïve illustrations which seem to be only reminiscent of maps. Their appearance may be new, but their function, on the contrary, may be very old and perhaps even represent something of a return to a distant past.

A clue to this function may be found in Augusta Schjelderup and Julie Andresen's important *Kristendomsundervisningen i Folkeskolen* [*The Teaching of Christendom in the People's School*], published in three editions between 1953 and 1963.²⁵ This was a

²⁵ Augusta Schjelderup and Julie Andresen, *Kristendomsundervisningen i Folkeskolen*, 1st ed. (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1953).

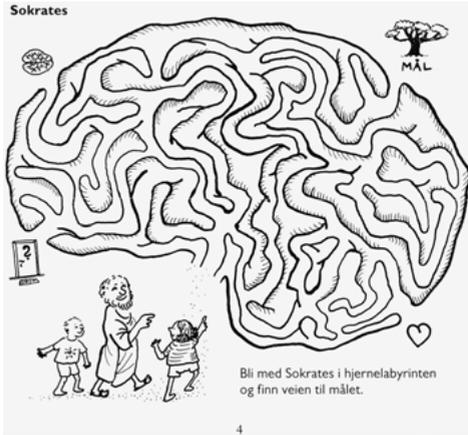


Fig. 19.10: *Socrates and the Brain Labyrinth*, illustration by Hilde Hodnefjeld, in *Under Treet: Kristendomskunnskap med religions- og livssynsorientering for 2. klasse: Arbeidsbok*, by Bjørn Gjefsen, Helene Dæhlin, and Elen Egeland, 1997.



Fig. 19.11: *Josef and Mary on their Way to Bethlehem*, illustration by Hilde Hodnefjeld, in *Under Treet: Kristendomskunnskap med religions- og livssynsorientering for 2. klasse: Arbeidsbok*, by Bjørn Gjefsen, Helene Dæhlin, and Elen Egeland, 1997.

teachers' manual which followed the common, official teaching plan – *normalplanen* – and supplied it with practical tips and hints for teachers; particularly those who were new in the job. In the chapter on the fourth grade, Schjelderup and Andresen state that “Children are very fond of map work” and “may draw the journey from Egypt to Canaan on a stencilled map which will fit into their workbook.”²⁶

The ambition here is one of participation, of creating identification with the Israelites and even the re-enactment of their arduous travel. While dotted lines tracing the journey abound in nineteenth-century Biblical geographies, the itineraries adhere to the modernity of the cartography. They are straight-forward and direct; far removed from the twisting and curling patterns of Medieval *mappaemundi*. Those older lines, however, were designed for meditation; for the spending of time and effort and as guidelines for readings of the Bible itself. In Norway in 1953, teachers are recommended to let their pupils create and use maps in just this way, as means of reliving and for traversing Biblical geography themselves. The journey through the desert is the first cartographic task, given to children in

²⁶ “Da barn er veldig glad i kartarbeid, kan de få tegne vandringen fra Egypt til Kana’an på et mangfoldiggjort kart som passer til arbeidsboka.” Schjelderup and Andresen, *Kristendomsundervisningen i Folkeskolen*, 101. Less detailed, but more concise, is the later official *Teaching Plan for the Undertaking of the Nine-Year School* (1966), which states simply that “Maps are absolutely necessary.” Forsøksrådet for skoleverket, *Læreplan for forsøk med niårig skole* (Oslo: Forsøksrådet for skoleverket/H. Aschehoug & co., 1966), 134.

the fourth grade; those in the fifth should be able to draw a map of Palestine free-hand; and, finally, in the sixth grade, pupils were to “draw a large map and mark Paul’s travels – including the journey to Rome. Only the cities Paul visited should be on the map.”²⁷

Participation has its own histories. Recent textbooks provide interesting examples of how the forms of participation change. In some cases, this meant the introduction of new elements, as in Bjørn Gjefsen, Randi Dyrerud, and Helene Dæhlin’s *Jeg kan [I Can]* (1993); one of the last childrens’ textbooks to be written for the subject of Christendom.²⁸ At this time, parents could apply for their children to be exempt from the subject and to study what was generally classified as *livssyn* – “views of life.” Christendom in general and Biblical history in particular was under acute pressure, and the need to appear open and accommodating is obvious in some of the pupils’ tasks.

This is a task which stands in the grand tradition: trace the Israelites’ journey through the desert (Fig. 19.9). Ironically, this is done by throwing dice: the crossing of the Red Sea appears to depend on the people landing on square 27, “The army of Pharaoh threatens you, but you escape.” On the other hand, it is vital to avoid square 49, “The Israelites break their pact with God and must wander in the desert for 40 years.”²⁹

The controversies surrounding Christendom in schools led to the introduction of a new subject, “Knowledge of Christendom with Religion and Orientation in Views of Life,” in 1997.³⁰ The same year, Gjefsen and Dæhlin wrote the necessary textbook, *Under treet [Under the Tree]* (1997), together with Elen Egeland.³¹ Like *I Can*, the text volume is supplied with a workbook with practical little tasks. Two of these are both interesting and fascinatingly similar: the first is from a section on “views of life,” the second from one on Christendom (Figs. 19.10, 19.11). The first task is to assist Socrates in his search for a goal, the second to help Joseph and Mary find their way to Bethlehem.³² Both tasks consist in moving through a labyrinth. Not only are the two labyrinths almost identical in their outline; the twisted lines of the solution resemble the medieval images of the Israelites’ journey through the desert. Even more

27 “Tegn et stort kart og merk opp Paulus’ reiser – også reisen til Rom. Bare de byene som Paulus besøkte, tas med.” Schjelderup and Andresen, *Kristendomsundervisningen i Folkeskolen*, 187.

28 Bjørn Gjefsen, Randi Dyrerud, and Helene Dæhlin, *Jeg kan: Kristendomskunnskap for grunnskolen 2. Arbeidsbok* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1993).

29 Gjefsen, Dyrerud, and Dæhlin, *Jeg kan: Kristendomskunnskap for grunnskolen 2. Arbeidsbok*, 6–7.

30 The Norwegian name for the subject was “Kristendomskunnskap med religion og livssynsorientering.”

31 Bjørn Gjefsen, Helene Dæhlin, and Elen Egeland, *Under treet: Kristendomskunnskap med religion og livssynsorientering for 2. klasse. Arbeidsbok* (Oslo: Gyldendal undervisning, 1997).

32 The teacher’s guide leaves the question of what the goal is to the teacher and to the plenary discussion in the classroom. Gjefsen, Dæhlin, and Egeland, *Under treet: Kristendomskunnskap med religion og livssynsorientering for 2. klasse. Lærerveiledning* (Oslo: Gyldendal undervisning, 1997), 12.

obvious is the connection between the labyrinth and the brain. Visualizing Socrates' thought process as a movement through the brain may not be particularly original, but the similarity between the two labyrinths also seems to imply that the Joseph's and Mary's journey, too, is mental or intellectual, a process which takes place in the mind of the pupil: the map becomes a stage for religious meditation. The mock-map can be seen as a return to a lost cartographic description.

This is an almost profound moment, a sudden unravelling of an ancient tradition in the middle of a textbook written especially for a new subject; "Knowledge of Christendom with Religion and Orientation in Views of Life." In 2007, this subject was found to be in conflict with § 18 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion."³³ The subject was replaced by "Religion, Views of life, and Ethics," but another political turn produced the current "Christendom, Religion, Views of Life, and Ethics" in 2015.³⁴ There was, in other words, a heated debate over whether or not Biblical history should be part of Norwegian childrens' education. While these debates raged, the children themselves quietly traced the ancient journeys – in ways that were almost as old as Christianity itself.

³³ Quoted from: United Nations, "United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 18", accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>.

³⁴ The Norwegian terms are "Religion, livssyn og etikk" and "Kristendom, religion, livssyn og etikk."

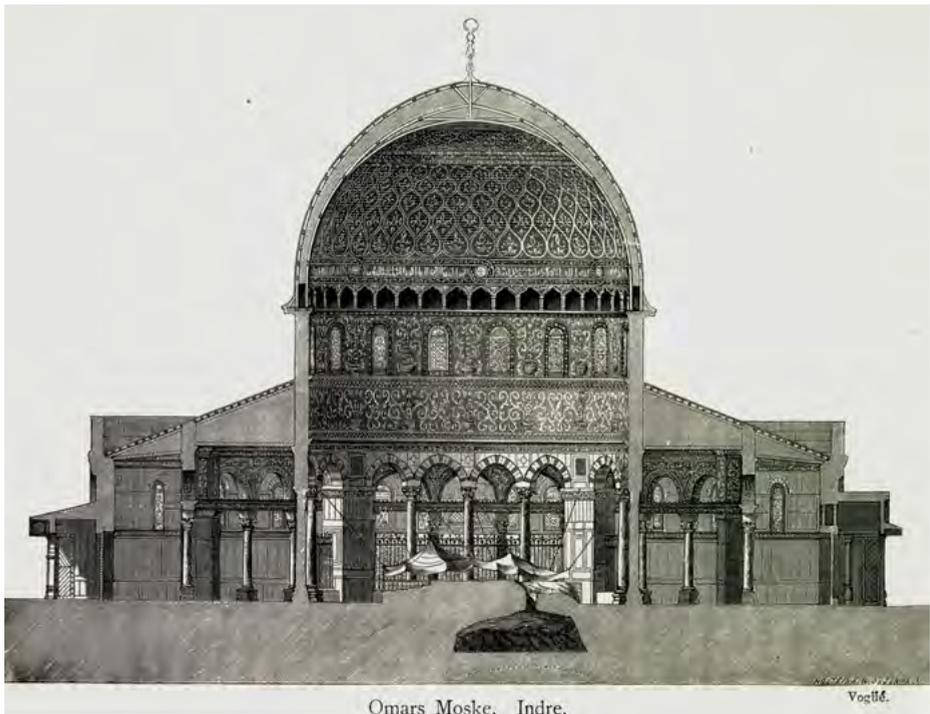


Fig. 20.1: Interior, Mosque of Omar, from Volrath Vogt, *Det Hellige Land*, 1879.

Birger Løvlie

Chapter 20

A City of Murderers? Norwegians in Jerusalem in the Late 1800s

Why would Norwegian theologians undertake a troublesome and expensive trip to the Holy Land as early as the second half of the nineteenth century? Volrath Vogt, theologian and high school teacher, went there as early as 1863. At least two other expeditions followed in Vogt's footsteps, one in 1869–1870, and another one in 1886. All journeys resulted in books or extensive reports that tell about long boat trips and fatiguing weeks on horsebacks from Jaffa and Beirut to Jerusalem. The participants of the two last expeditions described themselves as pilgrims, who travelled with Jerusalem as their goal; the place where the most crucial events in Christianity took place. Was the sight of the Holy City worth all efforts? All participants could answer yes to that question, but several of them expressed disappointments. Some ended up naming Jerusalem the City of Murderers, while others put less emphasis on what might seem negative, focusing on God's promises and plans for the city and the land, and not least with hopes attached to the New Jerusalem.

In the second half of the 1800s, there seems to have been a growing interest among Norwegian theologians and laymen in travelling to Palestine; the Holy Land. We will have a look at their stories in order to map their experiences from journeys which at that time were long and fatiguing. What motivated the participants to invest time, money, and effort in such a trip? Did they see and learn enough to say the journey was worth every effort? I will return to these questions, but let me first introduce the travellers.

Volrath Vogt

In 1863 the theologian and teacher Volrath Vogt (1817–1889) went on a study tour to Syria and Palestine. Vogt was born in Denmark, but grew up in Tune in Østfold, where his father was a pastor. He studied theology at the University of Christiania (Oslo), graduated in 1838, and was shortly afterwards appointed as a teacher at

Christiania Cathedral School.¹ There he taught religion and geography.² When he left Norway on his journey, he had already published his textbook in biblical history (1858) for the primary school,³ and a similar textbook for the secondary schools appeared with a separate chapter on the Holy Land.⁴ The following year, he started his journey, which led to his great work *Det hellige Land [The Holy Land]* (1879), being published after he had worked on it for 15 years, as he wrote in the introduction.⁵ He also published the diary he kept during the journey.⁶

Vogt's book about the Holy Land, which is about 750 pages, is a comprehensive depiction of Palestine and the surrounding area. It is, in part, formed as a reference book where cities and other places are described in alphabetical order. With its detailed ethnographic, botanical, zoological, and geographical information, it is largely organised according to the same pattern as the topographical literature that appeared in abundance from the late 1700s onwards; partly because the authorities in Copenhagen encouraged it.⁷ His books are richly illustrated with drawings of important destinations for travellers (Fig. 20.1), but also of animals and plant life, and even one of Lot's wife. The presentation stands out with its sober and impersonal style. He carefully explains the connection of the various places to the Bible, but also informs the reader about their later history. He also uses other sources, especially Josephus, but also Eusebius, Tacitus, and Herodotus. His description of Jerusalem is particularly extensive and covers almost 200 pages.

As mentioned earlier, Vogt wrote a textbook for the secondary schools, where he added a chapter describing the Holy Land, revealing his topographic interest and knowledge even before having been there. He tells about the climate, which is peculiar in the way that both palms and vines thrive, but otherwise the land is no longer flowing with milk and honey. He regrets that some information, such as the size of the population, was difficult to determine because the Turkish "authorities" did not care about that matter. Many places which are related to the history of Israel, or to the life of Jesus, are mentioned quite briefly: Galilee, Caesarea Philippi, the Mount of Beatitudes, Bethsaida, Nazareth, and Capernaum. Samaria is cited with reference to Ahab and Jezebel, and Shechem in connection with Joseph's grave and the well of Jacob. The cities of Judea are briefly described, most often with reference to the Old Testament.

1 The name of the capital of Norway was spelled Christiania till around 1870, when it was changed to Kristiania. From 1925 the name has been Oslo.

2 Andreas Aarflot, "Volrath Vogt," in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, vol. 9, ed. Jon Gunnar Arntzen (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 2005), 388.

3 Volrath Vogt, *Bibelhistorie med lidt af Kirkens Historie* (Christiania: P. F. Stensballes Forlag, 1858).

4 Volrath Vogt, *En større Bibelhistorie med Beskrivelse af det Hellige Land* (Christiania: P.F. Steensballes Forlag, 1861).

5 Volrath Vogt, *Det hellige Land* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1879).

6 Volrath Vogt, *Reise i det Hellige Land og Syrien* (Kristiania: Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme, 1865).

7 Norway had been united with Denmark since 1397; a union that ended in 1814.

He is more elaborate about Jerusalem, *The House of Peace*, and the history of the place, starting with the conquest by the Israelites at the time of Moses and Joshua. He points out that the city is built on four mountains, describing the area with reference to the sacrifice of Isaac. He also refers to Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives, where Constantine's mother built the Ascension Church. Among memories of the holy history of the town, he designates David's grave, then the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which includes both Calvary and Christ's grave. In his great book *The Holy Land*, he has a detailed presentation of the history of this church and the problems associated with the location; problems that he summarizes briefly in his textbook. He also provides information about the Muslim presence. At Moriah, where the temple stood, there were now five mosques. The most beautiful was, in Vogt's opinion, what the Christians called the Omar Mosque, located in the centre of Moriah. Vogt rejects the tradition claiming that it was built by the Caliph Omar (died 641), but expresses sympathy for those who believe the mosque was originally a church that Constantine built at the place he believed was Christ's grave and called the Church of the Resurrection.

The general impression is that Vogt attaches the greatest importance to the places with a clear connection to the ancient Bible story, with a particular interest in Abraham, David's Kingdom, and the prophets. Places related to Jesus's life are emphasized, but enjoy less space, and he is equally interested in early church history, including the Crusader era. Actually, such a selection could simply be a consequence of Vogt writing a textbook of stories that were to be told to children at school, where a narrative didactic method was appropriate.

Vogt was not the only one from Norway who sought out the Biblical places, and published the results of their studies. In the fall of 1869, the vicar of Horten, Johan Storm Munch (1827–1908) went on a similar trip. A little later, in 1886, four Norwegians set off on the same journey. Three of them were theologians, Birger Hall (1858–1927), Johan Storjohann (1832–1914), and Bernt Støylen (1858–1937); while the initiator, Peter Waage (1833–1900), was a professor of chemistry. These expeditions will be followed based on the participants' own reports.

The Sources

Like Vogt, Munch spent a long time writing down his experiences, but around 1877 he began to publish his own magazine, *Vidnet [The Witness]*, and there he wrote several articles about his journey. Then, seven years later, the whole story appeared in book form with illustrations and a map of Jerusalem.⁸ Birger Hall started to write

⁸ Johan Storm Munch, *Minder fra en Jerusalemsfærd* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1884).

letters already while he was travelling, and these were printed in a magazine for pastors.⁹ His book about the journey was published shortly afterwards.¹⁰ From Bernt Støylen we also have another important source in his unpublished, but relatively detailed diary notes.

Our sources are dissimilar in many ways. The most eye-catching difference is that while Bernt Støylen and Birger Hall wrote while they were travelling, it took at least eight years from Munch's journey until his story was published. Comparing Munch and Hall, we see that Hall's presentation is somewhat closer to the course of events. In some parts of his book, Munch has the most detailed presentation, especially about Jerusalem. Hall had read Munch's book and chose to emphasize what Munch had written too little about, or left out. Both Munch and Hall mention that they have been inspired by Vogt's writings and that most of the illustrations in their books are also borrowed from Vogt. The illustrations seem to have been made by using a technique that was relatively new at that time; xylography.

Munch's Expedition

Johan Storm Munch was born in 1827. He was named after his father, Johan Storm Munch, who was bishop in Kristiansand. When his father died in 1832, his mother had to move to Christiania with her eight children. Johan was the youngest, and grew up in poverty in a backyard, in conditions he experienced as unworthy. His older brother Andreas Munch (1811–1884) became a well-known National Romantic poet, while the great historian Peter Andreas Munch (1810–1863) was his cousin. The famous painter Edvard Munch (1863–1944) was the son of one of Johan Storm Munch's cousins.¹¹

By working as a teacher, Johan Storm Munch managed to complete his studies in theology in 1852 and in 1855 he was ordained a pastor in the Church of Norway. His pastoral service was initially performed in Norwegian assemblies in Wisconsin. From 1859 he was back in Norway, where he served some years as pastor for prisoners in Christiania, before becoming the vicar of Horten¹² in 1867. One of his duties was the chaplaincy at the marine station in the town, a role that gave him an opportunity to

⁹ Birger Hall, "Breve fra en reise til Østen," *Luthersk Kirketidende*, nos. 12–21 (1886): 116–9, 130–4, 152–8, 163–6, 195–7, 215–6.

¹⁰ Birger Hall, *Fra Østen. Reiseerindringer fra Ægypten, Syrien og Palæstina* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1888).

¹¹ Johan Storm Munch, *Munch. Familiebok 1686–2000* (Lillehammer: Thorsrud, 2000).

¹² A small town at the west side of the Oslo fjord; at that time a base for the Norwegian navy.

accompany one of the boats, a corvette, called *Nordstjernen* (The North Star), which was to represent Norway at the opening of the Suez Canal in the fall of 1869.¹³

The journey came at a time when Munch was in a phase of life with growing problems that were related to his position as vicar. He was required to execute his work in accordance with the law that was designed by the autocratic king Christian V (r.1670–1699) in 1685, which included, *inter alia*, the mandatory confession of sins before participating in the Lord's Supper. Another heavy burden was to practice church discipline towards different cases of delinquency. While the bishop told him to drop these rules as outdated, Munch seems to have been a conscientious man, who was faced with growing resistance from his congregation, above all from the editor of the local newspaper. Munch was happy to get away for a while on a journey he described as a pilgrimage.¹⁴ In his case it turned out, as so often happens, that it was difficult to escape from problems. They grew after he returned home. He ended up resigning from his position in Horten and moved to Christiania, where he worked as a free evangelist. For a short while he left the state church, but doing so caused too many disadvantages; he was refused the right to speak in the churches in town and thus restored his membership rather quickly. His preaching was even appreciated at the Royal Palace, where the king and queen gladly listened to him before the king had a glass of wine and a cigar together with him. A collection of his sermons was published in 1888.

Munch's expedition to Palestine/the Holy Land started in September 1869 and he did not return until May 1870. In his unpublished autobiography he mentions that the conditions he faced on board were rather awkward, but that most could be accepted as he had been offered this outstanding opportunity to visit Jerusalem; a miraculous gift from the Lord. Nevertheless, there appeared to be difficulties that seemed to spoil his pilgrimage. He had received incorrect information about the boat that should take him from Port Said to Jaffa. When he and his companion¹⁵ finally made it on board, the weather was so bad that it was impossible to dock in the harbour at Jaffa, but Munch was strong in faith and saw the problems as a picture of the believer's battles through life. After a day of waiting, the storm had calmed down so much that they could be transported to the harbour. That was a lesson one could learn from: Life is full of difficulties that arise, but the Lord, who often thinks differently, settles them in his own quiet way. Well on board a boat to Jaffa, Munch was still worried, but fully confident that the Lord would take him to the place where he himself had once walked, suffered, died, and rose again. Munch was now on his way up to Jerusalem to thank the Lord for his wonderful leadership.

¹³ An extensive report about the expedition (243 pages!) was published by Solveig Tunold, see Jacobus Bugge, *På tokt med korvetten Nordstjernen 1869/70: dagboksopptegnelser* (Oslo: Tanum, 1943).

¹⁴ Munch, *Minder fra en Jerusalemsfærd*, 1.

¹⁵ Munch did not say who this companion was.

Already on the ship to Jaffa, Munch observed a phenomenon that both there and later seemed a little provoking. Among the passengers were a group of Germans, and they behaved like tourists, not like pilgrims. Poor Arabs made a better impression, and when he saw a Turk who was praying on his knees, openly on the ship's deck, at all times, Munch felt embarrassed on behalf of Lutheran Christians.

From the very first moment Munch set foot in Jaffa, he had the feeling of being on holy ground, but the noise surrounding him made it impossible to get into a holy frame of mind. Munch comforted himself with the Scriptures. He meditated over the many texts in the Bible which referred to Jaffa, a city that, with its enchanting beauty, reminded him of the eternal summer and never-ending peace. Above all, this town was the place for Peter's revelation, the first example of Christian mission among the Gentiles. Munch was led to the house where Peter was said to have lived, and was a little bothered by the fact that this was not historically correct. He knew that the city had been destroyed, and commented that the Lord does not tend to do miracles with stones. He looked in joy at the pilgrims from all the countries of the Western world travelling through the town, as a confirmation of Peter's message that what God has cleansed we should not look upon as unclean. The beauty of the town allowed Munch to use words like Sharon's flower and the lily of the valley to describe it.

From Jaffa he travelled together with the group of Germans from the ship, by horse and wagon. As he wrote, he wanted to take the readers on a spiritual journey through the land that belonged to the Jews before the curse was laid upon them. Partly Munch travelled through the country that had belonged to the Philistines, and that allowed him to reflect on the topics of curses and judgement. The route was full of ruins from different times. Even a church that was dedicated to Saint George was in ruins, reminding Munch that a house should not be built on sand. Eventually, the travellers came to a monastery in the city of Ramleh (or Arimathea)¹⁶ where it was possible to stay overnight. Munch felt that he was walking on consecrated ground, although he considered a multitude of traditions that associate biblical persons with the place to be legendary. Still, most of the things he writes about are brief remarks in passing. All his attention was concentrated upon the climb up to Jerusalem. He mentions that the road made his journey troublesome, and adds a comfort for his reader: Life brings many sufferings to those who are on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem, walking the narrow road, where the journey is full of dangers and where the character of the believer is formed by the temptations he meets.

In Jerusalem, Munch looked out across the destination of his journey, surprised by its oriental appearance, and by the many Arabs and Turks in the streets, but he judged it all to be appropriate surroundings for the Lord's grave. 16 years later, four other Norwegians set out for the Holy Land. Their journey was different from Munch's in

¹⁶ Vogt used the name Arimathea, probably because of its connection to Joseph of Arimathea.

many ways, but their main motivation for the journey was the same: The Holy City. A brief presentation of these men and their expedition seems appropriate before looking more deeply into both Munch's and their portraits of Jerusalem.

The Next Expedition

In the autumn of 1885 a Norwegian ship-owner, August Tellefsen, offered his friend, Professor Peter Waage an opportunity to visit the Holy Land by giving him some free tickets on one of his boats to Egypt. Waage invited the young candidate in theology, Bernt Støylen, and pastor Birger Hall. At the last minute, yet another pastor, Johan Storjohann, also managed to get a place on the journey.

Peter Waage (1833–1900) was a professor of chemistry at the University in Kristiania for nearly 35 years. He made several major discoveries within chemistry, the most ground-breaking together with his brother-in-law Cato Guldberg (1836–1902) when they formulated the law of mass action, also known as the Guldberg and Waage's law of mass action, which forms the basis for general and physical chemistry. During studies in Paris, he became acquainted with the YMCA movement, and returned to Norway eager to start Christian associations for young men. He was the chairman of the Kristiania youth association from 1879 and chairman of the national organization from 1880. Waage was known to be a very pious man with a burning heart for all Christian work, but also as a man who felt his responsibilities as a heavy burden. When it was decided that the YMCA would arrange their world conference, which was to be held in 1902, in Kristiania, Waage became so frightened that he prayed loudly to the Lord to take him to his heavenly home. Waage died in 1900, and the conference started with thanks to the Lord who had heard Waage's prayer.¹⁷

Birger Anneus Hall (1858–1927) was born in Vefsn, a small community in Northern Norway. He was educated in theology and ordained in 1881 to serve as a pastor at the Seamen's Mission in London and Cardiff, where he remained until 1890. In 1890, he was engaged by Lutherstiftelsen [The Luther Foundation], a publishing house that was owned by the organization of the same name. There he published various edifying books, including a large songbook.¹⁸ In 1902, he became pastor in Kristiania, but moved later to Trondheim, where he was a pastor from 1914 to 1926. Hall received

¹⁷ According to an article concerning Verdenskongressen KFUM [YMCA World Congress], August 23–30, 1902; in *Bergens Aftenblad*, August 23, 1902.

¹⁸ Birger Hall, *Kirkeklokken. Aandelige sange for hjemmet, opbyggelige møder, feste, ungdomsforeninger, kvindeforeninger o.s.v.* (Kristiania: Marius Lind, 1890).

strong impulses from British church life; not least from the great awakenings. He wrote a book about the famous one in Wales in 1904.¹⁹

Bernt Andreas Støylen (1858–1937) was a fisherman's son from Kvamsøy, a small island in West Norway. In 1873, at the age of 15 he went to Volda²⁰ to qualify himself for a job as a teacher, but after three years teaching in the elementary school, he decided to study theology. He passed his exams in 1885, and at that time he was invited by professor Waage to travel with him. His linguistic interest, especially in Hebrew, was possibly the reason he was invited. Støylen led a career that made him one of the most influential theologians in The Church of Norway in the first decades of the twentieth century. For some years (1895–1902) he was the headmaster of a teacher training seminary at Notodden in East Norway, before he became professor of practical theology at the University of Christiania. In 1914 he was appointed bishop of Kristiansand, and as bishop he led the committee that produced a new hymnal in New Norwegian, a written standard based on Norwegian dialects.²¹

The journey to Palestine took place early in Støylen's career, and a note from his diary says a lot about his motivation to conduct the expedition. It states that he had to raise a loan of 1,000 Norwegian kroner in a bank in order to finance the trip. He could probably have lived a year in Kristiania for that sum.

Around Christmas in 1885, the plans for the journey were nearing completion. At the same time a complication arose. Birger Hall had told pastor Storjohann about the planned trip, and Storjohann immediately invited himself along as a member of the group, a request Birger Hall said yes to without consulting with the others. Waage knew Storjohann as a man with little ability to cooperate, and was sceptical, but was persuaded. He must have regretted it later.

Johan Cordt Harmens Storjohann (1832–1914) was born into a wealthy merchant family in Bergen, with German ancestors. He was a man that could launch a thousand ships, but found it difficult to steer them. After studying both in Christiania and Erlangen, he graduated in theology in 1860. After a study trip to Edinburgh in 1863–1864, he took the initiative to establish the Norwegian Seaman's Mission, and became pastor at the Norwegian Seaman's Church in London 1868–1872. As the founder of this organization, he was made a Knight of the Order of St. Olav. He was

¹⁹ Birger Hall, *Vækkelsen i Wales efter engelske kilder* (Kristiania: Johannes Bjørnstads Forlag, 1905).

²⁰ A rural community in North-West Norway. Støylen attended "Voldens høiere Almueskole med annekeret Dannelsesanstalt for Almueskolelærere," a combination of a high school and a seminary for teacher training that existed from 1861 till 1880. The teacher training seminary started up again in 1895 and is today a part of Volda University College.

²¹ The hymnal was first printed in 1925 and officially approved by the government in December 1925; see Peter Hognestad, Anders Hovden, and Bernt Støylen, eds., *Nynorsk salmebok for kyrkja og heim og skule* (Björgvin: Lunde forlag, 1929).

also one of the men who initiated a national organization for inner mission, Lutherstiftelsen (1868), and he worked for some years as the leader of Christiania Inner Mission. When the journey to the Holy Land started, he was pastor at the prison in Kristiania. The last years of his career were darkened by severe conflicts, which led to the government removing him from office. His biographer has portrayed him as a practical and effective man, with great stubbornness and little flexibility. This did not make him the best of companions on a tiring journey through the Holy Land.

The trip started from Cardiff around the end of January, and after sixteen days the company arrived at Port Said in Egypt. Hall and Storjohann made a trip to Cairo, while Waage and Støylen went by boat to Jaffa, where they were to be put ashore, but that became impossible due to bad weather. Instead they ended up in Beirut and had to travel by horse and wagon to Damascus, and then on horseback to Jerusalem; a journey that took 18 days. The next day the two others arrived. The harbour at Jaffa was still blocked by the storm, and Hall and Storjohann had to start from Beirut just like the first group, and thus logistics began to be problematic. Storjohann refused to accept the primitive conditions they encountered and proved to be an arrogant urban aristocrat. Eventually, even his friend Birger Hall lost his patience with him. His fellow travellers tried to bear over with him, but when they came to the last day in Jerusalem, they had come to the end of their tether. Støylen noted in his diary that he, Waage, and Hall, had decided unanimously that Storjohann had to find his own way home, alone, through Europe. This was inevitable for a man who behaved as if he was the only one in town and set himself first in every matter.²²

Støylen's diary notes from the journey are concise. He mentions that the boat trip from Port Said was uncomfortable and demanding, but even standing on deck and seeing the Holy Land was compensation for all the struggles so far. Along the way from Beirut to Palestine, Baniyas (Caesarea Philippi) seems to have made a strong impression. Its former Roman and Greek splendour was gone, and the town was small now, but here were valleys and hills that had witnessed Jesus's deeds. He looked over to Mount Hermon, where Jesus walked up with three of the disciples to speak to heavenly guests about his coming suffering and death.

In Støylen's daily notes there is a lot of information about the Christian presence in the country, especially as it may have been in the Crusader era. He thought

²² In Støylen's own words: "Storjohann hadde me alle tre einstemmeft sagt frå oss. Han skal fara heim yver Europa. Når han ikkje kan tenkja seg at der er andre folk til enn han og soleis set hines hugnad på spel ved sitt krav på alt og alle, så fær han finna seg i det." ["All three of us had unanimously renounced Storjohann. He is travelling home across Europe. When he cannot imagine that other people than him exist and thus puts their comfort at risk by his demands on everyone for everything, he will have to endure it."] Bernt Støylen, *Palestinaferd 1885–1886*. Unpublished diary. Oslo: Nationalbiblioteket, Ms.fol. 4547: D: 1a. See also, Olga Støylen Runde, *Bernt Støylen. Ein biograf* (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 2008), 82.

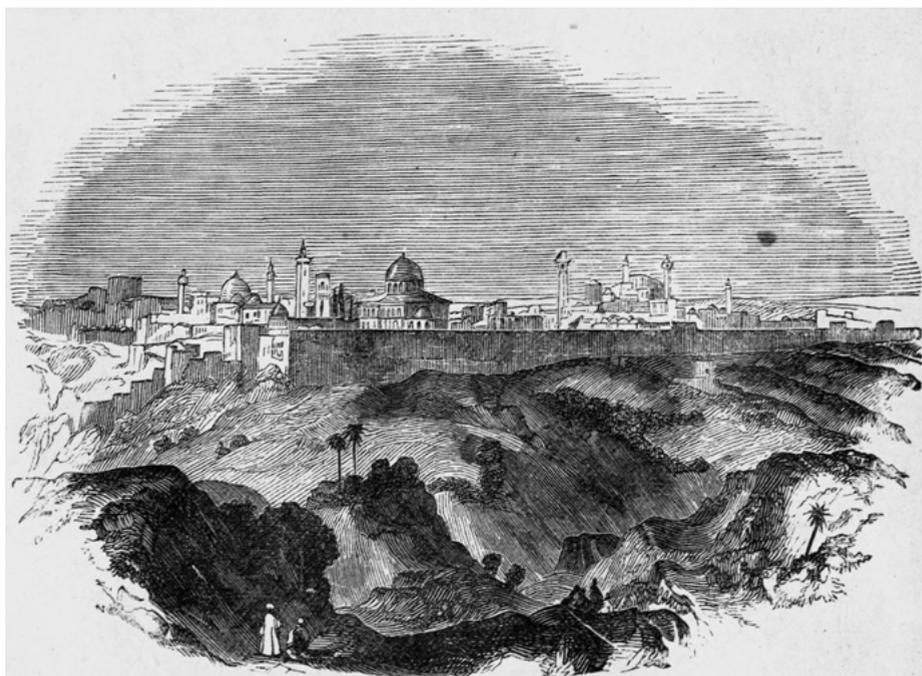
it was exciting to spend an evening and a night on Mount Tabor, in the Latin monastery, but when they arrived at Nazareth, they found that the young (and unmarried!) theologian had received insufficient information. He had heard of many beautiful young women there, but in Nazareth, everyone had become old and ugly as trolls. He also states that they received a telegram from Hall and Storjohann who came along on the same road. They did not take the time to wait for the two, but travelled on to Nain, where there was a nice new church. In Nablus, they even met Protestant Christians when they visited Jacob's well and Joseph's grave.

Birger Hall was the one who wrote most extensively about the expedition (Fig. 20.2). Before publishing his book, he let Volrath Vogt read through the manuscript for advice, and Hall provided the book with illustrations he had borrowed from him. Hall mentions that they experienced a storm on their way into the Mediterranean. Hearing that the superstitious crew thought it might be one of the pastors on board who was the cause of the storm, the group agreed that it probably had to do with Storjohann. Hall mentioned that Storjohann had to give a sermon on board, but whether or not his text was from the book of Jonah is not quite clear.

Hall's story about the Holy Land and Jerusalem surpasses the others in enthusiasm, but he is also more polemical. In Damascus, the greatest experience was attending a prayer meeting together with missionaries of different denominations; Anglicans, Presbyterians, and also women that Hall presents as missionaries in the harems. Later, on Mount Hermon, for the first time, he had a view of the Holy Land and broke out in jubilation over the sight of the land where Jesus had walked and struggled. Of course, there were many such experiences, and sometimes it all became too much for him; like when they were shown the well from which the people in Cana had got the water that had become wine. Such legends might suit tourists, but not a Norwegian theologian who was able to distinguish between history and myth.

Hall describes the nature, folklore, and hospitality with the same enthusiasm. They were greeted with hospitality by Christian missionaries and relief workers along the way, and there were many of them. In Tiberias, they lived with a French knight and also met a Scottish missionary. In Nazareth, they stayed with another missionary and, on the way, Hall noted many places with English missionaries and deacons.

Hall, however, did not let himself become uncritical simply because of the Christian presence in the area. Catholics, especially Jesuit institutions, scared him a little. In this place, he argued, the Catholics were attempting to win terrain—as so often the case elsewhere – in every possible way. The Catholic school and church buildings in Beirut and Damascus were flashy and testified clearly to the struggle between the Protestant and the Catholic spiritual power. Hall and his fellow travellers felt discouraged in Damascus and the same negative criticism is expressed in places related to the era of the Crusades; a phenomenon they obviously viewed as a part of Middle-Age Catholicism. The British schools made a more positive impression. In



Jerusalem.



Gade (Via dolorosa) i Jerusalem.

Fig. 20.2: Jerusalem. Illustration from Birger Hall's *Fra Østen. Reiseerindringer fra Ægypten, Syrien og Palæstina*, 1888.

Beirut they encountered some men from the German Temple society²³ and deacons from Kaiserswerth, but also representatives from the British mission and schools. In Beirut they also enjoyed a visit to a Protestant university that was founded by American Presbyterians. In other words, Hall viewed the various forms of Christian presence wearing dogmatic glasses. In Safed he observed the Jews who studied the Talmud, and spent their days praying and drinking. Their lazy life was evaluated with the Lutheran work ethic as the criterion. It was, however, their meetings with Islam that gave rise to the most negative outbursts. Hall tells about missionary work that was subjected to resistance from the Sultan. Even as early as in Port Said, Hall expressed his disappointment over Ferdinand de Lesseps, who gave the inhabitants their first mosque; a testimony to the false tolerance that allows everyone to keep their religion. After another complaint over the Jews, Hall penned a positive portrait of a missionary who worked to convert Jews. Both on the way to Jerusalem and in the city itself, he sighs over places that are in the hands of Muslims; immersed in darkness as they are.

Eventually, Hall and Storjohann approached Jerusalem. They came first to Nablus, where they meditated over the story about Jesus and the woman at the well, before entering a monastery with French-speaking monks. From there it was a nine-hour ride to Ramallah. They got lost and stopped under a tree at midnight, where, luckily, they were discovered by some Greek Christians from a nearby village. They got one of them to show them the way, and after three hours they reached the town. They were all tired and Storjohann was angry. But now they were in Jerusalem, the city they had travelled to see.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings were the goal. The depictions of the journey through Palestine, from Jaffa or from Damascus, are characterized by relatively sparse notes showing that many places related to the history of the patriarchs and the Jewish kings attracted their attention. The same applies to places known from the Gospels, but when they had come so far that they could see Jerusalem, they were on really holy ground. Everyone who walks there must be filled with a sacred feeling,

²³ Probably a colony of members of the “Tempelgesellschaft,” a German Pietistic movement. Such colonies were established in several towns, like Cairo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Beirut; the first in 1854. Tempelgesellschaft. Freie christliche Gemeinschaft, “Geschichte. Vom Land um den Asperg,” Tempelgesellschaft, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.tempelgesellschaft.de/posts/vom-land-um-den-asperg-546.php>.

wrote Munch, but quickly added that narrow, dirty streets, full of arguing Turks and Arabs, could easily leave you in a very different frame of mind. Nevertheless, Munch believed that this city looked better as an environment for the Lord's grave than a European city would do. It allows room for memories, and that was the essential thing about this place. Støylen was more down to earth; he had imagined that the town was higher up in the mountains. It is not easy to impress a man from northwest Norway when it comes to mountains.

For Munch, as for Hall and Støylen, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was almost decisive for the success of the journey. In Munch's meeting with Jerusalem, he appears in the first place as both a pilgrim and a slightly sceptical theologian. His first excursion in the city was to this church, where he was filled with melancholy, because the site of the Lord's last suffering was in the hands of the infidels. The reason for his sadness was that this was an arrangement to prevent the believers from fighting each other about the right to own the place. He commented on the uncertainty about the location of the church; it upset him a little, and the feeling of holiness faded somewhat. On the one hand he was deeply touched; the building left an impression that St. Peter's Church could not provide. On the other hand, he faced the question of whether the church was located where Jesus was crucified and buried. Munch found good reason to doubt that the building was located in the right place. It was chosen by the not quite trustworthy Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, after a revelation, at the site where Hadrian had earlier put up a statue of Venus. Munch knew that the Catholics since then had maintained the belief that the church was on the spot where Jesus was buried, and he suspected that the Catholics might be a little superstitious. He realized that he had reasons for doubt and mentioned other possibilities, but found that the superstitious Catholics still might be right and left it to the reader to choose.

It was difficult for Støylen to get in the right mood in this church. When he got there, the Armenians were holding a mass, and the church was full of lamps and sparkling glitter. It was impossible to come forth, and those who attended the mass were kissing each stone and crossing themselves as they went down on their knees in reverence. Støylen remembered the words that the place of worship, whether it was in Jerusalem or at Gerizim, was irrelevant. Our Lord must accept being worshipped in many ways.

Hall was even more direct than Støylen. The fact that Turkish soldiers were on guard in the church was simply a disgrace. In his eyes, what was happening in the church was idolatry. He was not at all impressed with Russians who kissed a marble stone, at the spot where the saviour was laid down to be anointed, but even he was fascinated by the reverence that pious Russian women demonstrated. He assumed that the church was not located correctly, and he was not edified by viewing the church itself. Eventually, he became acquainted with Conrad Schick, a German

architect and archaeologist,²⁴ whose research had led to the conclusion that the place actually could be the Calvary.²⁵ This made Hall feel a lot better, despite all the Greek and Catholic glitter and the endless *Kyrie eleisons*.

As already mentioned, Munch was more filled with a sacred feeling, perhaps because he had read the Danish pastor and poet Christian Richardt who visited Jerusalem in 1862.²⁶ Munch reprinted Richardt's description of a Good Friday in Jerusalem. Then he followed up with a whole chapter that was formed as a sermon on the resurrection, with a theme from Job's book: I know that my redeemer lives. As the theme suggests, the sermon is apologetic; the aim is to convince the reader of the truth of the resurrection. When Munch, a few years later, published his collection of sermons over the texts of the church year, he pointed to this chapter in his Easter sermon.

From the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the road went to the Via Dolorosa. Munch envisaged history as if in a dream, imagining Jesus's sufferings. Then he collected his thoughts and impressions in his elder brother's poem about Veronica with the sweat-cloth. Støylen walked the Via Dolorosa along with Waage and from there to St. Mary's Church, which Støylen experienced as unusually beautiful, but with disturbing pictures and ornaments. Støylen wrote in his diary that he could not pray in that church without closing his eyes. Much of what they saw had a negative impact on Støylen and his companions, reducing their interest in the city. Both Støylen and Hall ended up calling Jerusalem "the city of murderers."²⁷

Later, the whole group went to the Temple Square, which was full of Turkish soldiers. Hall showed interest in the Omar mosque, perhaps mainly because he was convinced that it was originally a church. In this place, Munch concentrated on the connection with the Old Testament. He was at the site where Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac, and the Omar Mosque became less important. He encouraged the reader to study the history of the place such as Vogt portrayed it, before proclaiming: At this locality, the history of salvation is concentrated! Here we must be prepared to sacrifice what our hearts hold dear, the Isaac of our hearts.

The rest of the time in Jerusalem was spent on walks to a number of other places related to biblical history. They went through the valley of Kedron and to Gethsemane. They walked to the Bethesda pond, they were in the valley of Hinnom, and they visited Bethany. Støylen and Hall were careful to show the biblical background of the place, whether it concerned thoughts about Absalom's tomb, the

²⁴ A. Strobel, "Conrad Schick (1822–1901)," in *Evangelisches Lexicon für Theologie und Gemeinde* (Wuppertal, Zürich: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1994), 1762–1763.

²⁵ Hall, *Fra Østen*, 139.

²⁶ Christian Richardt was probably known among Norwegian readers, for some of his hymns, for example "Alltid freidig når du går . . ." The hymn is still in use, see *Norsk salmebok 2013* (Stavanger: Eide, 2013), 512.

²⁷ Hall, *Fra Østen*, 136; Støylen, *Palestinaferd 1885–1886*.

palace of David and Solomon, or the Valley of Hinnom as the site for the sacrifice of children to Moloch. Munch, in turn, was not particularly impressed by Gethsemane, which consisted only of a few olive trees and small flower beds. If Jesus had gone a stone's throw away from the disciples, it must have been much larger, and Munch realized that there had been deforestation. Here he sat down deep in thought about the most important battlefield in history against evil.

For everyone, the stay in Jerusalem included a trip to Bethlehem, one hour's ride from Jerusalem. Hall's account was full of exclamation marks. He and Støylen reported a lot of Catholic glitter, and they had to revise the picture they had of a stable. They continued to the Dead Sea and stayed in the monastery Mar Saba, a wonderful building on the mountain where John of Damascus used to live. In the depiction of this place, Hall shows that he has benefitted from Vogt.²⁸

Munch also came to Bethlehem. The town was characterized by the inhabitants being intrusive sellers, but Munch was not bothered by them, he fell on his knees in the Church of the Nativity. Also here he questioned the authenticity, but accepted and found out that the cave was big enough to be a stable. Then he wrote a Christmas sermon that begins with the words of Hieronymus, who lived for a long time near here: The gates of heaven are open just as wide in Britain as in Jerusalem. The Kingdom of God is inside you. Do not believe that something is missing in your faith because you have not seen Jerusalem or Bethlehem!

The stay in Jerusalem was the last part of the study trip. The final chapter of Munch's story begins with a fast evening trip from Bethlehem to Jerusalem before the gates closed at sunset, and reminds us that we must also fight to get through the gates of New Jerusalem. He left Jerusalem with his mind full of thoughts of the men of this city who were so obstinate that they did not understand that God had visited them.²⁹ He said goodbye to the Holy Land, acknowledging that the Lord's proclaimed punishment had been fulfilled. Based on Romans 11:25f., he asked: Should the converted Israel be gathered in the land of his fathers? Why not? The blessing of the Lord will be upon Zion. What the crusaders did not accomplish with their sword can be done by the message of peace, as the prophet Isaiah had said.

For Støylen and his companions, the end of the journey must have been more dramatic. Even Hall mentioned that his friend and colleague Storjohann had to travel home on his own, but Støylen is more direct. It became for him impossible to go on with such a stubborn man who was blind to how unreasonable his own huge demands were. It has not been possible to find out how Storjohann got home; only that he spent some time in Sicily, where he led worship for Norwegian sailors.³⁰ Hall and the others travelled via Amsterdam to England. He rounded off his

²⁸ Hall, *Fra Østen*, 151.

²⁹ Munch quoted Luke 19:44.

³⁰ Svend Schartum, *Døde som lever. Minnekranser i anledning av pastor Storjohanns hundreårsdag* (Bergen: A/S Lunde & co forlag, 1932), 62.

observations with a comment from the heart: It felt good to be in an evangelical country, far away from Muslims and Catholics.

Concluding Remarks

What motivated these men to make such a strenuous and lengthy journey? Was it worth all the effort? The answer to the question about motivation is rather obvious in the case of Vogt. School, teaching, and education were his main interests, and he lived in a period with a growing understanding of the importance of biblical history. Both in 1828, 1848, and 1860, the Norwegian Parliament had made changes in the school laws, expanding the number of subjects; and one of the new subjects was Bible History.³¹ This necessitated a closer understanding of the area where Bible history took place. Vogt travelled with the intention to write, and he published his book with the shortest possible and very impressive foreword: It took me 15 years to write this book.³²

An interest in teaching was probably a motivation also for Støylen. He was trained to be a teacher; he had worked three years in the elementary school, and proved his lasting interest for teaching as headmaster at a teacher training seminary. It is amazing to see a young candidate in theology place himself in quite a big debt to finance a journey to the Holy Land. But at a time when the teaching of Christianity in the schools was the most important meeting place between church and people, it goes without saying that pastors responsible for this teaching could see the benefits of such a study trip.

Was the trip worth every effort and disappointment? When we look at the excitement that shines out of the texts, the answer is quite simple. It was a peak experience. According to Reidar Bolling, Støylen was influenced by the impressions of his trip throughout his life, and he characterized the impressions as a visualization of the narratives from his childhood.³³ In his memoirs, Munch made it clear that he seized an opportunity to get away from his problems, but characterized the effect of his journey as a spiritual renewal; he experienced his own Pentecost.³⁴ The long lasting effect of his “escape” was the same as Hall had in mind from the first day on his journey; both became writers.

³¹ Helje Kringlebotn Sødal, “Skolens vekst og fall som kirkelig institusjon,” in *Mellom gammelt og nytt. Kristendom i Norge på 1800- og 1900-tallet*, eds. Knut Dørum and Helje Kringlebotn Sødal (Bergen: Vigmostad og Bjørke AS, 2016); Egil Lien Thorvaldsen, “Hele Norges bibelhistorie. Om Volrath Vogts ‘Bibelhistorie med lidt af Kirkens Historie’,” in *Norsk lærebokhistorie III- en kultur- og danningshistorie*, eds. Dagrun Skjelbred and Bente Aamotsbakken (Oslo: Novus forlag, 2011).

³² Vogt, *Det hellige Land*.

³³ Reidar Bolling, *Bernt Støylen* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1951), 56.

³⁴ Johan Storm Munch, *Selvbiografi* (Nasjonalbiblioteket: Handskriftsamlingen, 1903), 105.

In their books, Munch and Hall shared their excitement, though Hall experienced provoking disappointments. The writers relate what they have seen, knowing that they had witnessed things and places that almost none of their readers would ever see. To a certain degree, they might have written for different readers: Hall probably had state church pastors in mind,³⁵ while Munch had started his career as a free evangelist and first published his experiences in a magazine for lay people; later in a book where his edifying purpose is evident. They had been in the same city and seen the same things, but may have looked at it from different points of view.

An obvious similarity between the travellers is their genuine interest in the Old Testament history of the country and cities. It is also striking that Jerusalem was the ultimate goal of the expedition. In particular, those who came via Beirut expressed a mood of expectation as they undertook the difficult journey from Galilee “up to Jerusalem” in Jesus’s footsteps. They are also keen to clarify the historical foundation for connecting the deeds of Jesus to specific sites, for being able to say: “This is the very place.” In particular, the localization of The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was important. They discuss the problem that the building is situated within the city walls, while the New Testament assumes that the crucifixion took place outside the walls, and they concluded that the question was not finally answered. A sense of being at the most holy places in Christianity was not enough; their faith demanded historical reliability.

Støylen, Hall and Munch also show a common interest with regard to the different signs of the significance of the Holy Land for the history of the Christian church. They shared an admirable respect for ancient figures such as John of Damascus and Hieronymus, but wrote also about a multitude of institutions and church buildings. At the same time, some differences come to the surface. More than the others, Munch was interested in different churches, not only in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, but elsewhere on his journey. He enjoyed the sight of the Church of the Apostles, built in memory of Pentecost; the event that led to the Gospel being preached throughout the country. Munch was convinced that it could happen again, but first, the Lord must overcome the Jewish national pride. For the evangelist Munch, the miracle of the first Pentecost implied a no to all nationalism, but it also represented the starting point for a hope for the Jewish people. Hall and Støylen were somewhat ambivalent in their evaluation of different church buildings. They express themselves negatively, almost contemptuously, over all the glitter and gold they encountered. Their reactions might have been determined by their Protestant scepticism towards other confessions, but also by the fact that the buildings were a part of the controversial history of the Crusaders. Støylen characterized the crusaders as fanatics, while Munch was more positive and impressed by their buildings.

³⁵ As mentioned, he first published his book in a magazine for pastors.

Munch was almost silent about encounters with Christians on his journey, but Hall drew detailed pictures of those he met along his route; often influenced by his negative attitude towards Catholic and Eastern Christianity. He wrote with greater sympathy about German and British Protestant mission and diaconal work, which he witnessed in both Beirut and Jerusalem, while all Catholic institutions were regarded as competitors; as opponents in a spiritual struggle. Like Støylen, he repeatedly characterized things he did not like as fanaticism; not only the German Temple Society in Beirut and Jerusalem, but also the Crusaders, and the group known as American Adventists. This assembly is portrayed in detail by Odd Karsten Tveit in his book about the American Colony, entitled *Anna's house*.³⁶ It should also be mentioned that Birger Hall made a new trip to Jerusalem in 1891, and then he renewed his contact with the assembly leader, the Norwegian-born Anna Spafford. This visit led to a somewhat changed attitude towards the assembly.³⁷

The most interesting difference in our sources has to do with the Jews. Both Støylen and Hall noticed things they did not like. They observed many examples of a Jewish devotion, which in their opinion was merely an outer shell. Neither did Jewish culture create any positive reactions. The Jews were lazy, many lived on alms, and Hall could not understand that Jewish immigration would lead to progress for the country. Both he and Støylen also expressed negativity about the unbelievers; the Muslims. For Hall, it was particularly bad to see that important places in Jerusalem were in their hands. Munch, in turn, has a relaxed, almost positive impression of the Turks. This is surprising; Munch had a reputation for being rather polemic, at least in the debate about the state church system in Norway. It may have to do with distance in time. Munch wrote his report more than ten years after his journey to Jerusalem. In the meantime, Munch had, as mentioned above, established himself outside the ministry of the state church as a free evangelist. He wrote to edify his readers – many of them new converts – and he was, partly optimistic regarding the future of the Jews; an element that is absent in what Hall and Støylen wrote. For them, Jerusalem was the city of murderers; a name they might have found in a famous hymn by Thomas Kingo (1634–1703),³⁸ but still a depreciatory remark, revealing an attitude towards Jews that was common in Scandinavia at that time. Jerusalem is an evil city. That is where they crucified our Saviour, says an old lady in Selma Lagerlöf's book *Jerusalem* (1901).³⁹

The study of Jerusalem seems to have given Støylen and Hall next to nothing of eschatological thoughts. We look in vain in their texts for something about the heavenly Jerusalem. Jerusalem became for them an icon of judgement; the essence of

³⁶ Odd Karsten Tveit, *Annas hus. En beretning fra Stavanger til Jerusalem* (Oslo: Kolofon, 2004).

³⁷ Tveit, *Annas hus*, 128, 476.

³⁸ "See, hvor nu Jesus træder Hen til den Morderstad" ["See now how Jesus walks into that City of Murderers"], the first sentence in Thomas Kingo's hymn from 1683; see *Norsk salmebok 2013*, 189.

³⁹ Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1978), 217.

Lutheran dogma concerning the future.⁴⁰ These men were not only Lutherans, they represented an official religion of a state, a type of church that gives little room for eschatology, as they tend to sanctify time and territory more than eternity.⁴¹ When Munch, on the contrary, wrote his book about his journey, he had for more than ten years been a member of the reform movement as an ardent opponent against the state church system. In the view of the reformers, this system was characterized by a lack of religious freedom, protected by laws that linked people to religious duties that should be observed in order to enjoy all civil rights. While attacking this lack of freedom, it is interesting to see that Munch and his reform friends often use the metaphors from St. Paul's letter to the Galatians (4:22–26). They described a church in bondage, borne by Hagar, the slave woman, but the church and her members should have been the sons of the free woman, Sara, children of the Jerusalem above. That is how they pictured a free church.⁴² Munch resigned from his office when he felt that his divine call was reduced to performing rites that aimed at making his parishioners good citizens of Norway, more than of the New Jerusalem. Instead he started a career as a free evangelist in Christiania, deeply influenced by the most famous evangelist at that time, Dwight L. Moody.⁴³ This may explain why Munch sounds like an optimistic Methodist, waiting for the final triumph of Christ.⁴⁴ His thoughts turned to the eternal summer already in Jaffa, and before leaving Jerusalem he reminded himself of the Pauline passages about the conversion of the Jewish people when the time of the Gentiles is over. Then the temple will be restored, there will be Christian churches around the country and cities will flourish. The curse will be gone, and the land will flow again with milk and honey. His journey resulted in images of a future for the believers; images that Munch wished to share with his readers. He travelled as a pilgrim and wrote as an evangelist.

40 The Augsburg Confession, article XVII.

41 Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: A&C Black, 1986), 303.

42 Nils Jakob Laache, "Om kirkelig Frihed og vor Landskirkes tilstand i saa Henseende," *For Fattig og Riig*, nos. nr. 35–8 (1869): 273–8, 281–7, 289–95; Andreas Høyer, *Kirkelige Vidnesbyrd. En Redegjørelse* (Molde: R. A. Olsens Forlag, 1872), 323; Johan Storm Munch, *Mit Forhold til Statskirken og dens Embede. En Bekjendelse* (Horten: Udgiverens Forlag, 1875), 8; Ole Irgens, "Den kirkelige Reformbevægelses Forhold til den evangelisk-lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter," *Ny Luthersk Kirketidende*, nos. 2–3 (1877): 17–20.

See also Birger Løvlie, "The Concept of Freedom in Theological and Political Debates in the 1870s," in *Norwegian-American Essays 2017. Freedom and Migration in a Norwegian-American Context*, ed. Harry T. Cleven (Oslo: Novus Press, 2017).

43 Johan Storm Munch, *Moody og Sankey og deres Virksomhed i Skottland, Irland og England* (Kristiania: Palmquist og Svenson, 1876).

44 For a thorough study of the eschatology of early Methodism, see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollanz LTD), 1980.



IX. Nazareth.

Fig. 21.1: *Nazareth*, plate 9, in Paul Peter Waldenström's *Till Österland*. Photo: Magnus Bremmer.

Magnus Bremmer

Chapter 21

“Here – right here – where we stood”: Photographic Revelations in P. P. Waldenström’s 1896 Pilgrim Travelogue *Till Österland*

The invention of photography was presented to the world in 1839. One of the first cities to be extensively documented by the new medium was Jerusalem; all due to its religious importance. Visualizing the Holy City in photographs turned out to be a complex project, where the divinity of the place collided with the brute realism of the medium. Photography, however, also opened up new possibilities for animating the divine presence of the place to a wide audience. In this chapter, we follow minister Paul Peter Waldenström on his journey to the Holy land, as described in his 800-page, photographically illustrated travelogue *Till Österland [To the East]* (1896). In Waldenström’s literary pilgrimage, the mechanical medium is used as a means of bringing readers closer to the actual sites, playing upon the alleged transparency of the medium—in the end, staging a kind of photographic revelation before the reader’s eyes.

On a Monday evening, September 10, 1894, minister Paul Peter Waldenström stepped on a train at Stockholm Central Station and travelled South. After weeks on various trains through Europe, as well as steamers, horsebacks, and stagecoaches through the East, Waldenström reached his destination: The Holy Land.

Today, Waldenström is essentially forgotten in the Swedish public mind. But in his own time he was a well-known figure; even internationally in certain religious circles.¹ He was one of the most prolific figures in the Swedish religious awakening. Also, an outspoken – and in the papers, often caricatured—Member of Parliament.

¹ Swedish theologian Rune W Dahlén justly calls him “one of the most famous people in nineteenth-century Sweden.” Rune W. Dahlén, “Paul Petter Waldenström – bibelteolog och väckelseledare,” in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria: 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, ed. Oloph Bexell (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003), 299.

Note: Many thanks to Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati, Line M. Bonde, and Therese Sjøvoll for sharp-sighted readings of this chapter. A special thanks to Anna Bohlin, whose readings and editorial support have had a substantial impact on this chapter.

He was, furthermore, one of the most successful authors of his day. Waldenström's allegorical novel *Brukspatron Adamsson [Squire Adamsson]* (1863)² – essentially, a modern adaptation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrims progress* (1678) – became one of the most widely read books in nineteenth-century Sweden.³

Waldenström's journey to Palestine resulted in the 800-page, richly illustrated travelogue *Till Österland [To the East]* (1896).⁴ This genre was well-known and illustrated travel narratives from the Holy Land had been published for decades; often with a more or less outspoken missionary motive. What distinguishes Waldenström's book from previous travelogues is his extensive use of photographic illustrations. Waldenström continuously bought photographs from various places during his trip and his travel companion, Mr Rosendahl, was also equipped with a camera and took unique photographs from their travels.⁵

The Holy Land as a photographic motif is as old as the medium. Just a few months after the daguerreotype was announced to the world as the first photographic technique, in August 1839, the photographer Frédéric Goupil Fesquet travelled to Palestine with a camera.⁶ Topographic views were a suitable motif, due to the very long exposure time of the new medium; and, among potential topographies, few – if any – were as symbolically charged as the landscapes of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

In the following decades, hundreds of photographers travelled to Jerusalem.⁷ During the 1850s, photographs of these Biblical sites spread rapidly across the world, with prints pasted into exclusive photo books by photographers such as Francis Frith and Francis Bedford.⁸ By the turn of the century, the so-called “half-tone revolution”

2 Paul Peter Waldenström, *Brukspatron Adamsson – eller Hvar bor du?* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 1863).

3 Arne Fritzson, “En Gud som är god och rättfärdig. Betydelsen av gudsbilderna och de teologiska formerna i Paul Petter Waldenströms teologi om den kristna försoningstanken,” in *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet*, ed. Hans Andreasson (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 2007), 369; Gunnar Hallingberg, *Läsarna. 1800-talets folkväckelse och det moderna genombrottet* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2010), 354.

4 Paul Peter Waldenström, *Till Österland. Skildringar från en resa i Turkiet, Grekland, Syrien, Palestina, Egypten samt på Sinaihalvön hösten och vintern 1894* (Stockholm: Norman, 1896).

5 The photographs that are not taken by Rosendahl were most likely bought on the trip. Some were gifts from acquaintances he made during the trip, which he refers to in the text.

6 Hisham Kathib, *Palestine and Egypt under the Ottomans: Paintings, Books, Photographs, Maps, Manuscripts* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, 2003), 231.

7 Kathib, *Palestine and Egypt under the Ottomans*, 231.

8 For an historical overview of photography in the Holy Land, see for instance Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land, 1839–1899* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Nissan Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839–1899)* (New York: Harry N Abrams, 1988).

made it possible to mechanically reproduce, through the halftone process, photographic illustrations alongside printed text in editions with mass circulation.⁹

Waldenström’s *Till Österland* was – in terms of scale, quality, and number of illustrations – one of the most ambitious photo-mechanically illustrated publications to have been published in Sweden. In the years that followed, more photo-illustrated travelogues from Palestine were published, such as vicar Anders Nordlander’s *Reseminnen från det heliga landet, Egypten och Turkiet* [*Travel Memories from the Holy Land, Egypt, and Turkey*] (1899). Waldenström resorted to the photographic medium neither mainly for practical reasons, nor as simply a topical use of modern technology. I argue that Waldenström’s use of photography is visually assertive. It is informed by an awareness of the authenticity and immersive potential associated with the medium. Photography was a medium that seemed to have an immediate relation with its object. In photography theory this relation is often referred to as the *indexicality* of the photographic medium; a concept I will return to later in this chapter. This visual awareness of Waldenström’s can be traced also in his writing on the photographic illustrations, which is permeated by visually suggestive words, such as “here” and “look” (which also relate to indexicality). All these qualities, Waldenström seems to have understood, could play a significant role in a narrative aiming to animate the presence of holy sites.

Animating holy sites and making them present and real, in book form, before the eyes of the beholder, was a tall order. To achieve this, Waldenström would have to conquer another, seemingly contradictory characteristic of the medium. Already in its infancy, photography was acknowledged for its rendition of minute detail. In many contexts, however, this quality seemed to become a problem. The abundance of detail in photographs often became a source for possible distractions. Especially so when photographs were exhibited or distributed to a wider audience, such as in photographically illustrated books. Various techniques—such as negative alterations or providing captions—were developed to reduce the risk of readers suffering of sensory overload, or, simply not knowing what to look at in images.

Waldenström saw in photography a medium with revelatory potential. That is, he allegedly believed that photography could bring something of the actual holiness of these sites before the eyes of the reader. In order to succeed in this, the risk of sensory overload must be averted, and the photograph’s intimate relation to its object conveyed. In *Till Österland*, therefore, the reader is actively enticed to become a fellow traveller; a pilgrim that walks in the preacher’s footsteps. To understand the transparent—rather than distractive—qualities of the photographic medium,

⁹ See, for instance, Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2006), 165. For a more vivid look into the “half-tone revolution,” see Michael Ayers Trotti, “Murder Made Real: The Visual Revolution of the Halftone,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 111, no. 4 (2003), 379–410.

the reader/beholder has to be guided. The written word guides the reader's attention to the "testimony" of the photographic image.

The fear of distractions, even visual, is a central issue in Western Christianity after Luther. David Morgan has touched upon the issue of regulating attention in Protestant culture.¹⁰ He traces its roots to the iconoclasm of the Reformation and the whitewashing of church walls. The reformatory movement, especially with reformers such as Calvin and Zwingli, gradually cleared the churches from images and decoration in its attempt to disassociate itself from Catholicism.¹¹ This process was carried out in various ways, but the purpose was the same: to put the Word at the centre of religious practice. Morgan makes this a question of transparency—the preacher's words, which were putatively immaterial, were to be communicated transparently to the congregation. As an example, Morgan used Lukas Cranach the Elder's iconic altarpiece in Wittenberg Stadtkirche, in which the crucified Christ takes centre stage in a church purged of decorations, with the congregation on one side, and Martin Luther on the other; Luther's one hand pointing towards the cross, the other resting on an open Bible.¹² But it is also a question of directing the faithful's attention towards the Word. The reformation of the interior of churches also functioned to direct all eyes and ears forward – towards the preacher and the cross.

In Sweden, the purging of church walls was not common until the eighteenth century, and this Swedish iconoclasm was heavily influenced by the Enlightenment.¹³ This new visual culture was further reinforced in the religious revival of the nineteenth century and then in other ways reflected in the architecture of the meeting halls. When the first revival halls were built in Sweden, directing attention towards the preacher's role as an intermediary of the Word was a guiding architectural principle; arguably more so than in any preceding architectural ideal in the history of Scandinavian Christianity.¹⁴

One might argue that Waldenström – who was well acquainted with these environments – constructs the visual narrative of *Till Österland* in very much the same way: as a pulpit in a whitewashed church with a captivating (photographic) altar piece in the chancel. *Till Österland* is without exaggerated embellishments, in terms

¹⁰ See David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), especially 168–70.

¹¹ See for instance Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), especially 377–593. Or, Joseph Leo Keorner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).

¹² Morgan, *The Embodied Eye*, 168–70.

¹³ Joel Halldorf, "Bortom orden. Om bilder, symboler och framtidens frikyrklighet," i *Läsarna i distractionernas tid*, ed. Joel Halldorf (Bromma: Teologiska högskolan i Stockholm, 2014), 168–9.

¹⁴ Göran Lindahl, *Högkyrkligt, lågkyrkligt, frikyrkligt i svensk arkitektur 1800–1950* (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1955), 38. Inger-Britt Holmblad, *Hören Herrens röst! Svenska Missionsförbundets kyrkobyggande fram till 1915, med tonvikt på Gävle-Daladistriktet* (Stockholm: Byggförlaget, 2002), 59.

of design and image layout. Even though Waldenström’s book is copiously illustrated, Waldenström has taken care to not overload the pages with visual content. At the beginning of the book, Waldenström motivates his even distribution of illustrations throughout the book, which explains why numerous images will not be reproduced on the exact spread where they are referenced in the text.

In other words, the image material in Waldenström’s book is as visually striking as it is strictly regulated. This dialectic forms the path were the preacher-narrator leads the reader through the landscapes of the East. The direction of the reader’s attention is very much in the hand of the reverend himself. The purpose is arguably to create a place for reverence and devotion. But it is also a very suitable place to advocate and stage photography’s capacity to represent the holy places “just as they look in real life,” as Waldenström explained in reference to his choice of medium.¹⁵

In the following, I would like to show in more detail how all this is carried out in *Till Österland*. Roughly, it happens in three stages. The first step is to doctor the photographic image by making the alleged unfamiliarity of the East legible. That is, to adjust the image of Jerusalem to fit a Western, Christian audience. The second step is to enhance the photograph’s closeness to its object, to illustrate how the image in fact has a causal relation – by way of the light-sensitive plate – to the places it represents. The third step is where the preacher-narrator urges his followers to immerse in the image, and to evoke the experience that the photograph, in a particular and authentic way, makes us see. Waldenström, in this manner, insists that looking at a photograph actually can be a form of revelation. In the end, all this relates to the cult of authenticity and presence, which around this time is starting to grow in the contemporary, photographic visual culture in the new, photo-mechanically illustrated newspapers and magazines of the day.

Pilgrimage and the Authentic Image

In many ways, Waldenström the pilgrim is a sceptic when it comes to talk of authentic religious places. After being shown Jonah’s authentic grave in three different places by different persons, he exclaimed: “Long live competition!”¹⁶ Waldenström is equally sceptical the first time he enters The Church of the Holy Sepulchre. All the while, he is not categorical in this scepticism. And photography is given an interesting symbolical role in reinforcing the authenticity of the place.

The vast number of photographers that came to Jerusalem in the mid-nineteenth century were often led by Christian beliefs. To modern eyes this may seem contradictory. We might think that photography was the handmaid of science in the nineteenth

¹⁵ Waldenström, *Till Österland*, unpaginated leaf.

¹⁶ Waldenström, *Till Österland*, 338.

century, and that the medium was not appropriate for religious purposes. But the relation between science and religion wasn't always as clear-cut. It is the days of bible criticism, where a notable bible critic such as Benjamin Jowett could speak of the importance of "historical sympathy"—that is, the importance for all Christians to find a personal relationship to faith. This relationship could include travels to the holy places as well as scientific study of them,¹⁷ all in order to "transfer [one]self to another age; to imagine that he is a disciple of Christ or Paul."¹⁸

As Douglas Nickel has shown, a work such as Francis Frith's monumental photographic book *Egypt and Palestine* is related to Jowett and other Bible critics. Frith, himself a Quaker, often highlighted the "scientific character" of his religious orientation, which Nickel points out—Nickel even calls him a "Christian positivist."¹⁹ To Frith, photography was a way of bringing the testimony of the Bible to life, by giving direct access to its landscapes (Fig. 21.2). The photographs from *The Holy Land* made the biblical message "intelligible to the understanding," Frith asserted, since they situated it on a particular, minutely reproduced place.²⁰

Waldenström is a somewhat ambivalent figure in this history. When it came to Bible criticism, Waldenström was alien to liberal exegetics and the most rationalist perspectives on biblical truth.²¹ That is not to say that he opposed challenging, even critical readings of holy texts. Another testament to his liberal views was his belief in photography as a relevant way to represent the Holy Land. The photographs in Waldenström's book are even used as part of his submission of evidence for the authenticity and accuracy of holy sites. It is also noticeable that the more exclusive reproductions are used to represent the most important and symbolically charged religious sites: Nazareth (Fig. 21.1), Bethlehem, Gethsemane – all are represented with an auto-type or a very detailed xylography after a photograph. Obviously, Waldenström thought that greater accuracy was particularly important in the rendition of the most holy sites.

The practice of accommodating images of the unfamiliar East to Western ideals and Western conceptions of the East is clearly present in the contemporary visual culture from the Holy land and the "Orient." Francis Frith is known for his artful way of placing human staffage in his photographic landscapes, in order to create proportion, but also to invest certain values in the image.²² David Morgan discusses the stereoscopic images made by William Rau and Edward Wilson during their trip to Palestine in 1881–1882. He

¹⁷ See Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27; Chapter 17 (Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 328–59.

¹⁸ Benjamin Jowett, "On the Interpretation of Scripture," in *Essays and Reviews* (London: J. W. Parker and Sons, 1860), 408.

¹⁹ Douglas R. Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 112.

²⁰ Francis Frith, *Egypt and Palestine*. Quoted in: Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine*, 126.

²¹ Robert Murray, *Till Jorsala. Svenska pilgrimsresor och andra färder till det Heliga landet under tusen år* (Stockholm: Proprius, 1984), 118.

²² Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine*, 116.



Fig. 21.2: *Jerusalem, From the Mount of Olives, Looking Over the Valley of Jehoshaphat*, ca. 1865, by Francis Frith. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

notices the appearance of living staffage figures, but also the apparent and striking absence of crowds in the views from Jerusalem and other cities. The phenomenon was common. The “authentic” image of the Holy land was synonymous with “sites purged of the living nuance of inhabitants,” Morgan writes; the only figures allowed were those who could be filtered through a Western, picturesque image ideal.²³

Even in Waldenström’s *Till Österland*, many of the photographic plates from the most holy sites are free from crowds, even from individuals. In the images the reader/ beholder was supposed to find an undisturbed, supposedly authentic place. In other types of images in Waldenström’s book, the purpose is more often to confirm biased

²³ David Morgan, *The Lure of Images: A History of Religion and Visual Media in America* (London, New York: Routledge, 2007), 156.



XIII. Hinnoms dal, söder om Jerusalem.

Fig. 21.3: *The Valley of Hinnom*, plate 13, in Paul Peter Waldenström's *Till Österland*. Photo: Magnus Bremmer.

conceptions of “the Other” by exotic stereotypes. Even though Waldenström in many cases is relatively liberal and tolerant in his discussions of other faiths, and demonstrates a clear ambition to get to know the unknown (at least in part)—a whole chapter is, for instance, taken up by an account of the religion of Islam—his book does not lack exoticising descriptions. Neither does it lack disparaging, sometimes racist claims of believers from other faiths, formulated from the supposedly elevated, rational position of the Christian.

The purpose of Waldenström’s direct references to his images is to guide the viewer and reader, and to point out the most important details of each image. As a result, the reader encounters a visual narrative liberated from irrelevant detail, and this visual narrative is accompanied by a relevant, verbal framework. In several cases, this is accomplished by pointing to something familiar in an otherwise unfamiliar landscape. So, for instance, in Waldenström’s description of Plate 13, a view of the “Valley of Hinnom, South of Jerusalem,” Waldenström leads the viewer quite thoroughly through the details of the image (Fig. 21.3).

Waldenström writes:

If the Reader looks up Plate XIII, he will see how the road travels through the valley. The house on the far left is an English eye-hospital. The road passing to the left, *i.e.* south, is the road to Bethlehem. Around the centre of the image, in the upper parts of the valley, one can see a long, white building. This is a foundation by the English Jew Moses Montefiore, who

built this house for poor, Jewish families, whom could stay there free of charges. On the hill to the right of the house, near the weather mill, is seen a great building with a flat roof. This is the English bishop Gobat’s richly blessed missionary school.²⁴

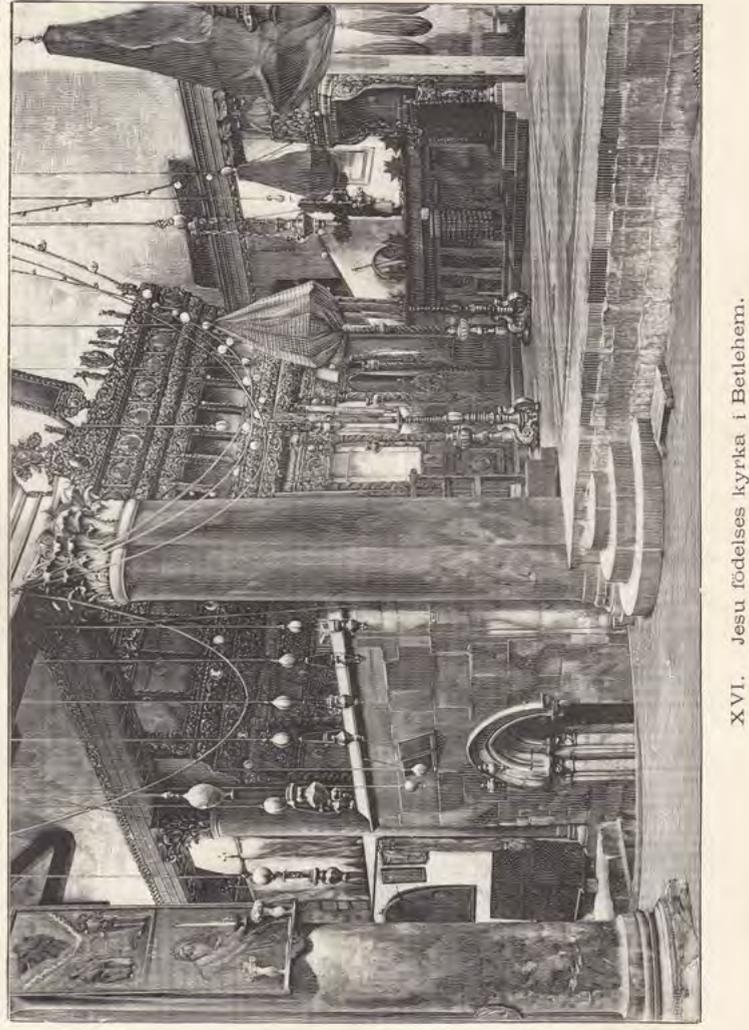
The fact that the Valley of Hinnom frequently appears in travel narratives from the Holy Land has several explanations. One is of course its historical significance, another probably that the landscape is representative for the hilly terrain of Jerusalem and the Valley of Hinnom was a site passed on the way to the Holy City. But the main reason is possibly that the valley was home to several Western colonies, which is often remarked upon. Waldenström’s choice of image and the manner in which he points out noticeable buildings does very much the same thing: extracts the British institutions and colonies from the image. With the British presence, the familiar, Western—and most importantly, the “richly blessed” Christian—presence is pointed out in the otherwise unfamiliar, barren landscape.

The Index of Photography

Waldenström’s photographic narrative is infused by an ideal of lucidity, a belief that there is a causal link to the actual places. A popular argument in theories of photography is that the medium produces not only exact renditions of its object, but that it also has a purely physical link to it. Like a fingerprint or a bullet hole, photography as a sign is a direct trace of its referent.²⁵ This type of sign is commonly

24 Waldenström, *Till Österland*, 511. “Om läsaren slår upp planschen XIII kan han se, huru vägen upp genom dalen går. Det hus, som synes längst till venster, är ett engelskt ögon sjukhus. Den väg, som passerar der förbi åt venster, d. v. s. söder ut, är vägen till Betlehem. Ungefär midt på planschen i öfre delen af dalen synes en lång hvit byggnad. Det är en stiftelse af den engelske juden Moses Montefiore, som bygt detta hus för fattiga, judiska familjer, som der få bo fritt. På höjden till höger derom, nära väderkvarnen, synes ett stort hus med platt tak. Det är den engelske biskopen Gobats rikt välsignade missionsskola.”

25 The idea that the photographic image as a trace of its object, its indexicality, is discussed in a vast proportion of photographic literature, from the advent of the medium in the mid-nineteenth century. The two most influential thinkers on this problem, though, is probably Susan Sontag and Roland Barthes. In Roland Barthes seminal book on photography, *Camera Lucida* (1980), this problem and characteristic of the medium recurs throughout the book. Susan Sontag touches upon it several times in her equally seminal – and to Barthes highly influential – book *On Photography* (1977). “First of all a photograph is not only an image (as painting is an image), an interpretation of the real,” Sontag writes; “it is also a trace, something directly stenciled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask.” Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981); Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 2008).



XVI. Jesu födelses kyrka i Betlehem.

Fig. 2.1.4: *The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, plate 16, in Paul Peter Waldenström's *Till Österland*. Xylographic reproduction by Wilhelm Meyer. Photo: Magnus Bremmer.

called *indexical*, as they are not primarily characterized by likeness to their object (*iconical signs*), but are a direct trace of them. In law, indexical signs are the holy grail, the binding evidence. In visual culture, they are equivalent to relics in religious culture. Not surprisingly, the indexical image has played an important historical role in religious visual culture long before the invention of photography. Since 1357, in the cathedral Duomo di San Giovanni Battista in Turin, a remarkable example of this image culture has been preserved. Often referred to as “the Shroud of Turin,” it is a shroud that has been claimed to be the cerements of the corps of Christ. Hence, the shroud—which through scientific analysis has been deemed a fake—draws its seductive power from the theory that Christ’s face has made an imprint on it. That is to say: the relic is also an image; the trace is a portrait. An automatic portrait, too, freed of any involvement of artists. Through the imprint of his body fluids, the dead Jesus Christ has depicted himself. In a sense, it is a photograph of God’s son.²⁶

A major part of the attraction in the photographic culture of the Holy Land lies in the almost tautological trace cult that permeates it – holy places and relics mediated through a medium that lets them imprint themselves, as traces on a light sensitive plate.²⁷ The photograph and the relic share a core of emotive power: they are the presence of an absence. Something that has been in a certain place and disappeared, but is partly restored to the viewer by way of its trace. It is an equally reassuring and unforgiving aspect of the nature of the trace. The power of suggestion that is generated in the relation between absence and presence in the trace also becomes a rhetorical motor in Waldenström’s photo-illustrated accounts from the Holy land.

Waldenström also uses a rhetorical device very much associated with the photographic literature, that evolved during the nineteenth century; the use of indexical words to address the image. “Here” the viewer sees, “there” an authentic site. It is a type of rhetoric constructed for the purpose of letting the reader feel as if he or

²⁶ Georges Didi-Huberman has discussed the shroud of Turin in these terms of indexicality, with photographic analogies. See Georges Didi-Huberman, “The index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain),” trans. Thomas Repensek, in *October* 29 (Summer 1984): 63–81. For a wider, historical discussion on the relations between image, index, and relic, see Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

²⁷ An interesting aspect of Sontag’s and Barthes’s discussions on the photographic index is that they both make religious points. In fact, both of them makes the analogy of having a relic from Christ himself. “Having a photograph of Shakespeare,” Sontag writes, “would be like having a nail from the True Cross.” Sontag, *On Photography*, 154. And Barthes writes: “Photography has something to do with resurrection: might we not say of it what the Byzantines said of the image of Christ which impregnated St. Veronica’s napkin: that it was not made by the hand of man, *acheiropoietos*?” Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, 82.

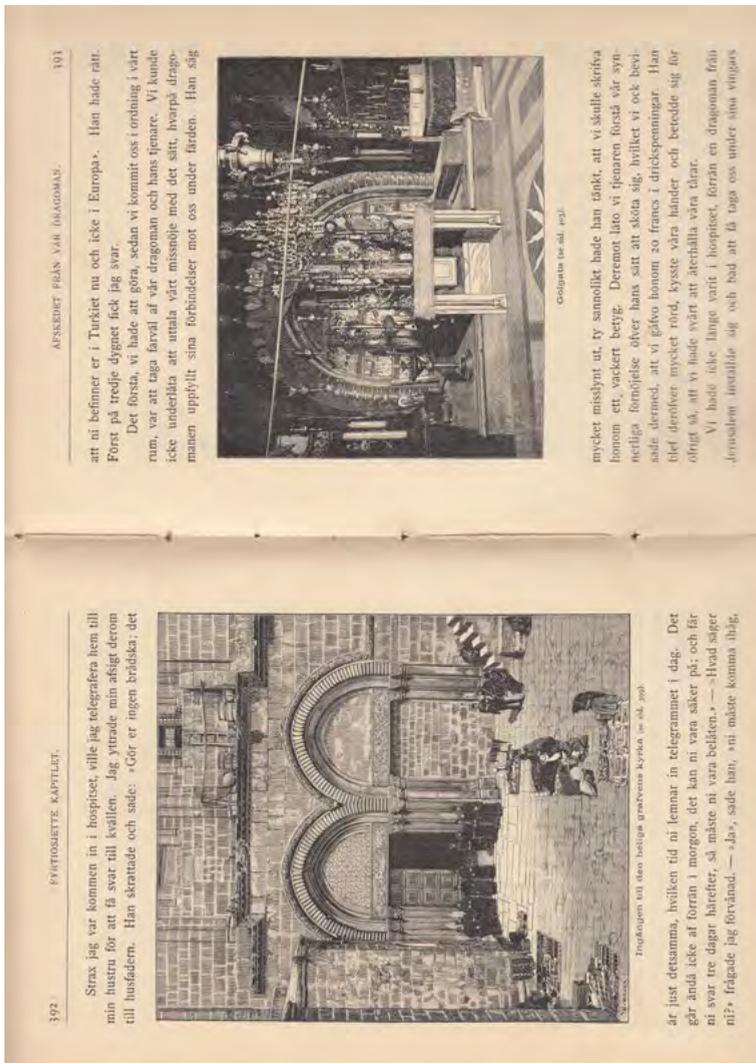


Fig. 21.5: The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Paul Peter Waldenström's *Till Österland*, page 392–3. Photo: Magnus Bremmer.

she is standing in front of the actual place, rather than a depiction of it. Or, in a way, it connects the image with the landscape. When Waldenström in front of a photograph exclaims that “here” is the place where Christ walked, the word refers both to the landscape the preacher is witnessing on his travels, and the photographic landscape beheld by the reader. This linguistic tie between landscape and image is suggested in many of Waldenström’s descriptions. In the description of the Valley of Hinnom, one can notice how Waldenström’s orientation in the image also orients the viewer geographically on the actual site. Montefiore’s foundation, for instance, is not only at the “centre of the [photographic] plate,” it is addressed as being placed “in the upper parts of the valley.” Here, a causal link between image and landscape is activated.

Waldenström’s visits to the holiest sites are all about urging the viewer into a certain type of look; a contemplative gaze. To stop in front of the image, to immerse oneself in it, and pay reverence to the site. I call it a contemplation before the image, in which the beholder is urged to meditate upon the image. When Waldenström is leading his reader into the sanctuary of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Fig. 21.4), he urges the viewer to an emotionally immersive attention before the highly detailed xylographic reproduction of a photograph:

I’m now asking the reader to behold the [photographic] plate. To the left of the high altar, one sees a door in a small niche. There we shall now walk down. As we walk through the door, we descend several steps and soon find ourselves in the cave, where according to the tradition our Saviour was born.²⁸

The scene that Waldenström sets here, and his emphasis on the visual imagery, is quite striking. His exhortation to the reader to behold the image, as well as his use of the image as a direct visual guide. In a rhetorically skilful move, Waldenström here also frees himself of all doubts about the authenticity of the site—which has been present, if subtle, in the narrative—and here, in the passage where he describes the site to his readers, he surrenders to the sacredness of the place. The same narration of gradual conviction is evident in Waldenström’s visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 21.5). Waldenström visits the church on several occasions during his stay in Jerusalem. At first, he is mainly descriptive, but also quite sceptical and largely disappointed of what he sees. But the faith grows stronger. One of the last visits is not even planned. Waldenström and his companion Rosendahl pass the church on an excursion, stating that they already have been there—“we were drawn, drawn to it.”²⁹ Soon, the two men are kneeling by the

²⁸ Waldenström, *Till Österland*, 539. “Jag ber nu läsaren skåda planschen. Till venster om högaltaret ser man en dörr, som ligger i en fördjupning. Dit stiga vi ned. Komna genom dörren gå vi åtskilliga trappsteg djupare och befinna oss då i den grotta, der enligt traditionen vår frälsare skall hafva blivvit född.”

²⁹ Waldenström, *Till Österland*, 502.

grave niche. Waldenström asks himself it is possible that he is in fact lying bent over the actual grave. His answer comes impulsively: “Yes, I believe so.” Later, he succumbs to the divine presence: “Yes, it is true!”

In this passage, Waldenström also directly refers to an image of the grave niche. To stop before the image, as Waldenström does, is a way of reinforcing its “here-and-now”-quality. My point here is not that this makes Waldenström’s travel narrative particularly original. Rather, it is precisely in this visual narrative that we in *Till Österland* can see something of the image journalism, emerging precisely at the end of the nineteenth century. It is a presentiment of the immediate relation between photography and text that is developed in the photo-mechanically illustrated image-magazines of the time. The allure of revelation can also be traced in a contemporary craze for photographic transparency. Above all, Waldenström shows how photography’s transparency is not a question of neutrality or objectivity, but instead is deeply embedded in practices of evocation; by enticing the reader to believe that the photographic image actually lets us see something genuine.

This is an important point in *Till Österland*: that the image, if viewed correctly, lets the reader see. This insight is put into words in Waldenström’s rhetoric of gradually letting something appear, and manifest itself. “There, under the altar that the reader has seen reproduced on page 393” (Fig. 21.5): Waldenström explains that Catholic pilgrims fall on their knees to pray, and then admits that he and Rosendahl did the same thing. The demonstrative pronoun “there” once again refers the reader to the image, and then—in the animation of the scene—strengthens the link between place and image. It is not just any place. It is the place where Waldenström, “like a Catholic,” falls on his knees before the miracle—and the reader is there to witness it all. Waldenström’s kneeling therefore stages, in a definitive gesture, the unification of the relation between the indexical words—such as “here,” “there,” which like indexical signs have a causal (read contextual) relation to what they signify—aimed at the photograph; the photographs indexical relation to its object; as well as Waldenström’s submission before the holiness of the site – a process that has continued through the whole pilgrimage and reaches its climax here. Through the raptured pointing to the place – “there,” “here” – in lieu with Waldenström’s submission, photography and place are assimilated before the readers eyes. Here, the Christian tradition of relics and pilgrimage to places, as physical traces of the divine, converges with photography’s alleged quality as a trace on reality. When Waldenström kneels and exclaims “yes, yes, it is true!” and points “there” on the photograph, as if it was the actual place, he emphasizes photography’s participation in the miraculous revelation. By way of photo-textual practices of attention the divine place is visually revealed before the readers eyes. Language is reduced to attention and the staging of the photograph’s transparency is completed. The photograph appears as pure revelation, as an image that lets the site represent

itself. That is also how the alleged transparency of photography has established itself in the visual culture at the turn of the nineteenth century – as an image whose transparency in the end most of all reveals the language that has invented it. “Here – right here – were we stood.”

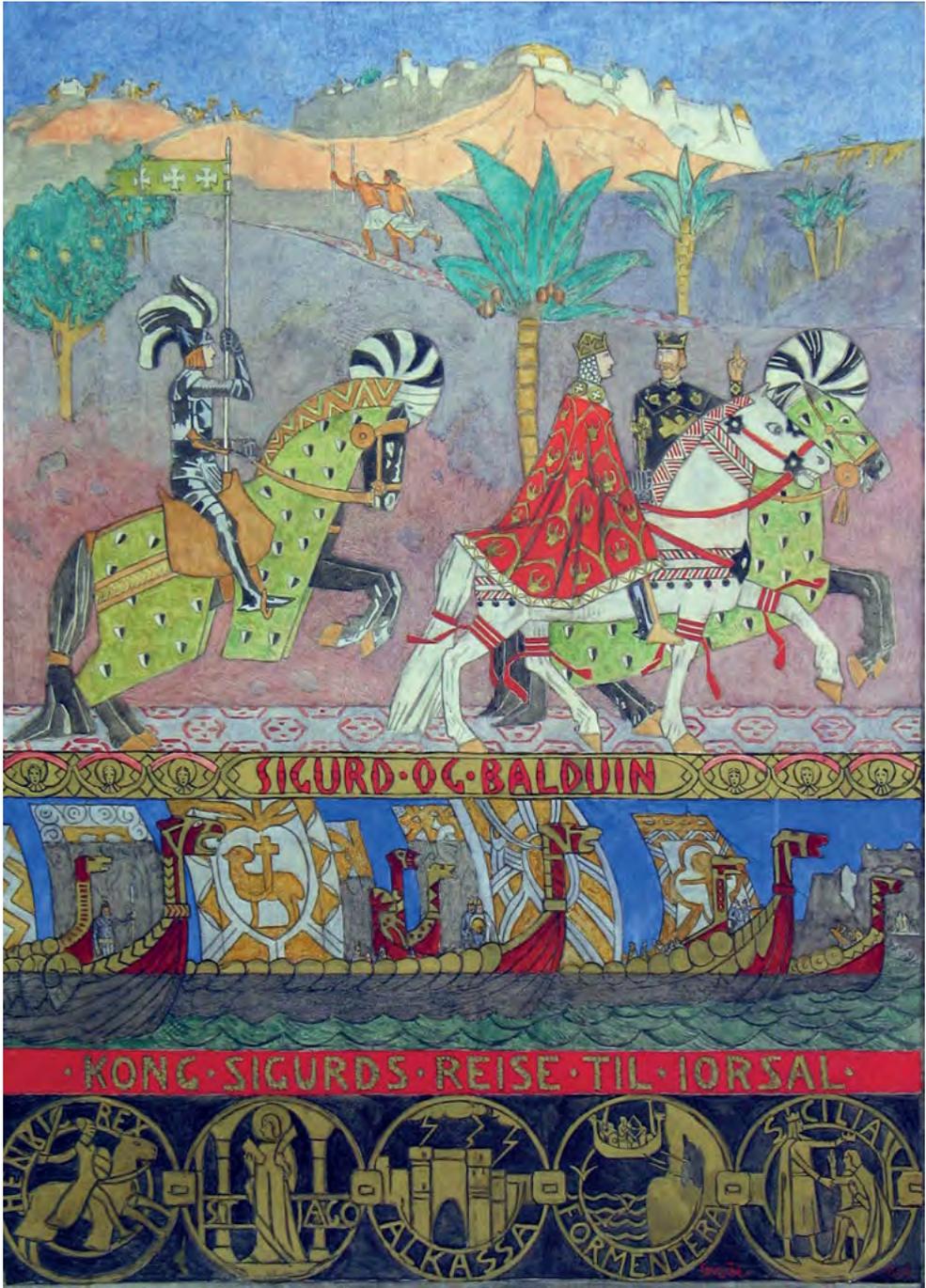


Fig. 22.0: Gerhard Munthe: *Sigurd and Baldwin*, 1899. Tempera, 143 x 103 cm. © Trondheim kunstmuseum. Photo: Ute Freia Beer.

**Part IV: The Promised Land: Realisation
and Secularisation**



Fig. 22.1: Selma Lagerlöf painted in her home in Falun by Carl Larsson in 1908. Bonniers Porträttsamling, Stockholm.

Jenny Bergenmar

Chapter 22

The Fatherland and the Holy Land:

Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*

Selma Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem* (1901–1902) was one of her most successful ones, and it is reflecting the national project circa 1900. However, she also wrote other, lesser known short prose texts about Jerusalem. These texts introduce Jerusalem to a Swedish public, and in them Jerusalem also serves as an exotic place that can be juxtaposed with a Swedish national identity; thus promoting a notion of Swedishness. The Jerusalem constructed in these texts also functions as a code to Christian cultures. The main questions posed in this chapter concern how the Jerusalem code plays out in these texts, more precisely how the concept of the “Holy Land” can be interpreted in them. Moreover, the question of how religious faith plays into the national discourse is explored.

At the peak of the Swedish migration to the West (North America), Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940) wrote a novel about migration in the opposite direction, to the East (Fig. 22.1).¹ In her novel *Jerusalem* (1901–1902), a group of farmers from the region of Dalarna is motivated not by the economic reasons common to migrants to the West, but by another shared reason: the longing for freedom, in this case religious freedom, more precisely, a longing for the heavenly Jerusalem. *Jerusalem* was written in two volumes. The first, *In Dalarna* (1901), narrates the religious revival of a group of villagers in Dalarna and the conflicts arising from it; ending with their departure to Jerusalem. The second, *In the Holy Land* (1902) describes the lives and the subsequent return to Sweden of the main characters, Ingmar and Gertrud, and others from Dalarna in the American Colony in Jerusalem.

Lagerlöf's novel is known to have relied on factual sources. The migration of about 40 people, including children, from the village of Nås in Dalarna to Jerusalem in 1896 was reported in newspapers. This probably did not arouse much interest, since reports

¹ The portrait of Lagerlöf by Carl Larsson (1908) has linen tapestries in the background with motifs and a quote from Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem*: “Jerusalem – with streets of gold where holy men and women wandered in long white robes” [“Jerusalem – med gator av guld där de heliga vandrade i vida vita kläder”]. The tapestries were designed by Anna Wettergren, woven by The Society for Swedish Handicraft, and commissioned by 347 women of the society *Nya Idun* [New Idun]. The tapestries are now preserved at Dalarnas museum. The information regarding the tapestries in Larsson's portrait of Lagerlöf (Fig. 22.1) was kindly furnished by Ms Monica Hilding and Ms Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg.

of groups migrating to America were common at this time, but Lagerlöf credited a short newspaper article for drawing her attention to this migration to the East.² The group from Nås went to Jerusalem to join the American Colony, a commune of nonconformist evangelical Protestants founded by Anna Spafford (Mrs. Gordon in the novel) and her husband, Horatio, in the 1880s.³ The American Colony was premillennialist, that is, they believed that Jesus would physically return to earth.⁴ The contact between the families from Dalarna and the colony was mediated by Olof Larsson (Hellgum in the novel); a sea captain and revivalist preacher who had met Anna Spafford in Chicago in 1895.⁵ In the novel, he is portrayed as a charismatic character who separates his followers from those in the village who choose not to join him.

The novel is a study in contrasts: the familiar landscape of Dalarna against the foreign Jerusalem; the traditional, inherited faith against the new revival; the down-to-earth and thoughtful mindset of the village leader, Ingmar Ingmarsson, against the emotionally high-strung exaltation of the revivalists (including Gertrud, the principal female protagonist). Erland Lagerroth summarized the novel's central theme as "revolutionary sectarianism versus traditional peasant heritage."⁶ As Vivi Edström shows, the original edition of the second part of *Jerusalem* differs considerably from Lagerlöf's 1909 revision. Edström finds the original more consistent with the first part of the novel. The 1909 version harmonizes the conflict between the emigrants and the village, and it portrays life in Jerusalem as more hopeful and, in the end, more like that of the old village. The original 1902 version does not resolve the ideological conflicts between the villagers and the emigrants, and it paints a darker picture of Jerusalem and the possibility of finding God there.⁷ Edström connects this to the national emotions around 1900, also expressed in Verner von Heidenstam's *Karolinerna* [*The Charles Men*].⁸ In

² Selma Lagerlöf, "Hur jag fann ett romanämne," *Svenska Jerusalemföreningens tidskrift* 35 (1936): 126.

³ Milette Shamir, "'Our Jerusalem,' Americans in the Holy Land and Protestant Narratives of National Entitlement," *American Quarterly* 55 (2003): 29–30.

⁴ Shamir, "'Our Jerusalem,' Americans in the Holy Land and Protestant Narratives of National Entitlement," 30.

⁵ Sigvard Lindqvist, *Kring Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem. Några anteckningar* (Falun: Dalarnas Museum, 1990), 24.

⁶ Erland Lagerroth, *Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem. Revolutionär Sekterism Mot Fäderneärvd Bondeordning* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 79.

⁷ Vivi Edström, "'Gud styr.' Motivförskjutningen i Jerusalem," in *Lagerlöfstudier 1958*, eds. Nils Afzelius and Ulla-Britta Lagerroth (Malmö: Selma Lagerlöf-sällskapet, 1958), 185. Landmark argues that while the original edition emphasizes religious and existential aspects, the revised 1909 edition foregrounds social and political issues. Dan Landmark, "*Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare*" – orientalistiska mönster i det sena 1800-talets svenska litteratur och kultur, *Örebro studies* 23 (Örebro: Universitetsbiblioteket, 2003), 146.

⁸ *Karolinerna* was the original title. Verner von Heidenstam, *Karolinerna. Berättelser*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1897–1898), 117.

that novel, as in Lagerlöf's, love of the nation is narrated as an intense longing for home experienced by Swedes in foreign lands (in both cases, West Asia).⁹

To prepare for writing her novel, Lagerlöf travelled to Jerusalem with fellow-novelist Sophie Elkan; her intimate friend and travelling companion. They plotted a route to Jerusalem via Egypt, and returned through Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey (1899–1900) (Fig. 22.2).¹⁰ In addition to their novels, Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem* and Elkan's novel *Drömmen om Österlandet* [*The Dream of the Orient*], the journey also prompted short stories and travel writing. Helena Bodin has argued that Elkan's texts derived from this journey promoted internationalism and questioned the idea of Swedishness, while Lagerlöf's stories were more patriotic and propagandistic.¹¹ Not surprisingly, Lagerlöf's texts from her eastward travels brim with European *fin de siècle* ideas about the Orient. As Ulf Olsson has remarked, while the conflict in *Jerusalem I* is between tradition and renewal, in *Jerusalem II* it is between the colonists and the Others; mainly non-Christians.¹² Lagerlöf's incentive for writing about the Orient and Jerusalem was, concrete, to an extent, stemming from the 1897 newspaper article and her travel with Sophie Elkan to Jerusalem. However, in her own, fictionalized story about the origin of *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf points to the interests she shared with her fellow author Heidenstam: they both wanted to write a national epic.¹³ In the newspaper notice describing the migration of the farmers from Dalarna to Palestine, Lagerlöf found her subject. She thus frames *Jerusalem* as both a national and heroic story: for the sake of their faith, the farmers “abandoned Sweden to seek the poor and desolate Holy Land.”¹⁴

The main questions posed in this chapter concern how the Jerusalem code plays out in Lagerlöf's texts; more precisely how the concept of “the Holy Land” can be interpreted in the novel *Jerusalem* and how this relates to Swedish literature as a

9 Edström, “‘Gud styr.’ Motivförskjutningen i Jerusalem,” 186. See also Landmark, “*Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare*,” 143.

10 Lena Carlsson, *Frihetslif! Selma Lagerlöf och Sophie Elkan. ‘Två ensamma fruntimmer’ på resa med kamera* (Karlstad: Votum förlag, 2017), 49. On the postcard (Fig. 22.2) Lagerlöf has written the following (in Swedish, my translation): “Dear Mother, Yesterday we actually did arrive safe and sound in Jerusalem and I am very happy to be at the final destination of our journey. The place is more worthy and more interesting than I imagined, very beautiful, very ancient but no more so than an Italian city. I have spent the whole day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and seen thousands of Russian pilgrims. I have seen all the holy places, tombs, Golgatha etc. Tomorrow we will go to Jericho. Jerusalem is worth all the troubles it takes to get here. Tonight, Sophie and I will visit the American Colony.”

11 Helena Bodin, “Sophie Elkan's Ambiguous Dream of the Orient: On Cultural Identity and the National Literary Canon,” in *Rethinking National Literatures and the Literary Canon in Scandinavia*, eds., Ann-Sophie Lönngren, Heidi Grönstrand, Dag Heede and Anne Heith (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 88–9.

12 Ulf Olsson, *Invändningar. Kritiska artiklar* (Stockholm – Stehag: Symposium, 2007), 107.

13 Lagerlöf, “Hur jag fann ett romanämne,” 125.

14 Lagerlöf, “Hur jag fann ett romanämne,” 1267. My translation. In the original: “övergivit Sverige och uppsökt det fattiga och ödsliga heliga landet.”

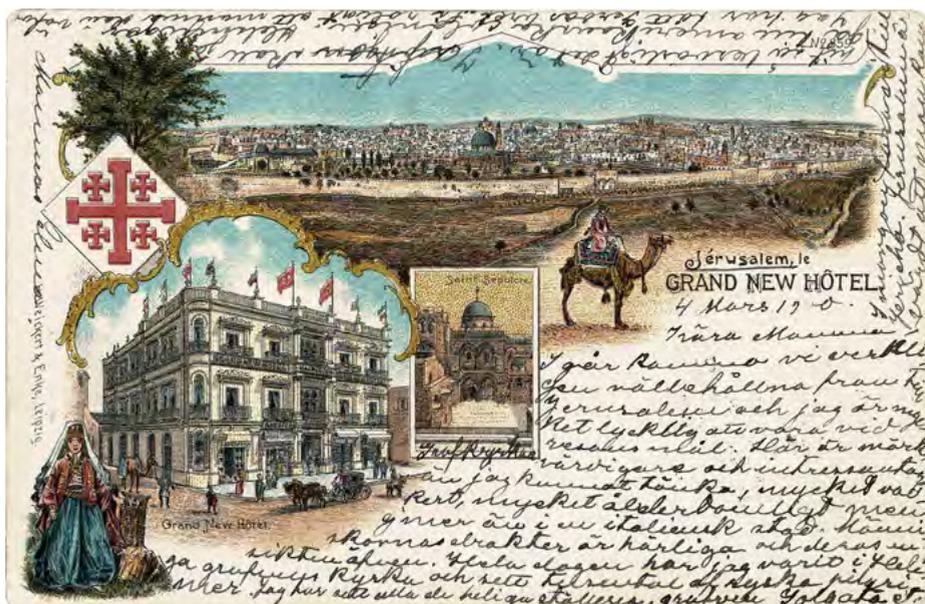


Fig. 22.2: Postcard from Jerusalem sent by Selma Lagerlöf to her mother on March 4, 1900. Courtesy of Lena Carlsson and Anneli Oxenstierna. Photo: Anneli Oxenstierna.

national project circa 1900. Moreover, how does the question of religious faith play into this national discourse? As these questions indicate, I focus in this chapter on the novel *Jerusalem* in its original edition, but I also consider some of Lagerlöf's other literary texts with motifs from the journey to Jerusalem, in order to investigate the position the narrator assumes in relation to the foreign places and people that are being portrayed. Her texts introduce Jerusalem to the Swedish public, and Jerusalem serves, in her texts, as an exotic place that can be juxtaposed with a Swedish national identity; thus promoting a notion of Swedishness. More importantly, Jerusalem also functions as a code to Christian cultures.

There was already a long tradition of European novels and travel writing about the Orient to which Lagerlöf added her contributions. Fredrika Bremer's *Lifvet i Gamla Verlden [Travels in the Holy Land]*¹⁵ provided the impressions and experiences of another female traveller and novelist, and for several other artists of the Modern Breakthrough (c.1860–1920) the Orient was in fashion: Henrik Ibsen let Peer Gynt

¹⁵ Fredrika Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen. Dagboks-anteckningar under resor i Söder- och Österland I–III* (Stockholm and Uppsala: Adolf Bonnier, 1860–1862), 118. It was published in English as Fredrika Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land I–II*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), 119.

travel to North Africa; August Strindberg named one of his plays *Till Damaskus* [*To Damaskus*] (1898); Verner von Heidenstam portrayed the Orient in his novels *Endymion* (1889) and *Hans Alienus* (1892), and other texts; and Knut Hamsun published his impressions of eastern travels in *I Æventyrland* [*In Wonderland*] (1903) and *Under Halvmaanen* [*Under the Crescent Moon*] (1905).¹⁶ The conditions for travel had improved. Thomas Cook and other travel agencies had detailed Egyptian itineraries, and after the railway was built from Jaffa to Jerusalem, a tour through the Holy Land was added.¹⁷ It became easier for women to travel; even without male company, as proven by Lagerlöf and Elkan. The second volume of *Jerusalem* sometimes assumes the character of tourist guide, eagerly documenting the different historical and religious monuments. The contexts of travel, migration, and aesthetic fascination for the Oriental, in contrast to the Western and national, frame this reading of Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*.

Jerusalem as Hope and Threat

In the first part of *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf presents the reader with three symbolic representations of Jerusalem. In the opening chapter, “At the Schoolmaster’s,” Gertrud, the schoolmaster’s young daughter, is busy building a model of the village from stones and small pieces of glass. While she elaborately replicates the landscape, the church, the schoolhouse, and all the other important buildings of the village, her father and the village vicar are engaged in a debate. The schoolmaster is concerned that the old vicar will be abandoned if any travelling revivalist preachers reach the village. He wants to build a chapel where people could be addressed about faith in a simpler way than the elderly vicar is capable of. The vicar defends the old faith and traditions and warns that a new chapel and simpler speech will drive people from the church. When leaving, feeling defeated and obsolete, the vicar asks Gertrud what she is doing. She tells the vicar that she built the whole village and then destroyed it to build Jerusalem, since she had read in school about its beauty. The vicar takes this as a predication that the new faith will destroy the village. In narratological terms this can be viewed as a prolepsis, an episode anticipating what is about to happen.¹⁸ By presenting Jerusalem

¹⁶ Elisabeth Oxfeldt has investigated this “Nordic orientalism” more thoroughly in Elisabeth Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism: Paris and the Cosmopolitan Imagination 1800–1900* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005), 111. In it, she discusses among other texts Ibsen’s *Peer Gynt* and Hamsun’s *I Æventyrland*. For an in-depth investigation of orientalism in late nineteenth-century Swedish literature, including *Jerusalem*, see Landmark, “Vi, civilisationens ljusbärare.”

¹⁷ Lindqvist, *Kring Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem*, 19.

¹⁸ Gerard Génette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 40.



Fig. 22.3: *Dalmålning [Dalarna Painting]* by Snarf Anders Andersson. Inscribed “*Christus Gråter ofwer staden Jerusalem 1819 A. A. S [Christ Crying over the City of Jerusalem 1819].*” Nordiska museet, Stockholm. Photo: Sören Hallgren. Even though the painting in Lagerlöf’s novel is fictive, paintings by local artists abounded in Dalarna.

as a threat to the village, the episode is also part of the construction of opposites in the novel: the old faith rooted in the village and its inherited traditions versus the revivalism connected to Jerusalem and the disruption of the old society.

The second symbolic representation of Jerusalem is more visual and functions as an ekphrasis. It is a painting, described in the chapter “The letter from Hellgum” (Fig. 22.3). When the preacher Hellgum arrives in the village he attracts many followers, but when he later has to leave for America, a good deal of the villagers turn their backs on the revivalists and they lose their purpose. Hellgum had promised

them that the “new Jerusalem would descend from the sky,” but this cannot be since the villagers in general continue their normal, but – in the eyes of Hellgum’s followers – worldly and sinful life.¹⁹ It is at this point the letter of Hellgum, urging his followers to come to Jerusalem, arrives. When reading the letter, the revivalists are gathered in the old Ingmarsson farm. On the wall, there is a painting of Jerusalem with the inscription “This is God’s Holy City, Jerusalem.”²⁰ The description of it is lengthy and detailed. The painting is said to have been made by an old, local artist, who has made Jerusalem look like a city in Dalarna. There are the traditional, small, red cabins, and buildings that remind the viewer of Kristine church in Falun; and the landscape is green and full of trees and creeks. The people are dressed in clothes from the previous century.²¹ The Holy City is thus transposed to a specific time and place: Dalarna in the eighteenth century.

The description of the painting is followed thereafter by a quotation of a passage from the Book of Revelation, in which the heavenly Jerusalem is detailed. Thus, a third image of Jerusalem is presented directly after the one firmly rooted in time, space, and tradition: Jerusalem as the city with gates of gold, and walls of clear glass, adorned with precious stones.²² Two images of Jerusalem are juxtaposed: one as home in a literal sense, connected to inherited traditions and familiar customs, the other as eternal and unfathomably rich, but unfamiliar. In his letter, Hellgum conflates the city of Jerusalem with the heavenly Jerusalem; reporting the colonists’ image of Jerusalem as a glorious city, shining on its white mountain²³ where the very stones speak of their Saviour.²⁴ The juxtaposition of the Jerusalem of the painting, and that of the Bible entails a conflict between the home and the departing from it, between the real earthly home, and a transcendental heavenly home.

To address this conflict, Lagerlöf composes the letter as a dialogue between Hellgum and his followers. In this way she allows for the villagers’ possible arguments against joining the Colony to be met by arguments for joining. The letter poses the question: do they love their fields and farms more than they love Christ? One by one, the gathered followers of Hellgum hear the calling of God. The exception is Eva Gunnarsdotter, one of the most devoted members of the congregation. When she realises that the others will go without her if she is not called, she laments the costly price of the desire to reach the heavenly Jerusalem: wives and children, mothers and fathers,

¹⁹ Quotations from *Jerusalem*, vols. 1–2, and from the short stories commented in the next section, are my translations. In the original: “det nya Jerusalem skulle nederkomma ur himmelens sky.” Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1901), 221.

²⁰ In original: “Detta är Guds heliga stad, Jerusalem”. Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 223.

²¹ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 122–3.

²² Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 224. See also the vision of the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:18–19.

²³ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 228.

²⁴ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 230.

and their good homes will be left behind. These negative consequences of the desire to go to Jerusalem are elaborated upon in the second half of *Jerusalem I*. They are, for example, crucial to the chapter “The Auction,” which will be discussed in the next section. In this chapter the painting of Jerusalem appears again. When the Ingmarsson family farm is emptied, there is nothing left in the house except the painting of Jerusalem on the wall.

The conflict between the representatives of the old and the new, the inherited faith and the new interpretation is also played out by placing important characters on each side of the dichotomy. Young Ingmar, who is opposed to the migration, is contrasted with his fiancée, the schoolmaster’s daughter Gertrud, who decides to heed Hellgum’s call to join the congregation in Jerusalem. With her skill in employing free indirect speech, Lagerlöf allows the reader to understand the motives and predicaments of individuals on both sides of the conflict. She also complicates a simple connection between the Ingmarsson family and the old faith, rooted in the native home, by making young Ingmar’s sister Karin one of the most devout followers of Hellgum and the Ingmarsson family farm the centre for the revivalists. It is clear that there is a gender aspect to this, albeit not explicitly expressed: the village is a patriarchal community, while the Colony offers a community led by a woman, where men and women live as equals.²⁵ Although the narrator presents the conflict in a multifocal and balanced manner, certain elements in the narration indicate that the new kind of Christianity represented by Hellgum is not sound. The sectarians’ ideas about a life of unity and brotherhood, inspired by the apostles, lead them to reject old customs, break with their families, and sell their farms and belongings.

A Tourist’s Gaze

While Lagerlöf was fascinated by the emigration of the Nås farmers and admired their bravery to follow their faith, both the description of the brutal separation of families and the farmers’ misfortunes in Jerusalem suggest that she was as equally occupied with the pernicious consequences of the emigration. To contextualize the image of Jerusalem in her novel, I will in this section examine representations of Jerusalem in her other texts. In a short 1908 biographical text Lagerlöf relates an episode from her travel to Jerusalem in 1900. One night at the Grand Hotel she is summoned to the reception hall to meet a guest considered unfit to be shown into

²⁵ Lisbeth Stenberg reads the colony as “a radically different alternative” for the women, and argues that *Jerusalem* both can be interpreted as a nationalist, homogenizing idyll and a feminist utopia. Lisbeth Stenberg, “Nationen som hem. Idyll, utopi och reella kontradiktioner i Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem,” *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 24 (1995): 66–7.

her room or the salon. He is described as “an awfully ugly old negro, a man whose enormous lips, long monkey arms, swollen muscles, heavy body, and thick bark-like skin gives the impression of belonging to that race of people existing before the Flood.”²⁶ In this passage, the meeting with the Orient is mediated through a colonial European gaze and language, constructing whiteness as normative. The old man, a fortune teller brought to tell Lagerlöf's future, is deprived of humanity; he is monkey-like, his fingernail is “like a claw,” and he is described as coarse and primitive.²⁷ Here Lagerlöf clearly participates in the “orientalizing” of the Orient, establishing the positional superiority of the western narrator while drawing on familiar stereotypes of eastern backwardness.²⁸ Her description also employs a racial caricature to underline the foreign and exotic. However, as is often the case in her writing, Lagerlöf turns the differences in culture, origin, race, and position into a discussion of similarities. In the story, the narrator cannot think of anything to ask the fortune teller. “Isn't there an insurmountable gap between an Arabic fortune teller and a Western traveller?” she asks herself.²⁹ This gap is challenged, however, by how Lagerlöf relates the fortune teller's prophecy of her future to that made at the time of her birth by her aunt in Värmland. Both predicted that she would write books and be successful. Although she imagines her aunt's voice in her mind, cautioning her that Arabs want to flatter and will say what they need to get paid, Lagerlöf's narrator concludes that the two prophecies have the same meaning. However different the Muslim fortune teller and the aunt in Värmland might be, they both see what is true.

This story is characteristic of Lagerlöf's ambiguous representations of Jerusalem, oscillating between underlining differences; not least in her descriptions of characters and physical environments, and the idea that people can reach each other beyond cultural and religious differences. The image of the repugnant fortune teller is recycled from her previous story, “En sägen från Jerusalem [A Story from Jerusalem]” (1902), that describes the removal of a fortune teller from the Al-Aqsa Mosque before a visit from a “powerful monarch from the West.”³⁰ The characterization is strikingly similar: an “incredibly ugly old negro” with enormous lips, low forehead, and a nose like a snout. Considering this physiognomy, and the dirty white shawl he is clothed in, the

26 “Det är en gammal neger av en fruktansvärt ful typ, en man, som med sina ofantliga läppar, sina långa aparmar, sina utsvällda muskler, sin tunga kropp och sin grova, barklika hud gör intryck av att ha tillhört den människoras, som fanns till före syndafloden.” Selma Lagerlöf, “Två spådomar (1908),” in *Troll och människor I* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1915), 229.

27 Lagerlöf, “Två spådomar,” 232.

28 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 5–9.

29 “Ligger det inte ett oöverstigligt svalg mellan en arabisk spåman och en västerländsk resande?” Lagerlöf, “Två Spådomar,” 230.

30 Possibly this refers to Kaiser Wilhelm who visited Jerusalem in 1898. Selma Lagerlöf, “En sägen från Jerusalem (1902),” in *En saga om en saga och andra sagor* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1908), 185.

narrator states that “there is no wonder he was forbidden to show himself in the mosque when the celebrated guest was there.”³¹

In these stories, the physiognomy of the foreigner (black, Arab, and Muslim) is not fit to be seen and is clearly de-humanized. Expelled from the mosque during the monarch’s tour, the fortune teller, Mesullam, is later visited by a guide and a European guest, implied to be the Monarch himself, who is not repelled by his appearance. Lagerlöf writes that the European “watched him with the same pleasure as a child watches a wild animal in a menagerie,” continuing the de-humanization of a non-white Muslim man.³² Although the story is partly narrated from the perspective of Mesullam, the fortune teller remains inferior to the visitor who has come to ask for an interpretation of his dreams and visions. The visions seem, to some extent, to bridge the differences between Christians and Muslims, but in the actual physical meeting between the European and the Oriental, a clear hierarchy is established and reinforced through de-humanizing rhetorical strategies.

As Sara Ahmed writes, the alien is a source of fascination and desire, but also a representation of the danger of the unknown.³³ The fortune teller has this double function in both stories, and he would have been an easily recognizable figure to many contemporary European tourists in Jerusalem. In other stories, and in the second part of *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf turns her touristic gaze towards the city itself, with its long history, many legends, and important sights. As with her image of the fortune teller in the short story, Lagerlöf’s representation of Jerusalem in the novel is divided between fascination and danger. The same ambivalence characterises her other stories about the city. “En julnatt i Betlehem [A Christmas Eve in Bethlehem]” (1908) describes Jerusalem as the site of a violent clash amongst different nationalities, ethnicities, and religions.³⁴ Through the eyes of a young French consul, the reader is brought through Jerusalem to the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem while the dragoman points out all the sights. The question the story poses is: how can there ever be peace in a church divided between the followers of different faiths, all claiming their right to possess a bit of this holy place? The conflict in the church escalates almost to violence, but a sudden strong wind blows out all the candles except one; all fighting then ceases in a communal experience of the presence of God. This revelation also answers the consul’s question about why so many people leave their homes to live in Jerusalem. The story ends with the consul’s resignation and entrance to one of the cloisters of Palestine.

31 “så kan man inte förundra sig över att han blev förbjuden att visa sig i moskén, så länge den firade gästen befann sig där.” Lagerlöf, “En sägen från Jerusalem,” 186.

32 “såg på honom med samma nöje som ett barn, då det betraktar ett vilt djur i ett menageri.” Lagerlöf, “En sägen från Jerusalem,” 190.

33 Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 3.

34 Selma Lagerlöf, “En julnatt i Betlehem (1908),” in *Från skilda tider 1. Efterlämnade skrifter* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1943), 106.

This story in many ways resembles the narrative about the Holy Land in *Jerusalem*. One of its main questions is what motivates people to leave their homes in Sweden to live in a foreign and very different country. In the novel *Jerusalem*, as in “A Christmas Eve in Bethlehem,” the answer is to be close to God and to experience the presence of God, or, as in Gertrud’s case, in a more literal sense to be present at Jesus’s return. However, the immigrations of different nationalities, ethnicities, and religions causes conflict and misery. In “A Christmas Eve in Bethlehem” a Western, secular, modern man sees both sides of Jerusalem: holiness and unity versus worldly conflict. Lagerroth points out that in the first part of the novel, Jerusalem is imagined as the only worthy place for the followers of Hellgum’s faith, while in the second part of the novel, it is presented as the place most in need of his and Mrs Gordon’s belief in unity.³⁵

The Inherited Land and the Holy Land

As many scholars have remarked, the Swedish region of Dalarna was not an ideologically neutral place around the turn of the century. The rural landscape and the peasant farmers of Dalarna had a symbolic meaning in the construction of Swedishness around 1900.³⁶ The preface to the novel adds to this nationally encoded discourse. It is set before the actual events of the novel. A young farmer is ploughing his field. “The earth, as it was turned by the plough, lay black, and shone with moisture and fatness, and the man at the plough was happy in the thought of soon being able to sow his rye.”³⁷ The farmer is Ingmar, the youngest in a line of men in the Ingmarsson family, whom had traditionally served as the village’s patriarchs. The farmer Ingmar is also the father of the Ingmar who is the novel’s protagonist. In the preface, Ingmar the older is pondering a moral predicament and in his mind’s eye he sees his father and all his forefathers sitting in the large room of the Ingmarsson farm. In an internal dialogue he speaks to his father and decides to break with the collective opinion of the village and to “walk in the ways of God.” In making his decision, the farmer Ingmar the reader encounters in the preface eventually becomes “Great Ingmar” and can finally fulfil his role in the village.

The preface establishes a strong connection between the farmer and his soil, a rootedness in a specific landscape, and a faith inseparable from old traditions and customs. Interjected in this moral soliloquy are observations about the plough, the horses, the soil, and the beauty of the landscape and the village. Great Ingmar

³⁵ Lagerroth, *Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem*, 194.

³⁶ Jeff Werner and Thomas Björk, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture* (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseums skriftserie, 2014), 106–7.

³⁷ “Jorden, som vändes upp af plogen, låg svartbrun och sken af fukt och fetma, och han, som plöjde, gick och gladde sig åt att snart få så råg där.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 3.

gains his manhood by inwardly returning to a long line of patriarchs, while carrying on their tradition of hard manual labour. While a return to the roots, both in a literal and metaphorical sense, is what helps Great Ingmar “walk the ways of God,” the departure for Jerusalem is narrated as a brutal uprooting of families and homes, not least in the episode where an auction is arranged to sell the Ingmarsson family farm and all its belongings. In a deeper sense, this event signifies that “the identity of the family is for sale,” as Anna Bohlin has argued.³⁸ Ingmar (the younger), who is deprived of his rightful legacy, winces with every blow of the auctioneer’s club. Another sign of the wrongness cruelty of Hellgum’s followers’ true faith is the plight of the old people who spent their lives living on the farm and working for the Ingmarsson family, who now fear being separated from their home and forced to become beggars. They all sit beside young Ingmar in quiet demonstration.

The departure of the families to Jerusalem is narrated as a tragedy, with heart-breaking separations and an elegiac portrait of the province they are leaving. One of the migrants meets his brother who blames him for selling the family farm, which was not really his, but was inherited and meant to be passed down to coming generations.³⁹ The children try to run away because they miss their home. The organic connection between the people and their homeland is expressed not only in their grief in separating from their homes and families, but also in what they will no longer share with the other villagers: the beautiful view over the mighty river, the sunlight on the trees in the valley, and the view over the blue mountains.⁴⁰ The separation is thus not only about relations and belongings, but also about an uprooting from ones’ natural environment.

While the first part of *Jerusalem* begins with a loving portrait of the village as Great Ingmar ploughs the field, the second part opens with a panoramic view of Jerusalem, so hot and dry that the flowers wither, the wells dry up, and the sand is too hot to step on. The hot dry climate creates one of the novel’s most important elements of difference and alienation for the farmers. While the village in Dalarna is characterized by the great river and the fertile soil, the Swedish colonists suffer from the lack of fresh water and fields to farm. Gunhild, one of the Swedish colonists, dies from dehydration and sunstroke. When young Ingmar visits the colony, he wonders how the farmers from Dalarna can stand not to do their usual work in the forest or the fields. The Holy Land seems cursed, taking the lives of one after the other of the followers of Hellgum, and depriving the still living of the blessings of the good work described in the preface.

³⁸ Anna Bohlin, “Mårbacka: Larders, Cow-Houses, and Other Spiritual Matters,” in *Re-Mapping Lagerlöf. Performance, Intermediality, and European Transmissions*, eds., Helena Forsås-Scott, Lisbeth Stenberg and Bjarne Thorup Thomsen (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 68.

³⁹ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 308.

⁴⁰ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna*, 306.

Gertrud's longing for the heavenly Jerusalem and her conviction that they have come to Jerusalem to witness the return of Jesus on earth is intensified after her friend Gunhild's death. But her daily walks to the Mount of Olives and her waiting for Jesus's return is in vain, and by the others in the Colony her walks and her waiting are perceived as a sign of beginning insanity. Already in the fourth chapter of the 1902 edition (the opening chapter of the 1909 revision), it is suggested that the followers of Hellgum will not find the Jerusalem of their faith. In this chapter, one of the Swedish migrants, Birger, catches a fever upon arriving in Palestine. When he realizes he is about to die, his last wish is to see "Jerusalem's palaces and its streets of gold, where the holy walk side by side, dressed in white, with palms in their hands."⁴¹ This is, after all, what was promised in the letter from Hellgum previously discussed. But when his friends carry him through Jerusalem on a stretcher to see the sights, all he sees are filthy streets, poor beggars, and dirty dogs. The "true Jerusalem," that is the heavenly Jerusalem, that Birger is looking for is not to be found in the actual geographical place of Jerusalem.

Migrants and Colonizers

In contrast to the comfortable position of the tourist in Lagerlöf's short prose drawing on her Jerusalem travel, the experiences of the farmers in Jerusalem is described as one of confusion, desperation, and loss of identity. The episode about the dying Birger's futile search for the heavenly Jerusalem is one example that has already been mentioned. This episode is also interesting in the way it portrays the people of Jerusalem. They are depicted with the same appalled distance as the fortune teller in the two stories previously discussed: he sees "dark-skinned Bedouins, with rifles on their shoulders and daggers in their girdles," "half-naked water carriers," "the Muhammedan women, looking like ghosts, when they came walking, wrapped in white with black cloth over their faces."⁴² These frightening non-Western, non-Christian others come even closer when some beggars with leprosy approach the stretcher, reaching out their hands with withered fingers to him, their voices like the growling of dogs, their faces destroyed by the disease.⁴³ Lisbeth Stenberg argues that in *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf makes an effort to not

41 "Jerusalems palats och dess gator af guld, där de heliga vandra i sida, hvita kläder med palmer i händerna." Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1902), 58.

42 "mörkhyade beduiner, som hade bössa på skuldran och dolk i gördeln," "halfnakna vattenbärare," "de muhammedanska fruntimmrena, hvilka sågo ut som spöken, där de kommo gående helt insvepta i hvitt med ett svart tygstycke framför ansiktet." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 63–4.

43 Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 64–5.

portray people of other origin as different in a negative way.⁴⁴ It may be that she did not consciously portray the different people the colonists meet in Jerusalem as inferior, but the effect of the examples above is that Lagerlöf transgresses the touristic gaze, looking at the foreign with fascination, and instead presents Jerusalem in the eyes of Birger as a feverish nightmare.

This episode is significant on two levels. It challenges the religious undertaking of the emigrants, posing the question of whether the holy place and spiritual life they are looking for is possible in Jerusalem, and it is part of an orientalist discourse, using common stereotypes to establish the superiority of the Swedish emigrants. Even though the Swedes are poor and vulnerable, they are portrayed as culturally and morally superior in their belief in unity when the rest of Jerusalem is characterized by conflict. Chris Bongie made a distinction between an *exoticizing exoticism* and *imperialist exoticism*. The former is connected to the late nineteenth-century critique of modernity, which valued the exotic culture above that of the modern West; the latter attitude viewed the exotic culture as uncivilized and inferior.⁴⁵ European *fin de siècle* literature often used the exotic as a critique of modernity, and the symbolism of the Swedish 1890s can be seen as a part of this tendency. However, it soon developed into a national romanticism expressing an imperial rather than an exoticizing exoticism.

The narrative strategy Lagerlöf employs is clearly visible in the chapter discussed here: the Swedish migrants' clash with the hard realities of Jerusalem makes it possible to represent them as heroic, subjecting themselves to the conflicts and hardships of Jerusalem to live their lives as a good example for others. While the revivalists in the first part of the novel seemed hard and uncompromising in their righteousness, in the context of Jerusalem they seem noble and honourable, albeit vulnerable victims of the cruel Jerusalem. As Lagerroth writes, in the foreign, far-away land they no longer seem like sectarians, but as people from Dalarna: as Swedes.⁴⁶ The chapter "God's Holy City, Jerusalem," Lagerlöf continues the same strategy. Jerusalem is described as the city of lies, slander, and blasphemy, where "the Catholic speaks ill of the Protestant, the Methodist of the Quaker, the Lutheran of the Reformist, the Russian of the Armenian."⁴⁷ This slander also hits the Swedish migrants in the colony. They are despised by the rest of the Christian community, and when these rumours reach Sweden, they contribute to Gunhild's death, which is caused explicitly by sunstroke, but connected metaphorically to the slander.

⁴⁴ Stenberg, "Nationen som hem," 53.

⁴⁵ Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin De Siècle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 17.

⁴⁶ Lagerroth, *Selma Lagerlöfs Jerusalem*, 41.

⁴⁷ "Här är det, som katoliken talar illa om protestanten, metodisten om kväkaren, lutheranen om den reformerte, ryssen om armeniern." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 71.

This negative narrative of the actual Jerusalem and the sense of loss and purposelessness felt by the Swedes are epitomized in the chapter “In Gehenna”. In it, a member of the colony, Halfvor, finds the Swedish cemetery dug up and the dead bodies thrown in a pile of garbage. As he carries the body of his youngest daughter back to the colony, the contrast between life in Dalarna and in Jerusalem becomes clearer: in Dalarna his daughter would have been put to rest under a green tuft of grass, but in Jerusalem the vultures and the wild dogs gather around the half-open caskets. He concludes that they “cannot grow the soil of this country and drink its water,” and therefore they cannot survive there.⁴⁸ The experience of finding his daughter’s dead body, and carrying it in the burning sun back to the colony is too much for Halfvor, who dies at the gate of the colony. His last wish is to be buried with his daughter under a “green piece of turf,” like they would have been at home.⁴⁹ Gehenna in this context may broadly signify Hell, but also acknowledges that the Gehenna valley was used as a refuse heap and a place to dispose of the bodies of executed criminals. The message is clearly that the emigrants left the Garden of Eden for Gehenna, and confused the ideal Kingdom of God with the actual place of Jerusalem.

This is similar to a later incident in which Gertrud confuses a dancing dervish with Jesus. While she had expected Jesus to appear at dawn on the Mount of Olives, surrounded by light, she instead follows a Christ-like figure far into the Muslim quarters in the middle of the night. But instead of preaching, the dervish dances and screams. Here too, Muslims are portrayed as ugly and primitive: their look “horrible,” their hair long, their faces like the faces of dead people, their movements wild and uncontrollable with white foam coming out of their mouths.⁵⁰ However, Gertrud’s meeting with the dervish is ambiguous. Later she encounters the same man at the Mount of Olives, sitting on the ground, looking down over Jerusalem. Gertrud “did not for a moment forget that he was just a poor dancing dervish,” but seeing his face she is nevertheless convinced of his spiritual power and she kisses his hand, just like his followers used to do.⁵¹ Here different religious beliefs are to some extent conflated, just like in the previously discussed tale of the two prophecies.

Although there are some hopeful episodes in which the migrants feel closer to God and to their own purpose, the first part of *Jerusalem II* is above all about the violent clash between the Swedes’ imagined Jerusalem and the reality they face: with the chapters “In Gehenna” and “The Well of Paradise” – in which the Swedish part of the colony is almost eradicated by fever – as the culmination of a series of conflicts and

48 “Lika litet som vi kunna odla detta landets jord och dricka dess vatten, lika litet kunna vi fortsätta leva här.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 138.

49 Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 140.

50 Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 242.

51 “Gertrud glömde ej ett ögonblick, att mannen endast var en stackars dervisch . . .” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet*, 290.

contradictions. The turning point is the arrival of young Ingmar, who has come to the colony from Dalarna to bring Gertrud home. After bringing Gertrud to her senses by exposing the falsity of her expectation of meeting Christ, he goes on to reform the colony. He stays in Jerusalem, helps the colonists run a mill, encourages the start of a school for Muslim girls, stops the desecration of graves, buys the colony horses for transport and farm labour, and convinces Mrs. Gordon to accept the concept of payment for work. By these means, the colony's ill-fortune reverses and it begins to prosper. The trajectory of the Swedes' experience in Jerusalem goes from identity loss and destitution to development and improvement. To use Edward Said's concept, the "strategic location," *i.e.* the position of the author in her representation of the Orient, includes a portrayal of the farmers as both victims of a primitive culture and devastated landscape and as a part of a Western civilization project.⁵²

Conclusion

In Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem* the Swedish revivalists are portrayed as vulnerable migrants, subject to prejudice, social stigma, and material obstacles. Lagerlöf constantly measures the foreign against the familiar in a series of oppositions; constructing the home in Dalarna as the natural environment of the Swedes, where they are organically rooted in the landscape, the community, and the patriarchal system of values carried forward by the Ingmarsson family. The position of the Swedes as vulnerable migrants is combined with their position of moral and cultural superiority. According to Bjarne Thorup Thomsen, *Jerusalem* is about "the loss of old territory and the attempted acquisition or conquest of new territory."⁵³ With the help of Ingmar, who fulfils his fate to be a village leader, like his father, the Swedes in the American Colony devote themselves to improving and developing the conflicted and uncivilized place that the actual city of Jerusalem proved to be. Using Said's distinction between the Orient as an idea and the Orient as an actual place that has been conquered and colonized, the Jerusalem of the novel can be said to be a product of religious imagination transformed into an actual place; resisting the messianic dream of the migrants, but subject to their projects of improvement.

Although *Jerusalem* is narrated from different viewpoints (the ones who stay in Sweden and the ones who leave; representatives of the old faith and the new), it is clear that the dream of finding Christ in Jerusalem and living by his example in the colony is a product of unrealistic hopes and misguided devotion. Hellgum promised that the American Colony would be "the real, heavenly Jerusalem, which has descended from heaven," but the Jerusalem of the migrants' dreams remained connected

⁵² Said, *Orientalism*, 20.

⁵³ Thorup Thomsen, "Aspects of Topography in Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*, Vol. 1.," *Scandinavica* 36 (1997): 25.

to their home in Dalarna.⁵⁴ This Jerusalem is represented by the painting in the living room of the Ingmarsson farm, depicting Jerusalem as a homey place in Dalarna with red wooden cabins and green trees.⁵⁵ The painting seems to suggest that for the villagers of Dalarna, the Holy Land cannot be located in a faraway and foreign country; it must be in their own fatherland. The dichotomies between Jerusalem and Dalarna also support this interpretation. While Jerusalem is dry and barren and fraught with conflict and violence, Dalarna is green and fruitful, and it builds on respect for tradition and history. The Holy Land of the novel is clearly connected to the fatherland, or more precisely to the village where the Ingmarsson patriarchs show the people how to walk “the ways of God.” It is only when young Ingmar arrives in Jerusalem, helping the migrants to replicate the values and customs of the village in the colony, that the life of the migrants becomes enduring. In viewing the migration as a national, heroic deed in *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf makes the virtues of the national stand out against the brutality of the foreign. The heroism lies in the self-sacrifice, bravery, and hard work of the Swedes, who prevail against the hard physical and cultural conditions in Jerusalem.

While an exoticizing exoticism is observable in the parts of *Jerusalem II* that take the reader on a guided tour through the marvels of the city, and in the short stories set in Jerusalem drawn from Lagerlöf's journey to West Asia, an imperialist exoticism is also evident in the strong emphasis on reform and development introduced by young Ingmar's arrival in Jerusalem. Even though the journey serves to develop his character and allow him, like his father, to seek “the ways of God,” it is significant that the novel ends by him bringing Gertrud home, not to marry her, but to save her from life in Jerusalem, which has almost broken her down mentally and physically. In the short stories with motifs of Jerusalem, there is also a combination of touristic fascination and a gaze differentiating the non-white, non-Christian stranger from the white Christian human. Lagerlöf thus shares the “stranger fetishism” of the Oriental other of many of her contemporaries.⁵⁶ The meetings between the fortune teller and the tourist, the monarch and the consul, are those of an identity of civilization and western modernity encountering and labelling the other as underdeveloped, poor, and less than human. In these stories, as well as in *Jerusalem*, Lagerlöf clearly implies that the European subject can learn something from the Oriental other, not least when it comes to faith. Still, it is through the self-development of Western subjects (for example Ingmar or the French consul) that the Orient gains its value. Neither the fortune teller nor the dancing dervish are allowed to be subjects in this national discourse.

⁵⁴ “det rätta, heliga Jerusalem, som är nederkommet af himmelen.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarne*, 158.

⁵⁵ Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarne*, 223.

⁵⁶ Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 7.



Fig. 23.1: Norwegian immigrants harvesting in Wisconsin, c.1873–1879. © State Historical Society of Wisconsin – Andrew Dahl Collection. Photo: Andreas Larsen Dahl.

Dana Caspi

Chapter 23

“Where horror abides”: Re-Reading Selma Lagerlöf’s *Jerusalem* in Jerusalem

This chapter suggests a reading of the novel *Jerusalem* which, despite the different setting, relates it to the tradition of the Scandinavian novel of emigration to America, with its emphasis on the positive physical and moral contribution of the immigrants to the receiving country. In Lagerlöf’s novel, it is not biblically fostered conceptions of a heavenly Jerusalem that help the Swedish farmers survive and thrive in the real, conflict-ridden Levantine city, but their native, earth-bound values of hard work, cleanliness, and simplicity.

Nearly 20 years ago, while I was writing my doctoral thesis in which I examined novels written by Norwegian and Swedish authors about emigration to the New World, a pattern, which I labelled the East-West Axis, emerged. Although the movement was westwards, towards the *unknown*, the emigrants – or rather those depicting them – chose to draw on a source of imagery that was (Middle) Eastern in origin, namely the Bible.¹ While the physical movement was from East to West, the spiritual movement was from the “Old” (World) to the “New”; this New, however, was actually a realisation of an ancient dream or prophecy, the longed-for place, “The Promised Land.” Since the act of emigration was depicted as an adventure on a biblical or mythical scale, the literary characters performing it had to be of a similarly heroic caliber. These characters played out their roles in what could be termed a *storyworld* of emigration, here understood as a multidimensional set of narrative parameters that denote both the boundaries within which the fictional characters are free to act, and the limits of real-life, imaginative interpretations of the given narrative imposed on it by its readers.² Understood as the former, the emigration narratives are also shaped by

¹ On rarer occasions writers used Old Norse imagery, especially inspired by *Landnámabók* [*The Book of Settlements*] and the *Vinland Sagas*, but this is beyond the scope of this article. See chapter titled “The Norse Code” in Dana Caspi “Images of a Promised Land in Norwegian and Swedish Emigrant novels” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000), 58–65.

² The term “storyworld” is of relatively recent provenance, and it has so far not achieved any stability in its use in the theoretical literature. In practical terms, it is often used in the design of computer games about the world of the characters and its limits. As a theoretical tool it is highly

Note: I am grateful to Nils Torvald Østerbø for his help with this article. All translations from Selma Lagerlöf are by Østerbø. All other translations are my own.

the primary “master narrative” available to the characters, the Christian teleological history about creation, fall and eventual redemption. As a “code” for production of meaning, Jerusalem has a central position within this narrative. In semiotics, a code can be defined as “a shared set of rules or conventions by which signs can be combined to permit a message to be communicated from one person to another.”³ In a culture where the Bible is the central source of meaning-bearing imagery, the “Jerusalem code” may therefore refer to the way in which ideas about the city help shape people’s perceptions of the world and their own place in it, both spatially and temporally. One of the most fertile aspects of the code has historically been the contrast between Jerusalem as a heavenly city and as a fallen, “Babylonian” one. The conflict between the “codified” heavenly/New Jerusalem and the “real” Jerusalem of the Levant as experienced by Selma Lagerlöf’s characters is of the greatest importance for my reading of her novel *Jerusalem*.⁴

Although my intention was to trace the East-West Axis in novels about emigration, it was difficult to overlook the novel’s role as a genre defining a national ethos, as observed by such scholars as Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, and Timothy Brennan, who notes in his article “The National Longing for Form” that “it was especially the novel as a composite but clearly bordered work of art that was crucial in defining the nation as an ‘imagined community.’”⁵ Hence the study of characters in the Scandinavian emigrant novel led me to the conclusion that their portrayal, too, serves to emphasise the moral and physical contribution of the Swedish or Norwegian immigrant to the receiving country. It is beyond the scope of this article to provide a detailed definition of the emigrant novel and to specify the many examples of the genre in Swedish and Norwegian literature, but a few general features will serve to demonstrate the relevance of Lagerlöf’s *Jerusalem* to this genre.⁶

ambiguous, since it as mentioned is used both about the fictional world itself and about readers’/ interpreters’ responses to it. Most recently, “storyworld” has been used as a replacement for “narrative”; “in order to reflect the new directions that the study of the multiple medial incarnations of narrative has taken.” Marie-Laure Ryan and Jan-Noël Thon, *Storyworlds across Media: Toward a Media-Conscious Narratology* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 1. See also the keyword “storyworld” in David Herman et al., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (London and New York: Routledge 2010).

³ See keyword “code” in Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴ Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna* (Stockholm: Fabel bokförlag, 1994); Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem* (Stockholm: Fabel bokförlag, 1994).

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Timothy Brennan, “The National Longing for Form,” in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London, New York: Routledge, 1990), 48.

⁶ It might be worth pointing out that while many of the main contributors to the genre of emigrant literature (Vilhelm Moberg, Sven Delblanc, etc.) published their works at a considerable temporal distance from the situations they depicted, Lagerlöf in *Jerusalem* wrote about what for her and her readership were very much contemporary events.

Although each emigrant novel has its unique features, they all take their characters away from the familiar and precious landscapes of the homeland and contrast them with the foreign and exotic. Against this background, the “national” traits of the characters become more evident, as they are no longer just individuals but also representatives of the physical and mental ideal, as defined in the national ethos. Perhaps the best-known example of the Scandinavian emigrant novel is Vilhelm Moberg’s tetralogy containing the volumes *Utvandrama*, *Invandrarna*, *Nybyggarna* and *Sista brevet till Sverige* [*The Emigrants, Unto a Good Land, The Settlers, The Last Letter Home*], (1949–1959).⁷ In his review of Moberg’s *Sista brevet till Sverige* [*The Last Letter Home*], Olof Lagercrantz writes about Moberg’s protagonist, Karl Oskar, and his role as the idealized prototypical character: “In all his undertakings he represents the whole of his lineage.”⁸ In the following I shall demonstrate how in many ways Ingmar Ingmarsson, the main protagonist of Lagerlöf’s *Jersusalem*, plays a similar role.

If a novel contributes to defining an “imagined community,” a novel about emigration serves the same purpose, only in a foreign setting. In her study of Scandinavian emigrant novels, *Draumen om fridom og jord* [*The Dream of Freedom and Land*] (1989), Ingeborg R. Kongslien defines the Scandinavian emigrant novel simply as a text about emigration, mostly to North America, although she notes that “the term emigrant novel is not an established genre-concept in novel aesthetics.”⁹ At the same time, she also provides a more detailed definition of the emigrant novel: “It is a story about people who leave something familiar and wander into the relatively unknown. They depart from the homeland to create a new existence for themselves in an unknown land.”¹⁰ The conflict which ensues – the familiar vs. the foreign – lends the narrative the drama needed to make it a good and entertaining read, but it can often be a rather one-sided view of a complex human experience, since most emigrant novels were written by authors who were *not* themselves immigrants and who wrote primarily for those who remained in the homeland. As such these novels also served as mediators of national

7 Vilhelm Moberg, *Utvandrama* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1949); Vilhelm Moberg, *Invandrarna* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1952); Vilhelm Moberg, *Nybyggarna* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1956); Vilhelm Moberg, *Sista brevet till Sverige* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1959).

8 “Han står i allt han företar sig för hela fädernestammen.” Olof Lagercrantz. “Fakta och fiktion i gestaltningen av det amerikanska stoffet.” In Erland Lagerroth and Ulla-Britta Lagerroth, *Perspektiv på utvandrarromanen. Dokument och studier samlade av Erland och Ulla-Britta Lagerroth* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren 1971), 193.

9 Ingeborg R. Kongslien, *Draumen om fridom og jord. Ein studie i skandinaviske emigrantromanar* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1989), 37. “Termen emigrantroman er ikkje eit etablert genreomgrep i romanestetikken.”

10 Kongslien, *Draumen om fridom og jord*, 37: “Det er ei forteljing om mennesker som bryt opp og vandrar frå noko kjent inn i det relativt ukjende. Dei forlet heimlandet for å skape seg eit nytt tilvære i eit ukjent land.”



Fig. 23.2: Siri Rustebakke with her daughters and daughter-in-law. Wisconsin, c.1873. Scandinavian domestic industriousness in the New World. © State Historical Society of Wisconsin – Andrew Dahl Collection. Photo: Andreas Larsen Dahl.

values, since they proved that even in a foreign setting, the Norwegian or Swedish farmer remained just as diligent and pious (Figs. 23.1, 23.2). Examples can be found in, for instance, Johan Bojer’s *Vor egen stamme* [*Our own Tribe*] (1924), Alfred Hauge’s Cleng Peerson trilogy (1961–1965), Kåre Holt’s *Cleng Peerson og Nils med luggen* [*Cleng Peerson and Nils with the Fringe*] (1948, for young readers), and, of course, Moberg’s tetralogy.¹¹

For me, the most fascinating aspect of the Scandinavian emigrant novel was the use of biblical imagery. My starting point was the general observation about the resemblance between Adam and Adama, the Hebrew words for man and earth, and Martin Buber’s presentation of the Bible as a unique text in which the idea that man and earth share the same fate is clearly formulated.¹² I then looked into the biblical imagery used to describe the longed-for place, “The Promised Land,” in specific Swedish and Norwegian literary texts. The use of biblical imagery is of course not unique to Scandinavian emigrants; most Christians (and Jews) leaving for the New World had some knowledge of the Bible, but since Scandinavian emigration came relatively early and was almost entirely to and from rural areas, the bonds between man and earth are especially tangible in the literature describing this emigration. In order to make sense of their new surroundings, the emigrants took the Bible as the dictionary that would help them translate the New World into their Old-World terms. The Garden of Eden, The Desert and the Wilderness, The Promised Land/Canaan and Jerusalem/Zion are all central images in the emigrant novel.

In the so-called Pioneer Era (up to the mid 1850s) most immigrants’ first years in America meant an on-going encounter with Wilderness on a scale which they had never experienced before, evoking both the positive and the negative associations connected with it: estrangement and lawlessness, but also purification and faith in the future (based on the biblical narrative of the Israelites in the desert). The Wilderness served as “a testing ground in which to build strong moral character.”¹³ The Scandinavian immigrants were considered successful in conquering the wilderness and turning it into a blossoming garden not least because they brought their “strong moral” characteristics from their homelands. In addition to Wilderness, the Promised Land constitutes a central image in the emigrant novel, since it is not only associated with freedom (as in the myth of Paradise/The Garden of Eden), but also with *liberation*. The idea of liberation

11 Rølvaag’s four-volume epic about Norwegian immigrants in the United States – *I de dage* (1924), *Riket grunnlegges* (1925), *Peder Seier* (1928) and *Den signede dag* (1931) [*In Those Days, Founding the Kingdom, Peder Victorious, Their Father’s God*] – was discussed in my dissertation, but stands out since its author was himself an immigrant, and therefore not included in the examples here, although it shares many common features with the emigrant novel as defined here. The same is true of the novel *När prärien blommar* [*When the Prairie Blooms*] (1933), by the Swedish-American Leonard Strömberg.

12 Martin Buber, *On Zion. The History of an Idea* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd, 1985), 10–11.

13 Leonard Lutwack, *The Role of Place in Literature* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 166.

is most relevant to the time of large-scale emigration from Scandinavia since the Scandinavian countries had not yet undergone a genuine process of democratization and thus the political and social conditions in them, not only the economic ones, made emigration necessary for large numbers of people.¹⁴ It must be said, however, that the material incentive was the most powerful one in the process of uprooting and emigration to America and in that sense Lagerlöf's portrayal in *Jerusalem* of mostly well-to-do farmers deviates significantly from the standard emigration narrative.

In the standard emigrant narrative, hope of liberation from poverty, hard work, and rigid social structures was often described with imagery of the Exodus and the arrival to the Promised Land, as in Moberg's tetralogy, where it is quite clear that the author drew on the Exodus narrative not only as the spiritual inspiration for his characters, but also as a literary prototype.¹⁵ In a similar vein, in Per Nilsson-Tannér's novel about the historical events surrounding Erik Janson and his Bishop Hill Colony (*Det nya Eden* [*The New Eden*], 1934), which ends in tragedy on the Illinois prairie, the two main images for America are *Kanaan* [Canaan] (and sometimes *det nya Kanaan* [the new Canaan]) and *det nya Eden* [the new Eden], although occasionally the term *paradis* [paradise] also appears. As in other emigrant novels, the rural ideal is a significant pull factor. On the other hand, in Sam Rönnegård's *Salemsborg* (1940), the central image is of a New Jerusalem to be established on the Kansas prairie. The Swedish immigrants have left their homeland so that they may worship God as they wish in "a new and fertile land that just waited for inhabitants."¹⁶

The image of the Promised Land is more complex than it first seems, however, as already in the Old Testament it is both a concrete place, but also an ideal to strive for. For the immigrants to the New World it thus represents both a practical solution for immediate hunger and strife, but also a utopian dream, since a "land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod 3:8) describes a potential rather than a reality, which all but the most naïve immigrants (significantly, it seems their number was greater in emigrant novels than in reality, probably because descriptions of shattered dreams added much valued drama to the narrative of emigration/immigration) were aware of. Although not impoverished, also Lagerlöf's characters uproot themselves in order realise a dream.

¹⁴ See for example Alfred Hauge's *Cleng Peerson* trilogy, published between 1961 and 1966, is a historical novel which tells the story of the first organized emigration from Norway in 1825, is an example of emigration motivated by religious persecution, since members on board the were mostly Quakers.

¹⁵ See for instance Hans-Evert Renérius, *Exodus Stillwater: en resa i Vilhelm Mobergs ord och spår och andra essayer* (Borås: Recito, 2009).

¹⁶ "ett nytt och fruktbart land, som bara väntade på inbyggare." Sam Rönnegård, *Salmesborg. Från emigrationens Sverige och Svensk-Amerikas uppkomst* (Stockholm: Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Bokförlag, 1940), 98.

If gardens and promised lands have positive connotations in emigrant literature, cities, both in the Old and the New World, are mostly described in a negative fashion. In an essay titled "City-Icon in a Poetic Geography: Pushkin's Odessa" Anna Makolkin writes: "Cities were born in a state of rebellion against Mother Nature and the natural cycles of life."¹⁷ In the United States, even more so than in Europe, or rather in the eyes of Europeans in the United States, the city was, as Yi-Fu Tuan observes in his book *Topophilia*, "a Babylon-den of iniquity, atheistic and un-American, impersonal and destructive."¹⁸ However, the growing physical and historical distance from the old, concrete Jerusalem, combined (and often confused) with the image of the New Jerusalem as it appears in the New Testament, did much to improve the reputation of this particular city.¹⁹ It was turned into a symbol and a frequently-used image of the longed-for place in the New World, although the urban imagery clashes with the agricultural fantasies of many immigrants. It is safe to say that even when fictional emigrants/immigrants fantasise of a New Jerusalem, they imagine a rural harmony closer to descriptions of the Promised Land than to the heavenly city. And yet the New Jerusalem is such a commonly used image in the Christian tradition that each believer can pour into it his or her own personal fantasy. The terms used by fictional emigrants were The New/heavenly Jerusalem or Zion, but the images were agrarian. To a large extent this is also true of Lagerlöf's characters in *Jerusalem*, although unlike *Jerusalem*, very few Scandinavian emigrant novels take place in cities or present them as an ideal.

Although each biblical image can be analysed separately, it seems that most literary characters do not apply these images consistently. The jumble of biblical phraseology might suggest that the individual image is of relatively little importance. The important thing is that America inspired its future citizens to think and speak in biblical terms, since the familiar, yet abstract images represented what they hoped to find in the New World. Typical of the literary description of emigration from Scandinavia is that once America (*i.e.* the longed-for place) becomes a reality, hardship and homesickness changes the focus, turning the *original homeland* into the longed-for place, a lost paradise that is synonymous with spiritual longing. In the story *Langs landeveien [On the Back Road]* written by the Norwegian author Einar Berg, for example, his protagonist, Ole Sætre, leaves Norway in order to escape a stifling pietistic environment and finds himself alone on the Canada prairie.

¹⁷ Anna Makolkin, "City-Icon in a Poetic Geography: Pushkin's Odessa," in *Writing the City: Eden, Babylon and the New Jerusalem*, eds. Peter Preston and Paul Simpson-Housley (London: Routledge, 1994), 104.

¹⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 193.

¹⁹ In the New Testament, the New Jerusalem projects an image of communal harmony and bliss, as opposed to the individual euphoria of life in The Garden of Eden (as a couple, Adam and Eve function as one unit; once Eve acts independently, the two are expelled from the Garden).

As he leafs through a copy of the Bible which his mother put in his trunk before he left, he senses that:

the whole of Norway, concentrated and compact, lay inside the book: sparkling sun above distant blue mountains. Psalms of David and the tender whispers of spring. Obscure millennial prophecies mixed with the wistful calls of the nightingale. Happy melodies about atonement and victory, birdsong in sun-drenched forests, flowering clover meadows, brooks rushing to the sea.²⁰

Another Norwegian author, Aksel Sandemose, goes even further and notes: “The United States is a cold land with dead roads and dead houses, dead cities . . . Norway is a living land.”²¹ Also in Lagerlöf’s *Jerusalem*, as I will demonstrate later, the Holy City soon becomes “the city of death.” The East-West axis becomes a West-East axis. Furthermore, the national landscape – not only geographical but also mental – comes to represent the source of the characters’ moral and physical strength. Moberg’s Karl Oskar is perhaps the most notable example, but Ingmar’s character in *Jerusalem* is just as powerful in that sense.

Many features of the Scandinavian emigrant novel are echoed in Lagerlöf’s *Jerusalem*.²² With Lagerlöf, however, not only is the East-West axis a West-East axis to begin with and gradually becoming an East-West axis, but the chronology also changes – from “Old” (Europe) to Ancient (Middle East). The “Old” (European) therefore becomes “New” in more than one sense, whereas the imagined, or “New” Jerusalem, the longed-for place of those emigrating to the New World, corresponds in Lagerlöf’s novel to the concrete, “Old” Jerusalem. And while the emigrant novel often depicts a conflict between the Old and the New Worlds, in *Jerusalem* the tension is between the ancient and traditional, and the even-more ancient and traditional. This changes the perspective on Europe (or the Old World): whereas contemporary literature portrayed the post-Industrial Revolution Continent as drained and fatigued while the New World offered “a new moral and spiritual vista with the decadence and depravity of Europe left far behind,”²³ in Lagerlöf’s novel Europe, and specifically Sweden, suddenly emerges as fresh and relevant.

20 “der inne i boken lå hele Norge konsentrert og kompakt: Tindrende sol over blåner og fjell. Davidssalmer og linn sus av vår. Dunkle forutsigelser om tusenårsriket blandet sammen med vemodig fløit av nattergal. Glade toner om soning og seier, fuglelåt i solmettet skog, blomstrende kløvereng, fjellbekker som hastet mot havet.” Einar Berg, *Langs landeveien* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag 1938), 40.

21 “De forente statene er et kaldt land med døde veier og døde hus, døde byer. . . . Norge er et levende land.” Aksel Sandemose, *Det svundne er en drøm* (Oslo: Den norske Bokklubben, Aschehoug & Co, 1983).

22 For a detailed analysis of the Scandinavian emigrant novel see Caspi, “Images of a Promised Land in Norwegian and Swedish Emigrant novels” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000).

23 Otto F. Kraushaar, “Introduction,” in *Utopias: The American Experience*, eds. Gairdner B. Moment and Otto F. Kraushaar (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), 4.

It is almost impossible to read Lagerlöf today without cringing at the “orientalist,” non-politically correct portrayal of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. In the novel, most chapters in the second volume serve as illustrations of the contrast between the dangerous, filthy, lethal city and the pure immigrants who represent a pure Sweden. A paradox emerges: Jerusalem is bad for them, but they are the only ones who can bring goodness (cleanliness, honesty, diligence) to it. Numerous contemporary accounts depict Jerusalem as a backward and dangerous place, but in Lagerlöf’s narrative, the city serves to highlight the virtues of the Swedes who refuse to adapt to its ways. Reluctance to assimilate is another typical feature of the Scandinavian emigrant novel.

In the second volume of *Jerusalem*, the Holy City, which at the outset was an imagined, longed-for place, develops into a nightmarish yet concrete place; towards the end, however, the city again becomes almost insignificant as a concrete place. As I put the book aside after having read it for the sixth or seventh time, I am more convinced than ever that the novel is not at all about Jerusalem – although the city plays a great catalytic and symbolic role in it – but about Sweden. The West-East movement of the Dalarna farmers turned into an East-West movement after all.

The following analysis will combine my earlier and current readings of the novel in an attempt to unearth the changing role of the “real” and the “imagined” Jerusalem in Lagerlöf’s novel. It is based entirely on the novel’s second and revised edition (1909) and all quotes are taken from it.

From Religious Awakening to Religious Strife: The Fantasised Jerusalem vs. the Real Jerusalem

When I first read *Jerusalem* while studying at the University of Edinburgh, I was submerged in Scandinavian literature about religious awakenings, and physically distant from the concrete Jerusalem; the city in which I grew up. For me, Jerusalem increasingly became a concept rather than a place, and it was quite easy to identify with the sentiment of “longing” expressed by the protagonists of Lagerlöf’s novel. I was attracted to the utopic descriptions of the Holy Land and specifically of Jerusalem, and together with many of the literary characters, I day-dreamed about a “heavenly” or “new” Jerusalem, being well familiar with the sweaty and conflict-ridden “real” city. The encounter with Lagerlöf’s novel opened up for a potential merge – not a New Jerusalem in the New World, but a New Jerusalem instead of the Old Jerusalem. It seemed to me that a utopic vision was only possible from afar, and not while residing in the place itself. Based on my acquaintance with the city, I also identified with *Jerusalem*’s narrator, who presents the journey to the concrete city as a form of lunacy, an act that in fact contradicts the spirituality of the Holy City. Now that I have come back to live in it, Jerusalem is again a concrete and mundane place in which

daily routines empty it of spirituality. While working on my thesis, I was struck by the frequent use of Jerusalem as an image for longing and spiritual peace. Upon re-reading Lagerlöf's novel in Jerusalem, however, I noticed the amount of tension and conflict accompanying the image, even in the first volume, in which the city is still a mostly fuzzy concept for the country folk of Dalarna. And in fact, the answer to the question whether the heavenly Jerusalem can be found or built in the physical Jerusalem appears early on in the novel's first volume: Gertrud builds a model of the village, pulls it apart and builds the New Jerusalem: "and now I have destroyed the parish to build a Jerusalem."²⁴ This is the prophecy to be fulfilled at the end of the novel: first the illusion of Jerusalem will shake up the village and threaten to destroy it, but then the real Jerusalem will somehow emerge from the ruins, since it is being built with the same materials with which Gertrud modelled the Dalarna village.

Throughout the first volume, however, the spiritual role of Jerusalem is still ambiguous. Two contradictory descriptions of Jerusalem follow one another towards the end of this volume. The first is the idealised, religious description: "They told us of the glory of the City of God, as it lies glowing on its white mountain . . ." ²⁵ followed immediately by the negative/realistic description: "for God's Holy City is full of division and strife, of want and illness, of evil and poverty."²⁶ This conflicting image will become central in the second volume. And although the role of Jerusalem in the lives of the protagonists is yet to be discovered, the outcome of their journey to the city is also prophesied already in the first volume, when the furious Eva Gunnarsdotter, who did not hear the call and is therefore not allowed to join those travelling to Jerusalem, shouts after them: "You are madmen, chasing false prophets. It shall be upon you that fire and brimstone rain. It shall be you who perish. But we, who remain at home, we shall live!"²⁷ She is, of course, right; some of the emigrants perish soon after their arrival in Jerusalem, and as for the rest – Lagerlöf loses interest in them the minute she brings Ingmar, Gertrud, and Gabriel home.

Naturally, the second volume is more significant in the analysis of Jerusalem's changing role, since it is mostly based on the tension between the imagined Jerusalem and the "real" Jerusalem, as presented bleakly by a sober Lagerlöf. Only towards the end of the novel does she find a solution to this conflict, as I hope to demonstrate.

²⁴ "og nu har jag förstört socknen för att bygga ett Jerusalem." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna*, 68.

²⁵ "De berättade för oss om Guds stads härlighet, där den ligger skinande på sitt vita berg . . ." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna*, 234.

²⁶ "ty Guds heliga stad är full av split och strid, av nöd och sjukdom, av ondska och fattigdom." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna*, 235.

²⁷ "Ni är vettvillingar, som löper efter falska profeter. Det skall bli över er, som det skall regna eld och svavel. Det skall bli ni, som skall förgås. Men vi, som stanna hemma, vi skal leva!" Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna*, 241.

Already in the introductory chapter of the second volume, aptly titled “Walls of Gold and Gates of Fused Glass,”²⁸ the conflict is presented in clear terms. However, the narrator’s Jerusalem is from the outset the “real Jerusalem” – dangerous, filthy, poisonous, hellish: “grimy, grey house walls . . . mutilated beggars . . . the scrawny, dirty dogs that lay sleeping four and five together on the big dustheaps . . . such a strange, intense stench . . . and such a suffocating heat . . . the paving stones were encrusted with a layer of dirt . . . this impoverished, wretched place.”²⁹ Similarly, in Moberg’s *Invandrarna* the Swedes arrive in New York during an outbreak of cholera, combined with an unbearable heatwave. The City is impressive and rich – the abundance of food on display convinces the newly-arrived immigrants that they, too, will not suffer hunger as they did in Sweden, but New York is also the place where there are “20 000 officially recognized prostitutes, in addition to all the secret ones, that God alone had counted. There are 2 000 brothels that are open day and night . . . There are 10 000 inns and each innkeeper employed a body bearer with a cart, who dragged the bodies of those who drank themselves to death in his inn.”³⁰ Much like Lagerlöf’s Swedes in Jerusalem, Moberg’s characters too, in this case Robert, Karl Oskar’s brother, and his friend Arvid, suddenly find themselves in “this dangerous city . . . surrounded by thieves and rogues,”³¹ where their innocence is challenged, and not for the last time.

Lagerlöf’s presentation of Jerusalem as a dangerous, deadly city is consistent throughout the second volume and appears in many versions, for instance: “The Holy City makes them melancholic or insane; in fact, it even kills them.”³² It is thus significant that she depicts the first glimpse of the city through the eyes of the sick and hallucinating Birger, who was also one of the most zealous followers of Hellgum. Hellgum’s spiritual power over his Dalarna flock allows him to influence and even control their perceptions and sensations of a Promised Land that at first glance does not look very promising at all: “There was nothing striking or remarkable about the land . . . I had thought it would be something quite different. It

28 “Murar av guld och portar av bränt glas” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 7.

29 “fula, grå husmurar . . . lemlästade tiggare . . . de magra, smutsiga hundarna, som lågo och sovo fyra och fem tillsammans på de stora avskrädeshögarna . . . en så besynnerlig, från stank . . . och en sådan kvav hetta . . . gatstenarna . . . voro täckta med ett intorkat lager av smuts . . . det här fattiga och eländiga stället.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 20–1.

30 “20 000 öppna och erkända luder, förutom alla de hemliga, som endast Gud hade räknat. Det fanns 2 000 horhus som var öppna dygnet rundt . . . Det fanns 10 000 krogar och varje krögare hade i sin tjänst döddragare med kärra, som släpade bort liken av dem som drack ihjäl sig på hans krog.” Moberg, *Invandrarna*, 56.

31 “denna farliga stad . . . omgiven av rövare och skälmar.” Moberg, *Invandrarna*, 67.

32 “Den heliga staden gör dem mjältsjuka eller vansinniga, ja, den till och med dödar dem.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 72.

seems to me that I have seen this land many times before.”³³ However, when Hellgum utters the names of the places they are looking at – an act resembling the naming of settlements and towns in America after biblical places in order to imbue them with spiritual meaning – they suddenly appear in a different light, literally: “As soon as he pronounced these names, the Swedes sensed something that had eluded them before. They saw that the sun spread a richer light across the sky here than in their country, and that the plain and the mountains and the city had a shimmer of pink and pale blue and silvery white over them, which they never had noticed elsewhere.”³⁴

Still, the first chapter closes with the Swedes discovering the hardships of the real Jerusalem. Is it as if “the true Jerusalem” of their imagination moves further and further away, in much the same way as the “Promised Land” the immigrants sought to find in America, moved further and further west. In his article about Norwegian emigrant novels, Kjetil A. Flatin notes the timelessness and placelessness of the emigration motif, and links it with the universal myth of the hero’s journey: “The fact that the journey is never completed because the hero never returns home is precisely the element of tragedy which gives the emigrant novel its special character.”³⁵ This is of course not true of the main characters in *Jerusalem* who finally return home to Dalarna, but if one looks at the group of Swedes in Jerusalem as depicted in Lagerlöf’s novel, there is certainly something tragic about their fate.

Another typical feature of many emigrant novels is the pendulum movement between the Old World and the New, for example in Sven Delblanc’s four-volume epic: *Samuels bok* (1981), *Samuels döttrar* (1982), *Kanaans land* (1984) and *Maria ensam* (1985) [*The Book of Samuel, The Daughters of Samuel, The Land of Caanan, Maria Alone*].³⁶ This movement is felt strongly also in *Jerusalem*, but it is not entirely the same kind of movement: as opposed to the confined and limited area of Jerusalem in Lagerlöf’s novel, America’s vast expanses allowed for renewed hope each time one met with disappointment. Until 1890, when Homestead land was no longer available and the Frontier was

33 “Det var ingenting påfallande eller märkvärdigt ved detta land . . . Jag hade trott, att det skulle vara något helt annorlunda. Det här landet tycker jag att jag har sett många gånger förut.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 8.

34 “I detsamma som han uttalade dessa namn, märkte svenskarna något, som förut hade undgått dem. De sågo, att solen spred ett rikare sken över himlen här än i deras land, och att slätten och bergen og staden hade ett skimmer över sig av skärt och ljusblått och silvervitt, som de inte hade förmärkt annorstädes.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 8.

35 “At reisen aldri blir fullført fordi helten aldri vender hjem er nettopp det element av tragedie som gir emigranromanen dens spesielle karakter.” Kjetil A. Flatin, “Historisk roman – emigranroman. Genrespørsmål i tre norske verk om utvandring til Amerika.” *Edda 3* (1977): 159.

36 Sven Delblanc, *Samuels bok* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1981); Sven Delblanc, *Samuels döttrar* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1982); Sven Delblanc, *Kanaans land* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1984); and Sven Delblanc, *Maria ensam* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1985).

declared closed, one simply pushed one’s dreams further west.³⁷ Not surprisingly, most authors who wrote about Scandinavian emigration to America chose to set their novels in its early phases, the Pioneer Era, since these years were characterized by the greatest mobility.

Movement in the metaphorical sense is also essential in *Jerusalem*, as “going” (verb) and “way” are central to understanding the motivation of the characters. There is the concrete movement to Jerusalem in order to go the same paths as Jesus did, and there are the moral paths, which define the Ingmar Ingmarsson of each generation. Much of the tension in the novel stems from the fact that “God’s ways,” as they are understood by the rooted and sensible Ingmar, are quite the opposite of the paths his fellow countrymen follow when they leave for Jerusalem, a motif which is interwoven with blindness, one of the most significant motifs throughout the novel. Curiously, although blindness is often synonymous with darkness, in Jerusalem, the strong light is not synonymous with clarity or knowledge, but with suffering and death. Along with blindness, or perhaps as a result of it, the city seems to arouse aggression in its inhabitants, whether they are indigenous or newcomers. It is as if members of various Christian congregations can live in harmony with each other elsewhere, but upon arrival in Jerusalem they immediately become hostile to one another, as though the city itself induces conflict and hate. For Lagerlöf, Jerusalem is a city torn between various Christian sects fighting for dominance; as Eliahu says to Mrs. Gordon: “Nowhere on Earth is there such hatred between the Christians as here in Jerusalem.”³⁸ And again later, when Lagerlöf bitterly concludes: “Here is the Jerusalem of hunting for souls, here is the Jerusalem of evil tongues, here is the Jerusalem of lies, slander and insults. Here one persecutes without relent, here one murders without weapons. This is the Jerusalem that kills people.”³⁹

³⁷ Lars Ljungmark, *Swedish Exodus* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 52.

³⁸ “Ingenstans i världen råder ett sådant hat mellan de kristna som här i Jerusalem.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 50.

³⁹ “Här är själajaktens Jerusalem, här är de onda tungornas Jerusalem, här är lögnens, förtalens och smädelsens Jerusalem. Här förföljer man utan vila, här mördar man utan vapen. Detta är det Jerusalem, som dödar människor.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 76. Cf. Gustave Flaubert’s impressions from his visit to the city in 1850: “Jerusalem strikes me as a fortified charnel-house” . . . “The Armenians curse the Greeks who detest the Catholics who excommunicate the Copts.” Geoffrey Wall, *Flaubert: A Life* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 181. In 1857 [Herman] Melville spent hours outside the basilica . . . visiting with the Turkish guards whose job it was to prevent members of different Christian sects from stabbing one another”; Amos Elon, *Jerusalem: City of Mirrors* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 142. Two generations later the Turkish soldiers (or their descendants) were still there, “so that the Christians won’t kill one another” [“för att de kristna ej skola slå ihjäl hvarandra”], as Sophie Elkan wrote to her friend Betty Warburg from Jerusalem during her and Lagerlöf’s visit; Eva H. Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan: Hennes liv och vänskapen med Selma Lagerlöf* (Lund: Historiska Media, 2001), 180, italics in original. Although Elkan was Jewish (as was Warburg), and Jews were nominally barred from entering Christian and Muslim holy

Even if Lagerlöf did not necessarily witness any of this herself during her brief visit to Jerusalem, she could have become predisposed to understanding the city in this way through reading just a few of the numerous literary travellers' accounts from throughout the preceding century, starting with François-René Chateaubriand's exhaustive descriptions of "this heap of rubbish, denominated a city" from 1806, and including narratives by William Thackeray (1844), Gustave Flaubert (1850), Herman Melville (1857), and Mark Twain (1867), to mention just the most famous ones.⁴⁰ Either way, the strangeness of this image of Jerusalem would undoubtedly have struck her, since Jerusalem so often stood as a symbol of peace and longing, as she herself presented it in the first volume of the novel. It can, however, be claimed that in the novel even the

places in Jerusalem, as a Western tourist she would have been treated like any other European (*i.e.* Christian) visitor to the city, thus being able to explore its sites freely. Furthermore, assimilated and acculturated nineteenth century Western Jews tended to share the values, cultural preferences, and prejudices of their respective Christian majority populations; there is thus little reason to assume that Elkan's Jewish background would have influenced her perceptions of Christian religious strife in Jerusalem any more or any differently than Flaubert's Catholicism, Thackeray's Anglicanism, Melville's Dutch Reformism or indeed Lagerlöf's Lutheranism would have influenced theirs: On Jewish cultural assimilation, see Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 110–6. On the murderous city, see also Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.

40 Quotation taken from François-René de Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, During the Years 1806 and 1807*, trans. F. Shoberl (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1814), 330. The relative weakening of the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century, together with increasing, partly religiously inspired imperialist ambitions on the part of its Christian opponents, made Jerusalem a locus of Great Power rivalries. See Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011), 330–6. Aided by greatly improved steamship communications between Europe and the Near East, a nascent tourist industry started catering to the influx of well-to-do travellers visiting the city – one of the major destinations of their grand tours of the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Levant – many of whom recorded their impressions of Jerusalem for later publication. On the beginnings of modern tourism in Jerusalem, see for instance Shimon Gibson et al., *Tourists, Travellers and Hotels in 19th-Century Jerusalem: On Mark Twain and Charles Warren at the Mediterranean Hotel* (Leeds: Maney, 2013). Flaubert is fairly typical of the many Westerners whose bible-nourished expectations of a spiritual climax were dashed through encounters with Jerusalem's filth ("a charnel house surrounded by ramparts"), decay ("dead dogs in the streets"), violence ("if the Holy Sepulcher were given over to the Christians they would massacre each other without fail"), and impiety ("[h]ypocrisy, greed, falsification, impudence – there is plenty of those, but of holiness no trace"): as quoted in Michel Winock, *Flaubert* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2016), 125–6. However, the part that ethnic prejudice (acknowledged or implicit) may have played in shaping the experiences of these European sojourners in Jerusalem should not be underestimated, especially since the bloneness of their brands of Christian iconography would not have prepared them for the reality of the city's mostly Arab congregations. In his *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*, for instance, William Thackeray's juxtaposition of saccharine, Anglican pieties and crude, anti-Jewish stereotypes is a vivid exemplar of the mixture of religious zeal and racial supremacism that would both fuel and characterise the European empire-building scramble of the later nineteenth century. See M. A. Titmarsh, *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), 203–7.

bitter feuds between the various Christian denominations are also simply background “noise” intended to highlight the heroic and pure nature of the Colony members. In a similar vein, it is also important to make a distinction between the marginalising of Muslims and Jews in Lagerlöf’s account, due to the fact that they had little to contribute to her plot (and perhaps she was not there long enough to be acquainted with them), and the historical American Colony, whose members did become involved in the lives of local, non-Christian inhabitants. In the words of Anna Grace Lind, the daughter of Bertha Spafford Vester: “[the Colony members] never attempted any missionary work but, through their friendship with all sections of the strange and wonderful people of Jerusalem’s varied community, became involved in teaching and philanthropic work.”⁴¹

Lagerlöf might be stressing the disastrous state of Jerusalem in order to signal out the colony members, and especially the Swedes among them, as potential saviours. Jerusalem and the Holy Land might be in ruins, *i.e.* its glory lies in the past, but those who come from Europe often see it in terms of its potential, *i.e.* the future. In *Jerusalem*, this view is first represented by Eliahu, who although a native, has adopted the Western mindset: “Very probably, most of the natives never considered how backward their land was, but Eliahu, who all the time heard travellers from Europe and America talk about the great progress being made in their countries, couldn’t avoid noticing the decline.”⁴² And later in the same chapter: “His heart ached when he imagined how this field . . . could be a whole billowing sea of wheat and maize.”⁴³

By attributing these thoughts of Western superiority to the Jerusalemite Eliahu, Lagerlöf gives her belief in progress a colonialist slant in the spirit of the time, when westerners believed that it was their duty to bring and promote progress to less “civilized” places. The lands they come to were fertile and rich in natural resources, but the “natives” were unable to cultivate them. Eliahu’s vision is later taken up by Ingmar, although in a modified way, since Ingmar also represents tradition, as he contemplates the future of the Holy Land, which will soon be liberated from its “oppressors.”⁴⁴ For this to happen, God gathers “such as could teach and

⁴¹ From Lind’s introduction to the 1989 edition of Vester’s *Our Jerusalem*, as quoted in Helen Murrevan den Berg, “Our Jerusalem”: Bertha Spafford Vester and Christianity in Palestine during the British Mandate,” in *Britain, Palestine and Empire: The Mandate Years*, ed. Rory Miller (London and New York: Routledge, 2016). See also the Library of Congress online collection “American Colony in Jerusalem, 1870 to 2006,” <https://www.loc.gov/collections/american-colony-in-jerusalem/>.

⁴² “De flesta av de infödda tänkte troligen aldrig på hur efterblivet landet var, men Eliahu, som ständigt hörde resande från Europa och Amerika tala om hur stora framsteg man hade gjort i deras hemland, kunde inte undgå att lägga märke till förfallet.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 42.

⁴³ “Det sved i hans hjärta, då han föreställde sig, at denna mark . . . skulle kunna stå som ett enda böljande hav av vete och mais.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 43–4.

⁴⁴ It is not clear from the context who the “oppressors” are.

educate the others.”⁴⁵ Thus, in the closing chapter, Ingmar solves one of the novel’s central conflicts in his earth-bound yet philosophical way:

I thought that if this and everything else men have created on our earth, had been allowed to stand, the world would be filled entirely with magnificent things . . . But then I thought that if all of this had survived, then we, who lived now, would have nothing to do, since our work wouldn’t be needed anymore. And it is man’s greatest joy to be able to build what he needs himself and show what he is good for, and that is why the old must go.⁴⁶

From Religious Strife to National Values: Sweden vs. the Real Jerusalem

As we have seen, *Jerusalem’s* second volume is made up of several anecdotes that all serve to emphasise the contrast between the imagined or spiritual Jerusalem, and the concrete one. Since Lagerlöf’s visit to Jerusalem with Sophie Elkan was quite short, only a few days in March 1900, it is likely that she heard at least some of the anecdotes from her hosts. Another probable source could have been the dragoman, the tour-guide that stood at their disposal and showed them around the town, as Western tourists were advised not to go out on their own. He was hired from the Thomas Cook travel agency and spoke all the local languages.⁴⁷ The anecdotes are perhaps intended to lend credibility to her descriptions of the city, but the result is often quite the opposite: When reading the story of Baram Paschas’s visit to the Colony or the most dramatic and critical anecdote for the plot – that about the old Jewish woman who died in a Christian hospital and was denied Jewish burial by her coreligionists in the chapter “Ingmar’s Struggle” [*Ingmars strid*] – a real contrast emerges between these second or third-hand Jerusalem anecdotes and the more authentic descriptions of country life in Sweden. Scenes from both locations are magical thanks to Lagerlöf’s unique narrative skill, but there is a difference between the descriptions of Sweden and those of Jerusalem. One can of course claim that both are inauthentic – peasant life in Dalarna is idealised while Jerusalem is demonised – but

⁴⁵ “sådana, som kunna lära och uppfostra de andra.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 261.

⁴⁶ “Jag tänkte att om detta och allt annat, som människor hade upprättat på denna jorden, hade fått finnas kvar, så skulle den vara alldeles uppfylld av härlighet . . . Men så kom jag att tänka på att om allt detta hade funnits kvar, så hade vi, som nu levde, ingenting att ta oss till, för då behövdes inte vårt arbete. Och det är en människas största lycka att få bygga upp vad hon själv behöver och visa vad hon duger till, och därför måste det gamla bort.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 357.

⁴⁷ Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan*, 178; see also Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, *Tourism, Religion, and Pilgrimage in Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2015), 28.

that only strengthens the assumption that her depictions of Jerusalem were probably not based on deep observation.

As in the typical Scandinavian emigrant novel, the only way to reconcile the immigrant's difficulty to adapt to a new and hostile land with his or her fantasies of an improved life and a better society is to import European, in this case Swedish, values and structures. This solution comes to the fore as early as the opening chapter of the second volume, in the portrayal of the German Colony in Jaffa: "Their colony consisted of many well-built houses with large gardens and fields. As you approach their area, you might think that you had inadvertently come across a little beautiful Swedish village."⁴⁸ In fact, this idea is foreshadowed in the first volume with the description of a painting of Jerusalem hanging in Ingmarsgården,⁴⁹ made by a local artist, *i.e.*, someone who has never been to the Holy Land:

a town surrounded by high walls, and above the walls one sees the gables and rooftops of several houses. Some were red farm cottages with green thatched roofs, others had white-washed walls with slate roofs reminiscent of manorial buildings, and still others had heavy, copper-clad towers like St Christina Church in Falun. Outside the town strolled gentlemen dressed in breeches and shoes, supporting themselves on canes, and out of the town gate drove a coach in which sat ladies with powdered hair and straw hats. Beneath the walls grew trees with dense, dark green foliage, and across the field ran small, sparkling brooks through the tall, billowing grass.⁵⁰

No wonder, then, that when Birger Larsson first sees the real Jerusalem he feels deceived. Not only has he been taken to the wrong place, it is also populated by *the wrong people*: "These people did not look like the peaceable bearers of palm branches that were supposed to proceed through the streets of the true Jerusalem."⁵¹ The physical repulsiveness of the place is reflected in the cruelty of its inhabitants, for instance in the anecdote, already mentioned, about the Jewish woman who is removed from her final resting place. Incidentally, also in many emigrant novels depicting America, the natives are often presented as dangerous savages whose initial reaction to the immigrants is that of caution or aggression, although both Hauge and Moberg are

48 "Deras koloni bestod av många välbyggda hus med stora trädgårdar och åkrar. Då man kom in på deras område, kunde man tro, att man helt hastigt hade råkat på en liten vacker svensk småstad." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 14.

49 See Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65.

50 "en stad, innesluten av höga murar, och över murarna såg man gavlarna och takåsarna av flera hus. Somliga voro röda bondstugor med gröna torvtak, andra hade vita väggar med skiffertak liksom herrgårdsbyggnader, och andra åter hade tunga, kopparklädda torn liksom Kristine kyrka i Falun. Utanför staden promenerade herrar, som voro klädda i knäbyxor och skor och stödde sig på spanska rör, och ut ur stadsporten körde en kare, vari sutto damer med pudrat hår och schäferhattar. Nedom muren växte träd med tätt, mörkgrönt lövverk, och över marken flöto gnistrande små bäckar genom högt, böljande gräs." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 1. I Dalarna*, 228–9.

51 "Inte var det här folket likt de fridsamma palmbärare, som skulle skrida fram på gatorna i det rätta Jerusalem" Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 24.

rather more sympathetic in their descriptions of America's native inhabitants. Yet Hauge's characters still fear them, while Moberg's refer to them as *vildarna*, the savages, who must make way for the white settlers, since they fail to cultivate the land: "The Indians themselves were too lazy to use the soil . . . Those who cultivate the soil should have the right to it before anyone else."⁵² And of his protagonist he writes: "Karl Oskar despised the Indians for their idleness and called them useless creatures."⁵³ This view of Native Americans is reminiscent of Ingmar's role in relation to the natives of Jerusalem, as formulated first by Eliahu, and later by Ingmar himself, as we have seen earlier, who reasons that the sordid state of the Holy Land will only be remedied when outsiders will come and redeem it.

Homesickness is also a typical feature, which establishes a link between emigrant literature and Lagerlöf's novel. In *Jerusalem*, Gabriel, for example, expresses longing for the homeland's familiar landscapes: "I don't think about such holy and unfamiliar waters as you and the others do . . . but from morning till evening I think about a river running fresh and clear with bright, sparkling water . . . I think about a river . . . so clear that you can see all the glittering pebbles lying on the bottom. And that river isn't dried out like the brook Kidron or just a dream like Ezekiel's stream or impossible to find like Hezekiah's, but rushes and flows to this day. I'm thinking about the Dal River."⁵⁴ Here the river in his home country acquires the qualities of a sanctified place, at least in the national-romantic sense: it is life giving and inexhaustible.

Incidentally, in most emigrant novels, the fertile land of the New World makes up for the hardships suffered on the way to attaining and taming it. In Moberg's tetralogy, Karl Oskar's wife acknowledges the blessing of the copious soil of Minnesota, but at the same time, she feels that the new land enslaves Karl Oskar instead of liberating him. Kristina, a thoroughly tragic character who is plagued by homesickness and never really finds peace in America, is comforted by thoughts of the afterlife (which she associates with Sweden), but also in the knowledge that the new land will provide for her children and future generations. Another way of looking at this feature of the emigrant novel is by juxtaposing the individual and the collective: while the individual immigrants suffer unbearable hardship during the crossing of the Atlantic and the first years in America – the image of the collective stands out as a positive one. The

52 "Själva var indianerna för lata att bruka jorden. . . . De som odlade upp jorden skulle ha rätten till den före någon annan." Moberg, *Invandrama*, 311.

53 "Karl Oskar föraktade indianerna för deras lättja och kallade dem oduglige varelser . . ." Moberg, *Invandrama*, 364.

54 "Jag tänker inte på så heliga och märkvärdiga vatten som ni andre . . . men från morgon till kväll tänker jag på en älv, som rinner frisk och klar med ljus, blankt vatten . . . Jag tänker på en älv, som . . . är så klar, att man ser alla de kiselstenar, som ligga och glittra på botten. Och den älven är inte uttorkad som Kidron eller blott en dröm som Hezekiels flod eller omöjligt att finna som Hiskias, utan den forsar och strömmar ännu i denna dag. Jag tänker på Dalälven." Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 131.

situation depicted in *Jerusalem* is different, however, at least to begin with. The water crisis and the diseases that come with it lead to a crisis of faith, and Hellgum, who was the most ardent speaker in favour of the journey, is struck by guilt and is now determined to send the Swedes back to Dalarna.

Because of their purity of body and soul, the Swedes suffer more than others in the murderous city. However, salvation will not come to Jerusalem without their sacrifice, and without the virtues they bring with them. The first sign of this is the cross bearer, who already in the second chapter of the second volume leaves his cross at the Colony’s doorstep: “Not to die and not to live, but solely to carry the cross of Christ had they come here.”⁵⁵ Interestingly, in a flashback to the early days of the Colony, before the arrival of the Swedes, the tone is more optimistic: “And now they understood that they too were among those whom God had called to His land for the sake of its restoration. They too were given hope and confidence. They began to believe that not just suffering awaited them, but also joyful work in God’s vineyard.”⁵⁶ However, since the “work” referred to here is not work in the conventional, practical sense, the dilemma of suffering and salvation will only be solved when Ingmar brings his Swedish work ethic to the Colony, and only then will it show signs of real abundance and not just imagined glory. Symbolically, the minute Ingmar steps into the assembly room where the Colony members sing their hymns, his countrymen begin singing in Swedish.⁵⁷

When Ingmar takes Gertrud to see the dervish, “exposing” her for what the dervish really is, Ingmar is in a way undoing the damage caused by the illusions Hellgum planted in her. However, whereas Hellgum’s motivation is not entirely clear (he simply appears one day and takes the villagers by storm), Ingmar, guided by the moral compass he inherited from his forefathers, is doing “the right thing.” His level-headed and practical idea of what “the right thing” is brings the Swedes in Jerusalem much closer to salvation than Hellgum’s vision could ever do. While Ingmar represents an inherited tradition, a link in a genealogical line, one of the most striking features of the Colony’s ideology, and therefore its futility, is the ban on marriage, since no matter how much goodness the Colony brings to the city, without continuity it is destined to vanish. Another of its flaws, which Ingmar works to remedy, is its reliance on own capital and charitable patrons. Making a living “in the sweat of thy face” is the only respectable solution. Again, it takes a representative of the Old World (as opposed to the Ancient World that stands for ruin) to re-introduce the cycle of ploughing and harvesting, birth and death.

55 “Det var inte för att dö och inte för att leva, utan endast och allenast att bära Kristi kors, som de voro hitkomna.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 40.

56 “Och de förstodo nu, att också de hörde med bland dessa, som Gud hade kallat till sitt land för dess upprättelses skull. Det kom hopp och förtröstan också till dem. De började tro, att det inte bara var lidande, som väntade dem, utan också ett glädjefullt arbete i Guds vingård.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 71.

57 Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 169.

From National Sentiments to Salvation: Swedish Values Exported to the Holy City

Lagerlöf's 1902 letter to the Danish critic Georg Brandes describes her newly finished novel, first published two years after her journey to the Middle East, as a tale of an unpleasant city, full of fanatics and religious lunacy.⁵⁸ Her letters from the trip itself, however, were much more nuanced. She enjoyed herself, saw the beauty of Jerusalem as well as its poverty, squalor, and strife.⁵⁹ It appears therefore that her narrative – and her ideology – demanded a one-sided presentation of a situation, which she herself perceived as complex. Jerusalem *had* to be presented as the total opposite of the Dalarna ideal.

For many Scandinavian immigrants in the New World, the Bible was the “dictionary” they used in order to understand their new surroundings and experiences. What happens, then, to those who travel to Jerusalem and use the Bible as a source of imagery, but are faced with the reality of the biblical setting? And just as interesting: literary depictions in emigrant novels rarely show that Scandinavian immigrants in America absorb values upon immigration, but rather that they bring these with them, hoping to preserve them in their pure or original form. This was perhaps possible in the “New” world that was (wrongly) seen as virginal, but what happens in a city as laden with history as Jerusalem?

Typical of the Scandinavian emigrant novel is the insinuation, and on occasion even outright assertion, that immigrants from the Old World pour meaning into a newly-discovered, *empty* land, as Moberg, for instance, writes in the opening

58 “And then Jerusalem, where the air is so hot with religion, where all men have experienced miracles, where the calmest of men become fanatic, lose their senses in the struggle between all the different sects. Agreeable the city is not, but it is remarkable, though, to encounter a whole society of fanatics.” [“Och så Jerusalem, där luften är så het af religion, där alla människor hafva upplefvat underverk, där de lugnaste människor bli fanatiska, från sina sinnen under striden mellan alla de olika sekterna. Det är ingen behaglig stad, men det är dock märkligt att råka på ett helt samhälle af fanatiker.”] Letter to Brandes 15 June 1902, in Selma Lagerlöf, *Brev i urval 1, 1871–1902*. Ed. Ying Toijer-Nilsson (Lund: Gleerup, 1967), 269–70.

59 Holger Wolandt, *Selma Lagerlöf: Värmland und die Welt. Eine Biografie* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 2015), 137–40. Sophie Elkan was more ambivalent to the city and its inhabitants, as conveyed in letters to Betty Warburg: “Every language is spoken, only one word is never uttered, and that is *tolerance*,” and later, “It is indeed a frightful city and unlike any other I’ve seen. A city of fanaticism and intolerance and beautiful childhood memories and legends. . . . What a city and what a land!” [“Alla språk talas, blott ett ord yttras aldrig, och det är *tolerans*. . . . Jo, sannerligen det är en förfärlig stad och lik ingen annan jag skådat. Fanatismens och intoleransens och de vackra barnomsminnenas och legendernas stad. . . . Hvilken stad och hvilket land!”] Ulvros, *Sophie Elkan*, 178–81.



Fig. 23.3: *Harvest, American Colony, 1904.* American Colony Photo Department. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

chapter of *Utvandrama*: “The new land had soil without farmers and called upon farmers without soil.”⁶⁰ Not only the writers but also the immigrants themselves were often unable to see the native inhabitants of the continent, for whom the landscape was anything but empty. In that sense *Jerusalem*, although using a very different setting, follows a rather similar pattern, in which the existing place, its peoples and landscapes, are ancillary to the Europeans, and specifically the Swedes, who come to inhabit it and fulfill its potential.

⁶⁰ “Det nya landet hade jord utan brukare och kallade på jordbrukare utan jord.” Moberg, *Invandrama*, 6.



Fig. 23.4: *The Weaving Room in the American Colony, Jerusalem, 1904.* American Colony Photo Department. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D. C.

The notion of a “sleeping land” appears in several novels about Scandinavian immigrants in the United States, whose fertile soil is just waiting for them to wake it up and realise its potential. Towards the end of *Jerusalem*, “this dangerous land”⁶¹ becomes “the sleeping land”⁶² that the Swedes have to till, although, with all its layers of historical and religious significance, the land is re-awakened rather than awakened. Nonetheless, the act performed by the immigrants is similar to the acts performed by the protagonists in emigrant novels: they sow their Scandinavian values and traditions so that the land can blossom. For them hard work is the

⁶¹ “detta farliga landet” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 306.

⁶² “det sovande landet” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 358.

highest value, followed by cleanliness and simplicity (Figs. 23.3, 23.4). These virtues define the Colony members and make them stand out in the lethargic Levant, in the filthy city. So much so that their landlord in the eponymous chapter “Baram Pascha,” who is initially sceptical, even suspicious, towards the members of the Colony and is determined to remove them from his property, is so impressed with their diligence and dignity that he leaves them his white ass, which the reader cannot but understand as a symbol of their role as saviours. The prophecy is fulfilled when the members of the Colony, and particularly the Swedes, reach a turning point and, thanks to Ingmar, move from being victims to being pioneers. Now they resemble their brethren in the vast expanses of the American West: “They . . . spoke of nothing but all the arable valleys lying fallow in this land . . .”⁶³

In the closing chapters of *Jerusalem*, the novel’s protagonists leave the ancient city as it is being transformed into a new or renewed place buzzing with pioneer activity. This particular feature of the novel reveals striking similarities to the Zionist vision, which began taking root in the 1880s, in parallel with the agricultural developments and trades introduced by the German Templers and the members of the American Colony. The Zionist program of Jewish national revival in Palestine, which developed as a reaction to and in emulation of contemporary European nationalisms, focused on building a New Hebrew, independent, proud, and strong, in contrast to the stereotype of the passive, weak, and submissive diaspora Jew. This transformation would take place both through hard physical toil in agriculture and construction and through the building of Hebrew institutions and a national infrastructure.⁶⁴ Lagerlöf did not support the Zionist movement,⁶⁵ but the ideology of the Jewish settlers corresponds in many ways to her colonialist approach: “west of Jerusalem, right outside the city wall, a whole new neighbourhood had grown up. Now there were European shops, banks, a telegraph office and large

63 “De . . . tala om ingenting annat än alla de odlingsbara dalarna, som ligga öde i detta land . . .” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 285.

64 The history of Zionism is mildly put contentious. For a good overview of the historiographical trends, see Michael Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), ch. 5–6. Zionism’s roots in European nationalism are summarised in Amos Elon, *Israelis: Founders and Sons* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 60–2. The importance of institution-building is explored in Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), ch. 9; the idea of redemption through labour in Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism*, ch. 14. The image of the New Hebrew is delineated in Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 25–30.

65 “Jag tror inte på Sionismen, men inte skulle det vara omöjligt att i Palestina införa en klok, ärlig styrelse under europeiskt protektorat” [“I do not believe in Zionism, but it should not be impossible in Palestine to establish a wise, honest government under a European protectorate”] – a striking foreshadowing of the actual post-WWI British Mandate of Palestine: from the 1902 letter to Georg Brandes cited above, footnote 58.

hotels in Jerusalem, and those made it easier to live there.”⁶⁶ Like her Swedish farmers, diasporic Jews too had been drawn to the Holy Land for religious and spiritual reasons rooted in the past; most of these Jews relied on charitable organisations to survive. The Zionists, on the other hand, who came to their old-new homeland “to build [it] and be rebuilt [in it],” soon realised they could not live there unless they adopt a productive lifestyle and a vision for the future.⁶⁷ In a similar manner, no deaths occur among the Colony members once they start working in the mill: “Neither has anyone grieved himself insane over the evil of Jerusalem.”⁶⁸ Likewise, central to the Zionist ethos is the belief that physical work is the key to bodily and mental health. Thus, the first Hebrew edition of *Jerusalem*, published in 1921, revised in 1957 and since printed in several editions, was a popular read among Zionist immigrants and Jews reading Hebrew worldwide.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, in several emigrant novels the incentive for uprooting is religious as well as (or in the case of *Jerusalem*, instead of) economic. The implication is that conditions in their homelands made it difficult for the emigrants to enjoy full freedom of religion. Ironically, upon immigration, those who deviated from religious conventions – and thereby social ones as well – in their homelands become true representatives of the national ideal: “And when he saw [a little flock of schoolchildren], he found their appearance different from all the other children gambolling about on the streets of Jerusalem, for these were scrubbed clean, their clothes were whole and their footwear solid, and they had fair, neatly combed hair.”⁷⁰ Also the women stand out amidst the squalor of the natives: “They walked very quietly and properly, their clothes were simple, in their hands they carried heavy, well-filled baskets.”⁷¹

And so the circle is completed. The religious vision has taken the features of the national vision; the farmers from Dalarna no longer represent themselves and

66 “I väster om Jerusalem strax utanför stadsmuren hade en hel ny stadsdel växt upp. Det fanns nu europeiska butiker, banker, telegraf och stora hotell i Jerusalem, och detta gjorde det lättare att leva där.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 64.

67 Quotation taken from Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 29.

68 “Ingen har heller gått och sört sig vansinnig över Jerusalems ondska.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 286.

69 Hadar Ben-Yahuda, “The Wondrous Journey of Selma Lagerlöf and her Lover in Jerusalem,” Blog Post, National Library of Israel, accessed June 14, 2017. <https://blog.nli.org.il/en/selma/>.

70 “Och då han såg [en liten skara skolbarn], fann han deras utseende olikt alla andra barns, som tumla om på Jerusalems gator, ty dessa voro rentvättade, de hade hela kläder och starka skodon, och deras hår var ljusst och slätkammat.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 110.

71 “De gingo mycket stilla och sedesamt, deras kläder voro tarvliga, i händerna buro de tunga, välfyllda korgar.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 111.

their unique Christian belief, but their entire nation, as Ingmar says to his fellow Swedes upon leaving the Colony in Jerusalem: “I just think that all of you here bring great honour to us back home.”⁷² Or in other words – they brought Sweden to Jerusalem.

⁷² “Jag tänker allt, att ni härute gör oss därhemma stor heder.” Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem 2. I Jerusalem*, 323.



Fig. 24.1: Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet, 1910–1914. Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, American Colony Photo-Dept. Photographic print, hand-tinted. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

Rachel Lev

Chapter 24

Photography and *Genius Loci*: Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson’s “Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet” (1910–1914)

This chapter examines Jerusalem’s genius loci, as communicated in the work of the American Colony Photo-Department (ACPD) active in Jerusalem between 1896 and 1934. The ACPD’s photographs were distributed in Scandinavia and worldwide, and early in the twentieth century they shaped the idea of Jerusalem in people’s minds. Narrowing my study from the wider Jerusalem (“The Jerusalem code”), to a specific place in Jerusalem (“Genius Loci”), I try to examine the encrypted data of one photograph taken by the Swede Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson between 1910 to 1914: the “Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet [Mount of Olives].” While reading the photograph as a locus, a place, I rely on the Norwegian architect Thorvald Christian Norberg-Schulz’s (1926–2000) idea of the interconnectedness of natural and man-made qualities that, as a totality, constitute a pervading spirit of place or a genius loci. The chapter will examine the cultural setting of the American Colony in Jerusalem photographic collective (1896–1934) as well as the spatial dynamic that underlined their work.

The notion *genius loci*, was developed by Norberg-Schulz in his influential publication, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1979), in which he investigated the theory of organization of space and built form.¹ His view was shaped by Martin Heidegger’s phenomenology of place: “A place is therefore a qualitative ‘total’ phenomenon which we cannot reduce to any of its properties such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight.”² It is the dynamic inter-

¹ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

² Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci*, 7.

Note: Thanks to Skans Victoria Airey for her translation of excerpts from the Sven Hedin Foundation archival materials; Håkan Wahlquist, Keeper of The Sven Hedin Foundation, the National Archive, Stockholm for his kind advise; Karolina Mikulska, Curator of Photograph Collections, Photograph Archive, Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm

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connectedness of natural and man-made spatial qualities that constitutes a *genius loci* of a place.

A Meeting in Jerusalem, August 1916

In August 1916, in the middle of WWI, the photographer Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson (1881–1958)³ met the renowned Swedish explorer Sven Anders Hedin (1865–1952) who was visiting Jerusalem “not as an explorer,” but “as a pilgrim.”⁴ The meeting between Larsson and Hedin proved instrumental for both. Hedin brought back with him to Sweden a vast collection of art photographs created by Larsson and ACPD photographers, as well as dozens of his own drawings of ethnic types and Jerusalem views, all recollecting his visit. These were shortly thereafter published in Sweden, and later in Germany. Larsson’s photographs constitute the majority of Hedin’s book *Till Jerusalem [To Jerusalem]*, published in Stockholm in 1917.⁵ The photograph “Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet” [henceforth referred to as “Augusta Victoria Stiftung”], by Larsson, included in Hedin’s *Till Jerusalem*, is of particular interest to this study of the notion of *genius loci* in photography.⁶

By the early 1900s, hand-painted biblical photographic images of Jerusalem and the Holy Land created by the ACPD were distributed to a wide clientele. When Sven Hedin amassed his own corpus of ACPD photographs, the collective’s work had already shaped the idea in people’s minds of a sacred Jerusalem. Unlike allegorical biblical photographs, the focus of “Augusta Victoria Stiftung” is a new architectural complex set amidst Jerusalem’s natural landscapes.

This chapter explores the spatial visual language of the hand-tinted photograph “Augusta Victoria Stiftung,” and Larsson’s traditional, yet critical interpretation of the inter-connectedness of natural and the cultivated landscapes, furthermore, the newly-built monument, and the cultural context behind its creation. The early imagery that was created by Larsson and the ACPD was nourished by their social and political awareness, their cultural and religious views, their extensive knowledge of the biblical history of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but also by their clientele’s demand

³ Larsson was one of the 37 “Jerusalem Emigrants” of Nås, who settled in the American Colony (Jerusalem) in 1896.

⁴ Hedin 1915–1916. “Letters from Sven Hedin to his parents during his travels to the War Front and Orient, in 1915–1916, Volume XII.” Akt 136. The Sven Hedin Archive, The National Archive, Stockholm, Sweden. (Excerpts from Hedin’s Jerusalem’s visit were translated by Skans Victoria Airey, 2018).

⁵ Sven Anders Hedin, *Till Jerusalem* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1917).

⁶ American Colony (Jerusalem). 1914: 12. The 1914 photographs sales catalogue published by Vester and Co., the American Colony Stores, lists the photograph for the first time. Box 20, page 12, item 273, G. Eric Matson and Edith Matson papers, 1908–1977, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

for an ideal imagery of Jerusalem. It was etched into their art as a *genius loci*, conveying the idea of Jerusalem to the purchasers of these photographs. Integrating a political critical interpretation into a traditional biblical genre that was probably made to order, marks a transition in Larsson's work. His independent voice will become more evident in the years to come.

The Photographic Space

Larsson's hand-tinted photograph titled "Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung" (Fig. 24.1), was taken soon after the monumental German building complex on Jerusalem's highest Mount Scopus range was completed (1910–1914).⁷

The photograph shows the building harmoniously embedded in Jerusalem's natural landscape. The complex in the upper left middle ground of the photograph borders the natural terrain of Jerusalem's Scopus mountain range and the pink-blue sky. The rough, sand-colored bossage walls of the building blend in with the surrounding hills, while the black-blue tiled roof plays off against the hazy blue backdrop of the northern Dead Sea and Moab (Jordan) mountain range. The sixty-five-meter high bell- and observation tower at the building's right dominates the landscape, uniting earth and sky, rendering a sense of stability and serenity to the composition. The sacred sites within the walled city of Jerusalem to the southwest, were consciously left out of the photographic space, showing the photographer's intention to turn the complex into the focal point of the work.

The color palette, dominated by reddish brown tones of the earth and deep greens in the foreground, and lighter brown, off-white, pale blue, and pink hues in the upper background, follows the practice of the ACPD, which was perfected in their hand-tinted photographs. A grove of dark green olive trees interspersed with cypresses and fruit trees fills the foreground. At the lower right, a lone human figure dressed in white is visible in front of the grove's low stone wall and gate. A paved white road stretches diagonally from the photograph's mid-right in the direction of the monumental building complex, linking the grand new structure with the cultivated landscape. The pale pink and blue sky illuminating the top third of the composition bestows a spiritual ambience to the whole scene, with the single figure in white like a contemplative note. Clearly, the photographer, Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, had made a

7 Hedin 1916. Untitled [Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet, 1914], hand-tinted monochrome photographic print, 24 x 30 cm., 0875.0004.A. Collection of Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson and the ACPD photographs, 1900–1916. The Sven Hedin Collection, Photograph Archive, Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm. Despite the fact that the photograph was published in Hedin's book in 1917, I refer here to the original hand-tinted photograph due to its unusual qualities in comparison to the published reproduction.

study of the relationship between the new monument and the natural and cultivated landscapes long before he positioned his camera and took the photograph.

Larsson's photograph of the "Augusta Victoria Stiftung" was purchased by the Swedish explorer Hedin, in August 1916, from the Vester & Co., American Colony Stores, Jerusalem.⁸ At the time, Hedin was visiting Palestine as a guest of Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1872–1922), Commander of the Fourth Army in Sinai, Palestine, and Syria during World War I.⁹ Larsson, then aged thirty-five, and his twenty-five-year-old colleague Lars E. Lind (also a Swede) had been commissioned by the Turkish Commander to accompany Hedin during his Palestine visit. Both photographers had immigrated to Jerusalem with their families from the village of Nås, in Dalarna, Sweden in 1896, with the wave of immigration that inspired Selma Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem* (1901) (Fig. 24.2).¹⁰

The bond between Larsson and Hedin, nourished by their mutual artistic sensitivity and knowledge of the Holy Land, led in 1917 to several ACPD photograph-based publications in Sweden. Among them, Hedin's *Till Jerusalem*, which was illustrated with photographs by Larsson and the ACPD photographers, as well as Hedin's drawings. Another publication was *Passover Celebrations of the Samaritans in Words and Pictures* with text by John D. Whiting and photographs by Larsson.¹¹ Both were published in Stockholm where a wide range of audiences could follow their authors' interpretations of Jerusalem's *genius loci*.

In his letters to his parents¹² and his book *Till Jerusalem*, Hedin describes in detail Larsson's photographic talent, his extensive knowledge of the land, and his close ties with the people of Palestine and the Levant:

On all the journeys I did in and around the city, Lars Larsson was my faithful companion, and a better guide than he is not to be had anywhere on this earth. He knew every nook and cranny of the city of Jerusalem, and every road, village and ruin in the whole of Palestine and Syria. If I had had my way I would rather have had his knowledge than all the wisdom of Baedeker, since he had travelled so very many times through the country in all directions, partly to take the photographs he sold to travelers and pilgrims, partly as a guide for tourists. He had friends among the

8 Hedin, August 28, 1916. Handwritten receipt of goods purchased by Dr. Sven Hedin from Fr. Vester & Co. The American Colony Store. Akt 345. Hedin Arkiv vid Riksarkivet [Hedin Archive, The National Archive of Sweden], Stockholm.

9 Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman 1913–1919* (London: Hutchinson; New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922).

10 Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem I. I Dalarna* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1901); Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem II. I det heliga landet* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1902).

11 John D. Whiting and Lewis Larsson, *Samaritanernas påskfest i ord och bild [Passover Celebrations of the Samaritans in Words and Pictures]*, with introductions by Sven Anders Hedin and Selma Lagerlöf. (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1917). Limited edition, no. 159 of 300, in Rare Books Collection, American Colony Archive, Jerusalem.

12 Hedin, "Letters from Sven Hedin to his parents."



Fig. 24.2: Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, photographing in Tibne, Jordan, 1910. American Colony Photo-Dept. photographers. Glass lantern slide. Uppsala University Library Collection.

Bedouin far beyond the mountains of Moab, and he had been long and often in Petra. He had sailed the Dead Sea from shore to shore. He had visited all the coastal towns, and was an intimate of the monks in the monastery on Mount Sinai. It was a joy to wander or travel in his company, for he had information on everything at his fingertips. He was well versed in the varied history of the country and knew his Bible by heart even if only in English, which tripped off his tongue just as easily as Swedish.¹³

¹³ Hedin, "Letters from Sven Hedin to his parents."

Of the 264 photographs purchased by Hedin from the ACPD,¹⁴ a selection of 134 (all credited “Larsson,” but only eight credited “Copyright L. Larsson Jerusalem”)¹⁵ were used to illustrate *Till Jerusalem*.¹⁶ Among these was “Augusta Victoria Stiftung.” In *Till Jerusalem* Hedin recalls his visit to Augusta Victoria: “a most beautiful view of the Holy Land, including the Temple Mount, Gethsemane, the Russian Maria Magdalena Church, where Jesus rested after fleeing Jerusalem, the Haram el Sharif where the temples of Solomon and Herod once stood. Mount Scopus and the Moab mountain range are seen at distance.”¹⁷

Pilgrimage or Political Domination?

Wilhelm II, Kaiser of Germany and King of Prussia inaugurated the Church of the Redeemer, the first Lutheran church in Jerusalem on his visit to Palestine in October 1898, and decided to build the Augusta Victoria Stiftung on the Mount of Olives at the request of the German Protestant community in Palestine. Officially a religious pilgrimage site, the location of the complex on the Mount of Olives was linked to the Ascension of Christ, but it also offered an unusual strategic advantage bordering the highest mountain range of Jerusalem and the deep slope towards the Dead Sea.

According to historian Lily Arad, Kaiser Wilhelm II described his pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a new and wonderful Crusade under the signs of peace and love that

14 Sven Anders Hedin, August, 1916. Collection of Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson and the ACPD photographs, spanning the years 1900–1916. The Sven Hedin Collection, Ethnographic Museum, Photograph Archive, Stockholm. The photographs purchased by Hedin in 1916 consisted of the following: 264 photographic prints by Larsson and ACPD photographers and one photo album titled “The Life of Christ” (possibly reproduction photographs featuring the paintings by British artist William Hole [1846–1917]). The purchase receipt lists “109 Albumenized [Albumen] Photographs; 15 Bromide Photographs; 1 Panorama of Jerusalem, col. [hand-tinted]; 1 Panorama of Jerusalem, Sepia; 60 Coloured photos of Locusts [Jerusalem’s Locust Plague, 1915]; 26 Photos, coloured [hand-tinted]; 26 Photos, Sepia; 9 Photos Sepia Long. Of the 264 photographs purchased by Hedin in Jerusalem the known photograph collection at the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm consists only of some 115 photographs.

15 Hedin attributes all of the photographs in his book to Larsson and does not mention any of the other ACPD photographers. Only eight of the photographs in the book including “Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet,” are actually credited as “copyrighted” to Larsson. Whether the “copyrighted” photographs were taken by Larsson himself and the rest collaboratively with his colleague photographers should be further explored. John D. Whiting attributes the Jerusalem Locust Plague series to Larsson. See John D. Whiting and Lewis Larsson, “Jerusalem’s Locust Plague. Being the Description of the Recent Locust Influx into Palestine, and Comparing Same with Ancient Locust Invasions as Narrated in the Old World’s History Book, the Bible,” *National Geographic Magazine* 28, no. 6 (1915): 511–50, 513.

16 Hedin, *Till Jerusalem*.

17 Hedin, *Till Jerusalem*, 298. Translated by Skans Victoria Airey.

reconcile enemies, “however, in the second half of the nineteenth century, at the pinnacle of imperialism and colonial expansion, this expression conveyed not only Christian faith and a romantic concept of the medieval Crusades, but also important political issues.”¹⁸

In the “*Deutsche Bauzeitung*” in 1911, the architectural significance of the Augusta Victoria compound was reviewed as a gift of German cultural achievement to the Holy Land, despite the loss brought by it to the city’s historical character:

The group of German buildings is significant as an important phase, as they complement the efforts of the municipal authorities of Jerusalem to create a city whose architecture meets the needs of the present day. It is probable that as a result of these efforts, part of the historical character of the city and the landscape will be lost, and this is of course regrettable, but also inevitable – for why should a city of such international importance as Jerusalem not be permitted to participate in the achievements of culture of our own day and age.¹⁹

In her 2005 study of the Augusta Victoria complex, Arad noted that the name given to the foundation, “Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet,” with its Church, Pilgrim’s Hospital, and hostels, intended to associate the monument with the biblical meaning of the Mount of Olives, despite the fact that the complex was actually built on the Mount Scopus range.²⁰ Arad also commented that: “Though it is unlikely that the compound was consciously built for military purposes, it did serve as Turkish, German, and British headquarters, proving that the fortress-like building, would easily be a natural fit to a strategic military position.”²¹

The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan Crusader compound, gifted to the Emperor by Abdul Hamid II, was the first building project in Jerusalem initiated by Kaiser Wilhelm II. During his six-week tour in the region, the Kaiser entered the city like a “fairy-tale figure” on a white horse in a guard uniform with eagle helmet, and his speeches avoided political and religious contention.²² The Imperial entourage, along with hundreds of guests including delegations from Scandinavia and the United States, consecrated the Church of the Redeemer on October 31, 1898, “with trumpets and trombones, pomp and pageantry.”²³ At the end of the ceremony, the Kaiser knelt at the altar and vowed to “serve the Lord for all eternity.”²⁴

18 Lily Arad, “The Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives and Kaiser Wilhelm II’s Peaceful Crusade,” in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes 9/10* (Hannover: Selbstverlag des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts, 2005), 126.

19 As quoted in Peter Lemburg, “Prussia in Jerusalem,” in *Welcome to Jerusalem*, eds. Margaret Kampmeyer & Cilly Kugelman (Berlin: Jüdisch Museum, 2017), 123. [quoting “Die neuen Bauten im Heiligen Land,” in *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, no 45 (1911): 17].

20 Arad, “The Augusta Victoria Hospice,” 128.

21 Arad, “The Augusta Victoria Hospice,” 126.

22 Lemburg, “Prussia in Jerusalem,” 121.

23 Lemburg, “Prussia in Jerusalem,” 121.

24 Lemburg, “Prussia in Jerusalem,” 121.

The Church of the Redeemer was erected over the remains of Constantine's Church of the Resurrection, first restored by the Crusaders. In Bethlehem, the Kaiser built the Lutheran Church of Christmas Night that was similarly inspired by the ancient church originally built by Constantine and restored by the Crusaders. The Ascension Church in the Augusta Victoria complex commemorated the same Christian event.²⁵ In 1910, the Augusta Victoria Stiftung, St Mary Church on Mt. Zion (the "Dormitio"), and St Paul's Hospice were consecrated in Jerusalem. The Muristan was developed further, eventually including The German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, a German state-church institution, established by Kaiser Willhelm II and dedicated to study of the Holy Land's antiquities (headed from 1903 by the Swedish Professor Gustaf Herman Dalman, who would also become Honorary Consul General of Sweden in Palestine).²⁶ Unlike the "modest" architectural style of the Church of the Redeemer, criticized for its lack of German idealism and dominance, Augusta Victoria's architecture "returned" the lost dignity to its initiators.

American Colony member and photographer Lars E. Lind writes on Germany's influence in the Holy Land: "All in all, Germany had supplanted Britain, in every field of influence – educational, medical, agricultural, mercantile and cultural. It took the Kaiser himself to bring all this crashing to oblivion by declaring war on August 2, 1914, and what was left of German influence between the two world wars disappeared altogether under Hitler in 1939."²⁷

The Kaiser's visit gave rise to the first significant photographic commission of the newly established American Colony Photo-Department, where "photography assumed an active part in exploration of the region, trying to link between the Bible and the Holy Land."²⁸ The young photographers followed American Colony member Elijah Meyers, who demonstrated an open-air master class of photography in action, which enabled them an active front row view to a grand historical event. Larsson, who was then just seventeen years old, joined Meyers and Frederick E. Vester and followed the Kaiser's entourage, and it is likely that he took quite a few of the photographs during the imperial visit, along with his photographer-colleague Furman O. Baldwin.

Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson's photograph "Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung," was taken from Mount Scopus, some six hundred meters northwest of the complex. The carefully staged focal point and the manner in which it was visually cropped from

²⁵ Arad, "The Augusta Victoria Hospice," 129–30.

²⁶ Lewis Larsson succeeded Dalman as Swedish consul in Jerusalem from 1920. See Jacob H. Grønbaek, "Lewis Larsson. A Swede in Jerusalem in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in *Living Waters*, eds. Egon Keck, Svend Søndergaard & Ellen Wulff (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1990), 83. See also Chapter 26 (Inger Marie Okkenhaug), 518–39.

²⁷ Lars Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and the American (Swedish) Colony," 18, unpublished manuscript. Lars E. Lind Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

²⁸ Eyal Onne, *Photographic Heritage of the Holy Land, 1839–1914* (Manchester: Institute of Advanced Studies, Manchester Polytechnic, 1980), 8.

adjacent historical monuments of the Old City of Jerusalem while its isolated positioning against the vast natural backdrop of the Mount Scopus topography rendered the impression of it as a rare jewel linking earth and sky. Under this false impression, Larsson concealed another message: by juxtaposing the lone Arab immersed in his orchard in the lower photographic space and the monumental German complex at the centre-top, Larsson encoded also the tension between the local tradition of cultivation of the Land and a foreign German Crusader style, grounded in the Kaiser's wish to strategically dominate Jerusalem.

The photographer who envisioned the photographic space and visualized its encoded messages, and the unknown painter who rendered it in colour, worked collaboratively to convey the actual dissonance between the monument the Grove. The dissonance, between the Kaiser's declared and concealed aspirations would eventually determine the complex's destiny, turning it into Ottoman and German War headquarters during World War I and a home of the military and civil British administration in Palestine from 1917.

Larsson and his photographer- and painter colleagues were able to explore the relationship between "being in the world" and place, and they staged these properties and characteristics as the photograph's *genius loci*, to indicate the total man-place relationships in and around Jerusalem.

Visionaries vs. Creators

The impact of the Swedish-American Colony on the city's spiritual and cultural scenes in the early 1900s was disseminated in Scandinavia through Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*, and through numerous written accounts by Scandinavian travelers to the Holy Land who published extensive reports on life in the Colony before and after Selma Lagerlöf and Sophie Elkan's visit of March 1900. Among these visitors were Vicar A. Nordlander, 1897; K. J. Bohlin, 1899; Victor Hugo Wickström, 1900; Henrik Steen, 1903; Erik Aurelius, 1910; Klas Pontus Arnoldson, 1913; Hilma Granqvist, 1925 and 1931; Laura Petrie, 1930; and Emil Rodhe, 1931.

The Christian messianic collective of around 150 people from seventeen nationalities (most were Swedish and American), was established in Ottoman Jerusalem in 1881 by Horatio G. Spafford (1828–1888) and the Norwegian-American Anna T. Spafford (1842–1923). The Spaffords, who were followed to Jerusalem by a small group of friends and relatives, were in quest of spiritual enlightenment after a series of tragic losses.

Their religious philosophy in the early years was founded on universal humane ideals, which they sought to extract from the primary biblical sources by way of study and practice. During the first years in Jerusalem, they adopted celibacy as a way of life, aspired to purification, and longed to become witnesses of an ethereal Second Coming. Refusing paid work, they were supported by Arab neighbours and friends as well as by

local banks, and by the mid-1890s, their debts mounted to about eight thousand dollars. By then, more than a third of the founders had died, among them Horatio G. Spafford. Among the newcomers who joined the Colony during its early years were Elijah Meyers of India, a Jack-of-all-trades who would establish the photographic venture in 1896, and Clara Johanna Brook, a British kindergarten teacher, pianist, and able painter who would become a school teacher.

In 1894, in an attempt to release the community from its heavy debts, nine members of the collective including Anna Spafford returned to Chicago. Their objective was to access funds that a few of them were entitled to by inheritance. The group remained in Chicago for almost two years, during which time they held open services and won not only the court cases, but also the faith of sixty-eight new believers who decided to follow them to back to Jerusalem in 1896. Forty of the sixty-eight newcomers were Swedish immigrants to America, whom had formed the Swedish Evangelical Church in Chicago around Pastor Olof Henrik Larsson (1842–1919), and twenty-eight were of American origin. Three months later, thirty-seven Swedes from the village of Nås, in Dalarna – a sister spiritual community of the American-Swedish Evangelical Church of Chicago – would join them in Jerusalem.

The Spafford's first home within the Old City of Jerusalem had become too small to accommodate the extended community and soon after their arrival to Jerusalem they moved to a more spacious residence, the former home of Rabbah Daoud Effendi al-Husseini, and his four wives, situated in the Sheikh Jarrah quarter northwest of Jerusalem's Herod's Gate. Many of the newcomers who could not cope with Anna T. Spafford's leadership, or with communal life, or the living conditions in Palestine, either died soon after their arrival or left the Colony empty-handed.

Around 1900, the Colony started operating seasonally as a hostel for paying guests, in addition to establishing an agricultural farm; a food and canning industry; a bakery; as well as dress-making, weaving, and carpentry workshops. An elementary school was set up, headed by John E. Dinsmore – a biblical scholar and botanist – where boys and girls, Christians, Muslims, and Jews, studied together.

Travel and Exploration

Exploration of the land as an aspect of faith was etched into the identity of the American Colony's members from its founding by Horatio and Anna Spafford. Travel continued to mark the congregation's faith and creative identity as younger members adopted exploration-related professions, which included archaeology, land surveying, tour guiding, photography, botany, education, ethnography, and hosting. The latter – hosting – exposed them to like-minded explorers and artists who would often stay for prolonged periods as their guests.

The end of the nineteenth- and the beginning of the twentieth century saw the establishment of state-sponsored religious research institutes in Jerusalem, whose new inhabitants' knowledge and aspirations complemented those of the Colony: such as the French *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* founded in 1890, followed by the American School of Oriental Research (today the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research) founded in 1900, and the *Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes* [The German Protestant Institute of Archaeology] founded in 1900 (established by the German Protestant Church Conference in Eisenach: later confirmed by Kaiser Wilhelm II). The new inhabitants of these institutions established close ties with their neighbouring communities which harboured similar interests. Events were arranged and these meetings proved formative and led guests and hosts into fruitful exchanges and common ventures. For young Colony members, it was a further schooling, and many of them developed their knowledge of the land. Lars E. Lind recalls in his memoir:

Archaeology seemed to spur on the study of theology. A majority of the annual students from the colleges of Europe were theological graduates; Palestine Archaeology was in fact inseparable from Bible research. The Colony was a host to the great majority of American students and the young men of the Colony, thanks to their intimate knowledge of the land and the Arabic language, became the guides and interpreters of the annual excursions.²⁹

The Swedish-German Professor Gustaf Herman Dalman (1855–1941), who headed The German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, and the Colony member John E. Dinsmore, laid the foundation for botanical research in the Levant.³⁰ The German missionary architect and model-maker Conrad Schick (1822–1901) inspired Colony members Elijah Meyers, who became an interpreter of his Jerusalem models, and the young Ernest F. Beaumont, who excelled in topographical model-making.

The Memory of Photography

The American Colony Photo-Department was established by Elijah Meyers, an Indian-Jewish convert who arrived in Jerusalem in 1889. The ACPD rapidly turned into a booming business and the collective soon purchased Ferdinand Ludwig Vester's store in Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate, from which their products and other memorabilia were sold to tourists and distributed worldwide. Throughout its thirty-seven years of activity, the ACPD comprised between ten to fifteen photographers, and about eight

²⁹ Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and the American (Swedish) Colony," 209.

³⁰ John Edward Dinsmore and Gustaf Dalman, *Die Pflanzen Palästinas: auf Grund eigener Sammlung und der Flora Posts und Boissiers*. Text by John E. Dinsmore, with Arabic names by Gustaf Dalman (Leipzig: Deutschen Verien zur Erforschung Palästinas, 1911).

painters, as well as printers, album binders, editors, writers, and distributors. The Photo-Department's enterprise and body of work remains unmatched by any other photographic venture active in the Levant between the years 1896 and 1934. The photographs they took before World War I, across Jerusalem and Palestine, convey the interconnected and open relationships between the inhabitants and places of the Middle East; a kaleidoscopic vision that has not been attainable since.

The photographs were embossed with the Photo-Department logo crediting the collective and rarely were individual photographs attributed to a specific photographer. Young adults of the Swedish "Jerusalem Immigrants" as well as Americans, Indians, and Palestinians formed the original collective. Swedes Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, Lars E. Lind, Olof E. Lind, G. Eric Matson, G. Olof Matson, and possibly Maria Lund, were among the leading personalities responsible for the Photo-Department's international reputation. Americans Edith Yantiss (Matson), Ernest F. Beaumont, Furman O. Baldwin, Norman A. Baldwin, John D. Whiting; Frederick E. Vester from Germany; Elijah Meyers from India; and Palestinians Jamil Albina, Najib Albina, and Fareed Naseef were among the contributors to this venture. The young photographers who originally had gathered around Elijah Meyers soon after the Swedish emigration of 1896, ranged in age from twelve to sixteen with the oldest being Furman O. Baldwin, aged twenty. The younger members of the ACPD were influenced by the religious views of their visionary parents, but, at the same time, they grew up exploring the real terrain and sights of the Holy Land in challenging photographic expeditions. The social dynamic of the collective, their dedication to study, travel, and exploration of the land, enabled the ACPD photographers to constantly explore the borders of the photographic space and develop a wide range of genres.

Articles of their shared observations of the Holy Land's inhabitants and places were published in the "National Geographic Magazine" between 1913 and 1940. The articles written by the American Colony member John D. Whiting (1882–1951) were illustrated with ACPD photographers. The first article "From Jerusalem to Aleppo," was published in 1913, and this was followed by "Village Life in the Holy Land" in 1914, and "Jerusalem's Locust Plague" in December 1915.

Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson had a central role in shaping the ACPD destiny and its genre of art photography. As a teenager, Larsson travelled throughout the Levant, participating in extensive photo-expeditions. During these outings, he forged close ties with lay people and dignitaries alike. Larsson took over the running of the ACPD from Elijah Meyers around 1905 and remained at its head for more than twenty years.

A typed document, "The Chief Industries of the American Colony," described the ACPD in 1907 under Larsson's leadership:

This branch occupies several of the young men of the Colony. They take thousands of views of sites, ceremonies, customs etc., in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine and Syria

that are included in the different series of the photographs that are sold at Fr. Vester & Co., The American Colony Stores under the Grand New Hotel in Jerusalem, as well as series of Lantern slides and Stereoscopic Views and Postal Cards and Colored photographic albums . . . about 14,500 to 16,500 are sold during a traveling season.³¹

Art photography was one genre among a wide variety of artistic, academic, and documentary styles mastered by the photographic collective, but it is through the art photographs that they conveyed their combined interpretation of a timeless, often idealized *genius loci* of Jerusalem.

The young ACPD photographers and Colony painters were inspired by the photographs taken by Felix Bonfils (1831–1885) of Jerusalem’s views and types, and which, between 1890 and 1910, were transformed through a photo-mechanical process into striking ink-based colour photo-lithographs created by the Photoglob Company in Zürich. As Olof E. Lind notes:

The Colony had one competing firm of Bonfils of Bayreuth [Beirut], whose photographs were sold throughout the country, but the colony soon produced better and more complete collections of historical sites, and later held the market in the photographic line. Enlargements, views, lantern slides plain and colored, and printing and developing private plates for students. It grew into an important and paying business.³²

Several of the Colony members as well as guest residents were able painters. British Colony member Clara Johanna Brook was one of its finest artists, in addition to being a schoolteacher who taught her pupils painting and art history outside the regular school curriculum. Other Colony members such as Ernest Forrest Beaumont, Lars Eriksson Lind, Edith (Yantiss) Matson, Bertha Spafford Vester, and Grace Spafford Whiting, are among the Colony members who practiced painting continuously. Among the American Colony long-term guests were the renowned American artist Corwin Knapp Linson (1864–1934) and Annie Linson,³³ who stayed at the Colony from 1898 to 1902; and Swedish artist and inventor Algot Sätterström (1880–1914), who was in Jerusalem between 1903 and 1905, and befriended the Colony artists and photographers.

Soon after the ACPD was founded, the young Colony photographers started experimenting with the Colony painters, as well as with long term resident painters and traveling experts whom mastered painting over photography in creating stunning hand painted photographs of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. “Photographers and

31 American Colony (Jerusalem): January 1907. Unpublished document. “The Chief Industries of the American Colony, Jerusalem, at the Present Time.” Part I, Box 2, Folder 19: American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mamcol.033>.

32 Olof Lind, undated: 54. Typed manuscript, “The Life of One of the Ingmar Sons,” Box 3, Olof E. Lind Papers, MSS85935, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

33 Corwin Knapp Linson, “Sunset Near Jerusalem,” *The Century Magazine* 72, no. 2 (1906).

artists crossed each other's routes in the Holy Land," said Eyal Onne, and "the new art of photography and the traditional art of painting and drawing as practiced in the Holy Land, had bilateral relationships of give and take."³⁴ These bilateral relationships found their unique expression also within the American Swedish Colony and its Photographic Department.

The technique of tinting photographs set a new impetus to the trade. Thousands of famous religious paintings photographed on canvas paper and scenes of sacred sites were sold as fast as they could be produced. Sixty years after, the colour remains as vivid as when applied.³⁵

It was not until 1922 that the ACPD printed its first known specialized catalogue of art photographs; a fine selection of some 220 photographs spanning the years 1900 and 1922. With careful attention to composition and to staging of the photographic space, the photographers and painters mastered the genre in creating black and white, sepia, and hand-tinted photographic prints. Their artistic skill surpassed all other competitors in the field. Their staged works consisted of a careful organization of people's and objects' relationships in space to create dramatic compositions. "Jerusalem's Locust Plague,"³⁶ a photographic series taken by Larsson and the ACPD in 1915, displays the locusts' metamorphosis in a set of hand-tinted images; one to a page. The series is a unique example of the interdisciplinary discourse among the photographers, writers, explorers, and artists, and was one of the complete series purchased by Hedin in 1916.³⁷

The art photographs listed in the 1922 catalogue consisted of a variety of themes and formats: "Buildings, Picturesque Streets of Jerusalem, Streets in Bethlehem, Types of Men, Types of Women, Primitive Agriculture and Palestine Pastoral Life."³⁸ Among Sven Hedin's extensive purchase of ACPD art photographs were: Herod's Temple model by Architect Dr. Conrad Schick;³⁹ Jerusalem's Stephan's Gate; Jerusalem's David Street (Fig. 24.3); Panoramic View of Jerusalem;⁴⁰ Anna T.

³⁴ Onne, *Photographic Heritage of the Holy Land, 1839–1914*, 12.

³⁵ Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and the American (Swedish) Colony," 83. Lind's remark remains true even today, one hundred years later.

³⁶ Hedin, Collection of Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson and the ACPD photographs, spanning the years 1900–1916. The Sven Hedin Collection, Ethnographic Museum, Photograph Archive, Stockholm. ID 0833 and ID 0875.

³⁷ Larsson and the ACPD, 1936. Photograph Album, "Locust," [Jerusalem's Locust Plagues of 1915 and 1930], Box II_02_07_18, ACPD collection of topical photograph albums, American Colony Archive, Jerusalem.

³⁸ American Colony (Jerusalem) 1922. *Catalogue of The American Colony ART PHOTOS, 1922*. Fr. Vester & Co., American Colony Stores, Jerusalem. Boaz Collection of Photography, Jerusalem.

³⁹ See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), fig. 1.3.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), fig. 1.4.



Fig. 24.3: David Street, Jerusalem, 1900–1916. American Colony Photo-Dept. photographers. Photographic print, hand-tinted. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.



Fig. 24.4: Al-Aqsa Mosque, 1900–1916. Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, American Colony Photo-Dept. Photographic print, hand-tinted. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

Spafford at the American Colony Courtyard; The Jordan River; Bethlehem Peasant Spinning Wool; The Samaritan Priest with the Bible Scroll; The Al-Aqsa Mosque (Fig. 24.4); and a complete set of the Jerusalem's Locust Plague series (1915) tinted by Lars E. Lind (Fig. 24.5).⁴¹ An inventory of the ACPD shortly before its dissolution in 1934 shows that some eight artists worked simultaneously on producing hand-tinted photographs and glass lantern slides. The art photographs comprised more than just allegorical biblical scenes, and only some were hand-painted. Regardless of the subject, whether a building or a portrait, the art photograph aimed to present it as a sublime entity; a *genius loci* of the ideal timeless ambience.

⁴¹ American Colony (Jerusalem), *Catalogue of The American Colony ART PHOTOS*, 1922. The items listed in the ACPD 1922 art photographs catalogue, consisted of three formats: pictures, panels and panoramas. Pictures measured 24 x 30 cm and were available in either sepia tone or delicate hand-coloured prints. Panels measured 12 x 30 cm and were available in sepia or hand-coloured versions. Panoramas measured 25 x 55 cm and came in black and white, sepia, and hand-coloured.



Fig. 24.5: Jerusalem's Locust Plague: Colony Members Fighting the Locust, 1915. Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, American Colony Photo-Dept. Photographic print, hand-tinted. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

But this was only one stratum of a complex interpretation of layered data that was visually encoded in these photographs. The outbreak of World War I led the ACPD photographers to develop a less idealistic genre: War photography. The Augusta Victoria Stiftung photograph was created on the verge of these dramatic political changes.

Epilogue

Larsson's careful organization of "Augusta Victoria Stiftung" photographic space, its aesthetics and encrypted criticism against the German domination of Jerusalem, and his love for Jerusalem's primordial landscapes and its inhabitants, constitute as a totality his perception of Jerusalem's *genius loci* shortly before World War I.

Soon after the photograph "Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet" was taken, Palestine was plunged into World War I, and the function of the foundation changed

dramatically when Ahmed Djemal Pasha turned it into his and the allied German forces' headquarters between 1915 and 1917. On December 9, 1917, the morning after the Turks retreated from Augusta Victoria towards Jericho, Larsson took the rare set of iconic photos capturing the surrender of Jerusalem to the British in Sheikh Bader at the western outskirts of the city. Some hours later, Larsson and his photographer colleague Lars E. Lind were ordered to destroy these photographs by Major General Sir John Shea who was planning the staged entry of General Edmund Allenby to Jerusalem on December 11.⁴² Larsson resisted the order until Shea's Aid-de-Camp forced him to burn both the plates and all the prints in his presence.

In the following weeks, the British forces overtook Augusta Victoria and soon raised the British flag atop its roof turning it into Allenby's headquarters, an event also documented by the ACPD. Between 1920 and 1927 the complex was the official residence of the British High Commissioner in Palestine, until it was severely damaged by the 1927 earthquake and returned to its original owners, the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Foundation. The title of the historical photo was changed in the ACPD art photographs catalogue of 1922 to "The Olivet Range with [the British] Government House," showing an apparent adaptation of the Colony photographers to the new regime.

With the beginning of the British Mandate in Palestine the leading architect of the British Arts and Crafts Movement, Charles Robert Ashbee, was commissioned by Sir Ronald Storrs to prepare a feasibility report for the restoration of the city of Jerusalem. In his report, he lamented the lack of sensitivity to Jerusalem's natural *genius loci* of Augusta Victoria among other similar political architectural statements:

Coming into the City from the old pilgrim route . . . we notice how the ancient Jerusalem is all but obliterated: we see the once golden dome no longer, we see a bastard Florence, a bastard Nuremburg, a bastard Moscow, an imitation Lourdes, a Bavarian suburb and an imitation Oxford . . . Round and about the City circuit within or without the walls we note an arrogant assertion of the various national codes. All modern buildings seem to have been strangely prophetic of the War.⁴³

The collection of art photographs created by the young men who could have been protagonists in Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem*, were purchased by Hedin in 1916 from the Vester & Co. American Colony Store. Some of these photographs by the American

⁴² Rachel Lev, "Chronicles of a Surrender, December 9, 1917 – The Story of the American Colony Photo-Dept. Surrender Photographs," in *A General and a Gentleman – Allenby at the Gates of Jerusalem*, exhibition catalogue, (Jerusalem: Tower of David, Museum for the History of Jerusalem, 2017), 52e–74e.

⁴³ Ron Fuchs & Gilbert Herbert, "A Colonial Portrait of Jerusalem." *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Westport: Praeger, 2001), 88.

Colony Photo-Department are preserved today in the Ethnographic Museum Photograph Archive in Stockholm.

Besides the aesthetic quality of these striking images, they carry the encrypted spatial narratives of what their creators envisioned.



Fig. 25.1: Hilma Granqvist in local costume together with two children. © Palestine Exploration Fund.

Toufoul Abou-Hodeib

Chapter 25

Hilma Granqvist's Discovery of the Holy Land

At a time when the Jerusalem code still dominated perceptions of Palestine in various European countries, the Swedish-Finnish scholar Hilma Granqvist travelled to Jerusalem in search of living evidence of biblical times in the everyday lives of Palestinians. The realities she was met with, however, transformed her perception of Palestine and transformed Granqvist herself from bible scholar to ethnologist. This article places this transformation in the context of Granqvist's meeting with Palestinian folklorists, underlining how breaking with the Jerusalem code opened up Granqvist's work to later Palestinian scholars who were interested in her work precisely because it resonated with their storyworlds about the Palestine they lost in 1948.

In 1925, the Swedish-Finnish scholar Hilma Granqvist (1890–1972) arrived in Palestine for her research (Fig. 25.1). Granqvist had initially intended to study the women of biblical times, and she sought primary material in Palestine. According to an Orientalist worldview, the Holy Land, much like the rest of the “Orient,” was not subject to the progressive notion of time and as such belonged to another time. Various linguists, adventurers, cartographers, photographers, archaeologists, and biblical scholars – or any combination of those categories – looked for and therefore found in the Holy Land the very images they were looking for: remnants of the biblical past. Thus, Granqvist, like many before her, set off on a research trip to Palestine seeking primary material for her research. During her stay in Palestine, however, she underwent a sort of “conversion,” by which she became more interested in the village of Artas as a living culture rather than a biblical remnant.

Working under the direction of Gunnar Landtman – a student of Edward Westermarck's – at Helsinki University, Granqvist initially took up the topic of “Women in the Old Testament” at the suggestion of her supervisor. In preparation for her research, she took courses in theology and archaeology in Leipzig and Berlin before she joined an archaeology course in Jerusalem organized by the German Evangelic Institute. While in Jerusalem, she made the acquaintance of Louise Baldensperger, the daughter of a missionary family based in Artas since 1849.¹ Baldensperger, known in Artas as Sitt Louise, was key in introducing

¹ Falestin Naili, “Hilma Granqvist, Louise Baldensperger et la “Tradition de Rencontre” au Village Palestinien d'Artas,” *Civilisations* 57, no. 1/2 (2008): 127–38, 107.

Granqvist to the village and providing contacts and board at the family home there. Granqvist decided to remain in Palestine after her course ended in October and carry on with her research on Artas, where she became known as Sitt Halime. According to Granqvist, it was her initial stay in the village, especially her contacts with the women, that made her shift her topic of study.²

Consequently, Granqvist's research focus shifted to ethnological work that linked to what was then a recent current in anthropology: functionalism.³ She ended up with two long research stays in Palestine in 1925–1927 and 1930–1931; together adding up to three years. In addition, she had a shorter sojourn of four months in 1959, when Artas was under Jordanian rule after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Based on this research she published five main works in English: *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (vol. I in 1931 and vol. II in 1935), *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs* (1941), *Child Problems among the Arabs* (1950), and *Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan* (1965).⁴

Two tendencies stand out when discussing Granqvist and her work. First, as a result of the shift in and the nature of her work, much of the discussion underlines to what extent she diverged from the Orientalist stereotype. Annelies Moors, for example, scrutinizes Granqvist's writing in *Marriage Conditions* to conclude that, notwithstanding the biblical references, Granqvist's depiction of village life in Artas is nuanced and weary of generalizations. In the end, Granqvist's work presents a "strong critique of contemporary representations of women in Palestine."⁵

Another aspect that has also attracted scholarly attention is the lack of recognition during her lifetime, particularly in Finland. These two aspects – Granqvist's discovery of the Holy Land and the belated recognition – are linked. Her decision to depart from her initial project and embark on a study of actual lives in the Holy Land led to a break with her supervisor. An advocate of the comparative method, Landtman did not consider the in-depth study of one village sufficient for approving her work. Granqvist thus turned to Westermarck, who at the time was professor

2 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol. 1 (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931), 2–3.

3 Kirsti Suolinna, "Hilma Granqvist: A Scholar of the Westermarck School in Its Decline," *Acta sociologica* 43 (2000): 317.

4 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol.1 (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931); Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol. 2 (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1935); Hilma Granqvist, *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine* (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1947); Hilma Granqvist, *Child Problems among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine* (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1950); and Hilma Granqvist, *Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan*, in *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1965).

5 Annelies Moors, "From Travelogue to Ethnography and Back Again? Hilma Granqvist's Writings and Photographs," *Science and Video* 3 (2011): 306.

at both Åbo Akademi University and the London School of Economics. Based on Westermarck's evaluation, her dissertation was finally approved by Åbo Akademi. Westermarck continued to support Granqvist in her career, but even after publishing her second book on Artas in 1935, her application for a post as a Docent at Helsinki University was rejected.⁶

Granqvist's work was appreciated at the time by leading figures in the field of anthropology, such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard and Margaret Mead.⁷ Nevertheless, a combination of circumstances blocked her academic advancement within the Finnish academe. Her use of new anthropological approaches came at a time when many still clung to comparative methods. So instead of the international recognition she received translating into the career she was hoping for, Granqvist continued to work alone without an official position in Finnish academia.

No doubt, both the Finnish national and scholarly international contexts are crucial to understanding Granqvist's life and the production and reception of her work. Yet curiously, in what has been written on Granqvist, her network comes across as devoid of Palestinians, despite having spent long research stays in Palestine. Granqvist's scholarly network included not only scholars passing through Jerusalem – of whom there was no dearth – but also members of the *Palestine Oriental Society*. Founded in 1920, the society had its own publication, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (JPOS), and although dominated by French and German biblical scholars, it also included a number of significant Palestinian Arabs and Jews. Particularly the Palestinian Arabs of the Society were more focused on living folklore.⁸ Granqvist was not only aware of the existence of the Society, but also personally knew many of its members and their circles. In her diary she describes attending the 45th General Meeting of the Society on January 20, 1931, during her second extended stay in Palestine. There she had conversations with members of the society, among others, and remarked on “knowing a great deal of Jerusalem's inhabitants.”⁹

Among the prominent Palestinians in the Society was Taufik Canaan. Granqvist knew him both in a professional and personal capacity. Granqvist visited Canaan at his home at least twice, once in 1931 and another during her shorter trip to the West Bank in 1959.¹⁰ Canaan himself published works in English and German on cults of Muslim saints, belief in demons and spirits, and other aspects of the folklore of Arab

6 Suolinna, “Hilma Granqvist: A Scholar of the Westermarck School in Its Decline,” 319.

7 Suolinna, “Hilma Granqvist: A Scholar of the Westermarck School in Its Decline,” 322.

8 Albert Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival: The Future of the Palestinian Past,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23, no. 3 (1994): 76; Salim Tamari, “Lepers, Lunatics, and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and His Jerusalem Circle,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 20 (2004): 348.

9 Hilma Granqvist, *Palestina dagbok 1930–1931/IV* (Folder 21). Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, January 29, 1931.

10 Granqvist, *Palestina dagbok 1930–1931/IV*, February 1, 1931; Hilma Granqvist, *Utkast til artiklar från Palestina* (Folder 8), Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, no date.

Palestinians.¹¹ Canaan reviewed both volumes of Granqvist's *Marriage Conditions* in the JPOS.¹² Although his review of the first volume was critical of the absence of references to the articles published on Palestinian folklore in the same journal, his second review was positive and noted the importance of the work in terms of documenting what he regarded as a culture rapidly vanishing as a result of modernization. Another contact of Granqvist's was a Palestinian folklorist and Bethlehem native by the name of Issa Massou, who received his doctoral degree from the University of London in 1963 and was meant to continue his studies in Finland on that country's folklore before a change in his plans.¹³ Granqvist kept in contact with Massou until at least 1970, and when the Jordanian Ministry of Information wrote asking for permission to translate her works into Arabic, she recommended him as a translator.¹⁴

Due to Granqvist's sensitivity to giving voice to her objects of study through her method, writing, and photographs, her work became of interest to a new generation of Palestinians; particularly after the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. After the dual shocks of 1948 and 1967 and the effect they had on Palestinian society, Palestinians started reaffirming a national identity through both politics and culture. Folklore occupied a prominent place in the articulation of this identity. Two central figures in this movement took up an interest in Granqvist's work and established contacts with her. One of them was Widad Kawar, who collected and published on embroidered Palestinian costumes. Kawar sent a letter to Granqvist after 1967 asking for information as part of her ongoing research, after which the two women kept in touch.¹⁵ The other is Nimir Serhan, author of many books on folklore, including several volumes of an encyclopedia of Palestinian folklore published in 1977–1981. Serhan took up contact with Granqvist in 1969 in his capacity as representative of the Department for Culture and Arts at the Ministry of Information in Amman. He was particularly interested in the material Granqvist had collected since, according to him, it was impossible to collect similar material given the political situation and the

11 Tamari, "Lepers, Lunatics, and Saints," 348

12 T. Canaan, "Review of the book *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, by Hilma Granqvist," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 12, (1932): 267–70; T. Canaan, "Review of the book *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol. 2, by Hilma Granqvist," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 12 (1937): 300–1.

13 Hilma Granqvist, "Draft letter to the Finnish Ministry Education's Commission for International Stipends" (Folder 7). Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, January 4, 1967.

14 Hilma Granqvist, "Letter to Secretary Toivo Heiskanen at the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Folder 15). Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, September 15, 1970.

15 Hilma Granqvist, "Letter to Secretary Toivo Heiskanen at the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs." Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, September 15, 1970.

amount of time that had passed.¹⁶ Although Granqvist was hesitant to share an archive she was still using, Serhan obtained a two-month research stipend to travel to Finland in 1970.

Granqvist was placed on the cusp of a change in ethnological research – from the evolutionist and comparative model to the functionalist one. At the same time, Granqvist was placed on the cusp of another kind of transformation, namely writing on the Holy Land. She was not only familiar with the works of, but also in professional contact with Palestinians who were beginning to rethink Palestinian folklore in nationalist terms. Because of her method, her attentiveness to detail, and her sensitivity to the voices of her interviewees, she also became valuable after 1967 for a new generation of Palestinian nationalists who were reconstituting the relationship between folklore and national identity. In 1997, Palestinian folklorist Sharif Kanaana underlined the view expressed by Serhan almost three decades earlier, on the importance of Granqvist's work in the overall project of transmitting the memory and identity of Palestine before 1948.¹⁷ Her work took form not only in relation to Finnish and international academia, but also in relation to a burgeoning field of folkloristics in Jerusalem. Whether directly or indirectly, Palestinian folklorists “rediscovered” Granqvist even before her posthumous rediscovery.

In the room created by different storyworlds about Jerusalem and the Holy Land that were competing with each other around the mid-twentieth century, Granqvist and the emerging Palestinian folklorists met intellectually. Faced with the complex reality of life in Palestine and with the lives of the men, women, and children she encountered there, Granqvist broke with the Christian code that saw even in contemporary Palestine the living proof of the bible. This came shortly before the debilitating effect on Palestinian society of the 1948 war, the establishment of the state of Israel, and the ensuing Palestinian refugee crisis. In the wake of that, Palestinian folklorists saw in Granqvist's work a fund they could draw on to build their own storyworld and to reconstitute what was now seen as a paradise lost of life before exile in pre-1948 Palestine. Between a code broken with and a storyworld in the making, Granqvist and Palestinian folklorists found a common language. It is not surprising then that her work and the memory of her persist in the village of Artas, which today houses a museum dedicated to the Swedish-Finnish ethnographer.¹⁸

16 N. Serhan, “Letter to the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (Folder 15). Hilma Granqvist Collection, Manuscript Collections, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, December 20, 1969.

17 S. Kanaana, *Dirasat fi Al-Thaqafa wa-l-Turath wa-l-Hawiyya* (Ramallah: Muwatin, 2011), 174.

18 Naili, “Hilma Granqvist, Louise Baldensperger et la “Tradition de Rencontre,”” 127–38.



Fig. 26.1: The Soup Kitchen “Green Hall,” Signe Ekblad, children and mothers, 1939. Copyright: Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

Inger Marie Okkenhaug

Chapter 26

Scandinavian Missionaries in Palestine: The Swedish Jerusalem Society, Welfare, and Education in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, 1900–1948

With the establishment of the Swedish Jerusalem Society (Svenska Jerusalemföreningen, the SJS), an organization with strong connections to the Swedish state church and king, Sweden became the only Scandinavian country with a national presence in Palestine in the period 1900 to 1948. While the SJS started out as a mission to the Jews, their missionary agenda was transformed into education, health- and relief work among the Arab population. The SJS' non-proselytizing, humanitarian approach found widespread support among the upper- and middle classes in Sweden. Here the lack of state welfare initiatives had inspired liberal Christians to establish welfare institutions for the poor. Adopting this model, Swedish and Arab Christian teachers provided modern welfare for inhabitants of Jerusalem during a time of rapid change in Palestine.

On October 31, 1898, the German emperor Wilhelm II dedicated the new German, Protestant Erlöserkirche in Jerusalem. The date, October 31 – the same day Martin Luther supposedly presented his theses in 1517 – symbolized the Protestant presence in the Holy Land, while the emperor's presence at the ceremony symbolized the international, political aspect of the event. King Oscar II of Sweden-Norway¹ had commissioned two bishops, Swedish Knut Henning G. von Schéele (1838–1920) and his Norwegian colleague Anton Christian Bang (1840–1913) to be his official representatives at the opening.² Bishop Bang, one of the most prominent men in the Norwegian church milieu at the time, represented a country immersed in a struggle for independence and deprived of an independent foreign policy. Both bishops came to Jerusalem steeped in traditional, protestant, Orientalist images of Jerusalem; images that were far from the reality of this city in the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. According to Bang, “the country that was once flooded with milk and honey, is now only a desert.”³ Even

¹ In 1814, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, Norway became part of Sweden in a political union. This union was met with a growing opposition in Norway, and in 1905, the union was dissolved peacefully and Norway gained its independence.

² “Anton Christian Berg,” *Store norske leksikon*, https://nbl.snl.no/Anton_Christian_Bang.

³ Anton Christian Bang, *Erindringer* (Kristiania, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909), 357.

so, their encounter with the earthly Jerusalem led to very different reactions. Bang's impressions and (mis)understandings of his encounter with Palestine in October 1898, later published in his autobiography, makes it clear that involving Norway in a practical way in the Holy Land was not on his mind. On his day of departure, on November 2, 1898 – after weeks of suffering in the heat, dust, and noise – bishop Bang summed up his impression from the visit in Palestine with the following words: “European civilization was as high above Asian civilization, as the sky was above the earth.”⁴ Bishop von Schéele, on the other hand, came from a country that had a long and proud tradition of being an international power. Von Schéele, who was one of the most international and well-connected members of the church elite in Sweden, used the opportunity as official envoy to Palestine to analyze the religious and social situation in the Ottoman province.⁵ For von Schéele, coming to Palestine was a dream come true. For many years, he had longed to visit the holy places. What seems to have made the deepest impression on the Swedish bishop, however, was the poverty, illness, and need of the people.⁶ Von Schéele's encounter with the Holy Land roused a vision that led to action. Motivated by the Prussian Jerusalemverein zu Berlin [The Jerusalem Society of Berlin] established in 1841, and its work in Jerusalem, von Schéele initiated the most important (and for many years, only) Scandinavian establishment in Palestine: The Swedish Jerusalem Society [Svenska Jerusalemföreningen; the SJS] – an organization with strong connections to the Swedish state church and king.⁷

This article focuses on The Swedish Jerusalem Society from its establishment in 1900 to 1948, and its two welfare projects in Palestine; a mission hospital in Bethlehem and a school in Jerusalem. Key research questions are: What were the motivations behind the establishment of the Swedish Jerusalem Society? Who were the central SJS actors in Palestine? What resonance did the organization have in Swedish society? What characterized the organization's interaction with Palestinian society during Ottoman reign, and later under the British Mandate administration?⁸

Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries were central in creating transnational spaces; here defined as “a space where encounters

⁴ “Europa staar ligesaa høit over Asien, som Himmelen er over Jorden.” Bang, *Erindringer*, 376. My translation.

⁵ Gustaf Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem. Svenska Jerusalemföreningen 1900–1948* (Uppsala: Svenska Jerusalemföreningen, 2000), 13–4.

⁶ Jan-Olof Johansson and Sten Norin, *Född i Betlehem. Svenska Jerusalemföreningen etthundra år* (Ingelstad: Svenska Jerusalemföreningen, 2000), 2.

⁷ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 14.

⁸ Before 1918, Palestine was part of the Ottoman province Syria that included today's Palestine, Israel, Syria, and Lebanon. After World War I, this region was divided between France and Great Britain. The latter became the ruler of Palestine as a Mandate power.

across national borders took place,” on both social and ideational levels.⁹ These transnational arenas were characterized by a variety of local and foreign actors. As argued by historian Julia Hauser, the actors competed, cooperated, and appropriated each other’s approaches, or were connected by virtue of the mobility of students and teachers between establishments. In her study of the German Kaiserswerth Deaconesses in Beirut, Hauser shows how the missionary agenda inevitably was shaped by local circumstances and how it in practice underwent considerable transformation.¹⁰

This article examines Swedish missionary encounters in Palestine: it considers the ideas that propelled the mission and addresses the influence of other missions, as well as the local circumstances on the ground in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The Swedish mission was shaped by the demands of the supporters back home in Sweden, as well as by the needs of the local community. All the while, the mission was navigating and responding to local practices and policies in Palestine under Ottoman and, later, British administration. This article investigates how all these factors influenced and transformed the agenda of the Swedish mission in Palestine.

The article is based on Swedish sources consisting of SJS journals, and reports and letters to the board in Uppsala from Signe Ekblad, the headmistress of the Swedish School in Jerusalem. While sources concerning the mission are plentiful, there are few sources pertaining to the local pupils, patients, and co-workers. Palestinian voices are heard only indirectly, through texts written by the Swedes. This demands careful reading of missionary texts.

Background: Protestant Missions in Palestine

The nineteenth century saw an increased European presence in Palestine – in both economic and religious terms – which had strong political overtones. France, Russia, Italy, Great Britain, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the United States, were vying for influence in the waning Ottoman Empire. The competing powers sought to establish a presence in the region, and, by extension, mission-based philanthropic institutions were encouraged. By 1900, such enterprises were common in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon.¹¹ Palestine, as Christ’s country of origin, held great spiritual and

⁹ Davide Rodogno, Berhard Struck, and Jacob Vogel. “Introduction,” in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere. Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, eds. Davide Rodogno, Berhard Struck, and Jacob Vogel (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 2.

¹⁰ Julia Hauser, “From Transformation to Negation: A Female Mission in a ‘City of Schools,’” *Journal of World History*, September (2016): 476–7.

¹¹ Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation 1856–1882: Studies in Social, Economic and Political Development* (Washington D.C.: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1993), 48.

religious attraction among Christians in Europe and North America. Catholic and Protestant missionaries came to Palestine with the goal of regaining the Holy Land by exerting religious, cultural, and philanthropic influence.¹²

The first foreign missionaries, who had settled in the region at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were Catholics; mostly of French origin. The Russians, via the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, were active in the province of Syria, especially in establishing schools for Arab Greek Orthodox children.¹³ Protestants did not start arriving in the region until the early nineteenth century.¹⁴ The motivations for establishing Protestant entrepreneurships in Palestine varied; some wanted to convert Jews, while others focused their attention on the Arab population.¹⁵

Great Britain and Prussia established the Protestant *Jerusalemverein zu Berlin* as an institutional base, in order to compete with the Russian and French presence in the region.¹⁶ This institutional base was created with the establishment of an Anglo-Prussian Episcopal See in Jerusalem in 1841 (which lasted until 1886). The Bishopric's main missionary task was the conversion of Jews, and it was not to infringe on the spiritual rights and liberties of the local churches.¹⁷ Work among

12 Uwe Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish. Kaiserswerth Deaconesses in Jerusalem," in *Deaconesses in Nursing Care. International Transfer of a Female Model of Life and Work in the 19th and 20th Century*, eds., Susanne Kreutzer, and Karen Nolte (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 82; Roland Löffler, "The Metamorphosis of a Pietistic Missionary and Educational Institution into a Social Services Enterprise: The Case of the Syrian Orphanage (1860–1945)," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van Den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 153–4.

13 Derek Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 273.

14 The first American Protestants from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in Lebanon in 1819. See Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 274.

15 Cleveland and Bunton 2013: 46, 54–5. Russia and France had taken the lead in the race to gain influence by "protecting" local minorities. This was made possible through the Ottoman system of capitulations, a series of commercial treaties which allowed merchants from the Christian, European powers to trade freely in Ottoman ports. These treaties also granted extraterritorial privileges to European merchants, thus making them subject to European rather than Ottoman-Islamic law. An additional privilege was the right to grant certificates of protection to non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. These certificates allowed their holders to receive the same protection that European nationals had. See also Anthony O'Mahony, "Palestine Christians: Religion, Politics and Society, c.1800–1948," in *Palestinian Christians. Religion, Politics and Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Anthony O'Mahony, (London: Melisende, 1999), 17–40.

16 Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish," 82.

17 Charlotte van der Lest, "Conversion and Conflict in Palestine: The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Protestant Bishop Samuel Gobat," (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2008), 270. The Bishopric built the first Protestant church in the Ottoman Empire – Christ Church – in Jerusalem, consecrated in 1849. The Anglo-Prussians found their own protégées, Jews and Protestants, who were placed under the political protection of Great Britain.

the Jewish community was also the focus of the British London Jews' Society (the LJS).¹⁸ The British Church Missionary Society (the CMS), on the other hand, focused on educational work among the Orthodox Christian communities.¹⁹ Both the LJS and the CMS were strongly evangelical, and low church Anglicans. This in contrast to The Jerusalem and the East Mission (the JEM), headed by the Anglican bishop George P. Blyth, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1888. The JEM was high church, and had a non-conversional approach to Muslims, as well as to Jews and Orthodox Christians.²⁰

The Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institution's *Orientalbeid* [Work in the Orient], was an important German Protestant organization that became an influential ally of the Swedish mission. The organization started providing nursing and educational services in Jerusalem in 1851, and this work developed into an independent educational institution for girls in 1868; the *Thalita Kumi*, which still exists today.²¹ The organization defined their vocation as evangelizing among the oriental churches. In addition, this vocation entailed the establishments of hospitals, orphanages, and schools.²²

Another key German Protestant mission institution in Palestine was The Syrian Orphanage, founded in 1860. It is important to note that while The Syrian Orphanage was the largest missionary institution in Palestine and a vital welfare institution for children, it also served as a social infrastructure for Prussian policy, according to historian Uwe Kaminsky.²³ Prussia – the united Germany from 1871 – was to play an exceptional role in the Ottoman Empire: German engineers constructed the railway-system in the Empire and German officers modernized the Ottoman army. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire became Germany's ally.

18 As Islamic law prohibited the building of new churches or synagogues, the church was ultimately allowed as the private chapel of the British consul. See Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure.* *Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888–1948* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 278.

19 van der Lest, "Conversion and Conflict in Palestine," 270. The ultimate aim of the CMS was to convert Muslims. Since that was forbidden by law, however, their hope was that by influencing the Orthodox Christians by Protestantism – the "pure form of Christianity" – they would in turn convert Muslims.

20 Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure.*, 278.

21 Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish," 83. Kaiserswerth *Orientalbeid* was founded in 1851 by Theodore Fliedner.

22 Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish," 84–5. In a similar manner to the Anglican CMS, the aim was internal reformation of the local Christian churches. Unlike the CMS, however, the Germans did not have proselytizing of Muslims as a goal.

23 Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish," 85. The Syrian Orphanage was founded by Johann Ludwig Schneller (1820–1896). It had to close down in 1940.

Sweden was the only Scandinavian country that established a national presence in Palestine.²⁴ Another Protestant establishment with strong Scandinavian connections, however, was The American Colony in Jerusalem, founded in 1881 by the Norwegian-American Anna Spafford and her American husband, Horatio Spafford. In 1896, 77 pre-millennialist Swedes and Swedish-Americans joined the colony. The members did not proselytize, but engaged in a number of economic enterprises as well as welfare work which was open to all religious communities in the city.²⁵ The connections were not close between the Swedish members of the American Colony and the SJS, as the confessional differences were too considerable, but von Schéele still wrote with sympathy about them in several articles in the SJS journal.²⁶

The established Christian churches in Palestine – the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic – as well as the leadership in the Jewish community, staunchly opposed the establishment of a Protestant presence in Palestine. The Ottoman authorities shared this view and attempted to ban the first Protestant missionaries in the Empire. Even so, after having had to rely on military support from Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the war against Egyptian ruler Muhammed Ali (who had conquered the province of Syria) in 1841, the Western powers forced the Ottoman Government to open up for Western missions. From now on, a large number of Protestant missionaries arrived in Ottoman lands to “save the people of the East,” where Islam’s power was seen as declining and the Orthodox Churches as “corrupted.”

The missionaries faced major obstacles in their attempts to convert locals. Christian mission was not allowed among the Muslim population, as conversion to Christianity was forbidden for Muslims. Christian missions were allowed to work and were permitted to attempt to convert Orthodox Christians and Jews. The consequences for members of the Orthodox churches and Jews who converted were brutal, however, and could result in persecution and social expulsion. Encountering the realities of the Ottoman world, evangelization increasingly had to give way to a diaconical

24 In the desert, north of Damascus, the Danes Johanne Svanenskjold, Einar Prip, and Rudolf Fox Maule, founded Østerlandsmissionen [The Eastern Lands Mission] in 1898. Caroline Synnes Slatlem, “Misjon, kjønn og modernisering. Danske kvinnelige misjonærers utdanningsprosjekt i Syria, 1900-1960” (MA thesis, Volda University College, 2012). English summary: <https://bravo.hi.volda.no/hivolda-xmlui/handle/11250/2612388>. Denmark was represented in Palestine for a few years by the couple Maria and Oluf Høyer, who established a small, independent and short-lived mission in Hebron. Daniel Henschen, “Kaldets Verden. En historie om missionsbevægelsen i Danmark fra 1890 til 1950,” (PhD diss., University of Southern Denmark, 2017), 265.

25 Abigail Jacobson, “American ‘Welfare Politics’: American Involvement in Jerusalem During World War I,” *Israeli Studies* 18, no. 1 (2013): 266; Helene Murre-van Den Berg, “‘Our Jerusalem’: Bertha Spafford Vester and Christianity in Palestine During the British Mandate,” in *Britain, Palestine and the Empire: The Mandate Years*, ed. Rory Miller (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 276. See also Chapter 22 (Jenny Bergenmar), 448–65; Chapter 23 (Dana Caspi), 466–91; and Chapter 24 (Rachel Lev), 492–511.

26 Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 32.

dimension of Christian mission. This meant that missionaries began to prioritize the development of health clinics, hospitals, schools, and kindergartens.²⁷

What did the Swedish Jerusalem Society envision as their main vocation in Palestine? How did this image change when encountering the reality on the ground? What was the organization's policy on the relationship between evangelization and humanitarian practice?

The Swedish Jerusalem Society

In 1900 in Storkyrkan in Stockholm, twelve men from the upper echelon of Swedish society founded The Swedish Jerusalem Society. These twelve founding fathers – we do not know if the number was intentional – were inspired by new evangelical movements, in particular the British Lord Radstock. They belonged to the elite of society and had strong links to the Swedish royal family. The organization was to be modelled upon the German Jerusalemverein. Even so, King Oscar II, who became the SJS' "high protector," insisted on the independence of the organization. The SJS must not be part of the German organization, but represent the Swedish nation. One reason might have been Sweden-Norway's position as a small state independent of international alliances. In practical terms, the SJS was to have close connections with the German Kaiserwerth's Deaconess Institution and the Syrian Orphanage in the years before 1918.²⁸

In January 1902, the SJS published the first edition of their magazine, "Svenska Jerusalemföreningens Tidskrift" ["The Swedish Jerusalem Society Journal"]. By the end of that year, the organization had 800 members, mostly from the upper middle class, including many ministers from the Swedish state church and their wives. There were also a number of Swedish-American members, which indicates close connections between members of the SJS board and Swedish churches in the United States. After ten years, in 1913, the number of members had more than doubled and now included a wider social group with male and female teachers as well as school principals. There was still a strong link to Swedish-American congregations, who counted more than 100 members in the United States.²⁹

²⁷ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Gender Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 104; Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van Den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 264; Okkenhaug, "The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure," 278.

²⁸ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 15.

²⁹ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 19, 38.

The SJS in Palestine

On his way back from Palestine in 1898, von Schéele had envisioned that the Swedes would engage in medical mission among the poor in Jerusalem. More specifically, he wanted to help the many people who suffered from eye disease; a form of health work that would also have biblical associations.³⁰ It turned out, however, that there already were established eye-clinics in Palestine. Experienced German colleagues at the Kaiserwerth's Deaconess Institution and The Syrian Orphanage recommended the Swedes to focus on education for young children – a kindergarten and a school based in Jerusalem – as an indirect way of evangelizing.³¹

The SJS started out as a mission to Jews. Twenty-five years earlier, in 1875, pious men had established the Swedish Israel mission; an organization with which von Schéele had close ties. Moved by the idea that the Jews, while being God's chosen people, were not saved until they were baptized, the Israel-mission aimed at converting Jews to Christianity. It was also believed that Jews were to have a special role at the end of time. Thus, converting Jews was of the utmost importance.³² The SJS shared this goal to convert Jews, yet decided that they would be active only in Palestine and only through schools and medical mission. This would prevent them from competing with the Israel-mission that proselytized among Jews in Europe.³³

The first SJS missionary, Henrik Steen, was himself a converted East European Jew. Steen had been ordained as a minister in the Church of Sweden and he defined his vocation as proselytizing among Jews. Even so, when Steen came to Jerusalem in 1900, he soon discovered that the Jewish population did not welcome a former Jew to preach the Christian gospel. In the same manner as other evangelizing projects among Jews, Steen's work was a failure. Steen also met hindrances in his attempt at establishing a school for Arab children, as had been recommended by German colleagues. The SJS board had originally thought that he could spend a few months learning Arabic and then begin teaching. This plan turned out to be unrealistic: not only was it impossible to learn enough Arabic to be able to teach in a few months, there was also an unforeseen gendered aspect of this project. In Ottoman society, only women could teach small children. Steen turned to the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses and they found a young, female, Christian Arab teacher willing to teach at the Swedish school, which was opened not far from the Damascus Gate.³⁴

³⁰ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 16.

³¹ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 20–2.

³² "J Birger Pernow," *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, accessed September 20, 2017, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=7095>.

³³ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 21–2.

³⁴ Letter from Henrik Steen to SJS, Jerusalem, September 16, 1902. Published in Johansson and Norin, *Född i Betlehem. Svenska Jerusalemsföreningen etthundra år*, 148–9.

Henrik Steen left Palestine in 1902, apparently disappointed in the lack of progress in evangelization among the Jews. The SJS board now decided to establish a medical mission in Bethlehem; again after advice from their German contacts.³⁵ A young medical doctor, Gustaf Ribbing, with a calling to devote himself to “Christian medical work among the heathens” seemed to be godsent to begin work in Bethlehem. After taking his language exams in French, required by Ottoman authorities for foreign health personnel, Ribbing, and his wife Elsa and their two children, arrived in Bethlehem in 1904.³⁶

The Ribbings established a small polyclinic in hired buildings in Bethlehem. Soon, however, the need for a larger operation became evident, and Ribbing suggested that the SJS build a hospital. One argument was the lack of state health clinics in the Ottoman province. In addition, there was the competition from the Catholic medical missions in the area. There was already a hospital in Bethlehem run by Catholics, yet even the Catholic doctor in charge of this hospital agreed that it was of essential importance to establish another mission hospital.³⁷ The need for expansion was evidenced by the number of patients the Swedish doctor was treating, with 12,956 treatments at the polyclinic, 187 operations, and 705 home visits in 1905. A year later, in 1906, Ribbing was able to open a small hospital in rented buildings. In 1907, there were two Swedish nurses working in the hospital. The same year, after much bureaucratic hassle, the SJS bought a plot of land in order to build a hospital.³⁸

The Swedish Consul General in Jerusalem, Professor Gustaf Dalman, became a crucial ally for Ribbing in the process of expanding the medical mission. Dalman, who was a German theologian with connections to Sweden, was the first director of the German Protestant Institute of Archeology (DEIAHL). After his visit to Jerusalem in 1898, Kaiser Wilhelm II had requested that the German Protestant church establish an archaeological institute in Palestine. This institute was founded in 1900, in order to promote “the exploration of the Holy Land and its diverse past, cultures, and religions.”³⁹

Dalman was also a key figure in the European community in Palestine, and, because of Germany’s favoured position with Ottoman authorities, he was able to help with the plans for building the Swedish hospital. Even so, the construction work did not start until November 1913. The inauguration day, November 6, was chosen symbolically as it was the Swedish flag day; *Gustav Adolfsdagen* [Gustavus

³⁵ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 25.

³⁶ Betlehemsdoktorn. “Betlehemsdoktorn – The Bethlehem Doctor,” accessed November 20, 2018, <http://betlehemsdoktorn.se/>.

³⁷ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 26.

³⁸ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 27.

³⁹ Das Deutsche Evangelische Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes, “Welcome to the GPIA Jerusalem/Amman,” accessed September 23, 2018, <http://www.deiahl.de/history.html>; “Gustav Dalman’s Glass Slide Collection.” <http://www.deiahl.de/dalmans-glass-slides.html>

Adolphus Day]. On inauguration day, several Ottoman and European dignitaries were present; Swedish and Turkish flags were hoisted, and Swedish music was played by a local brass band. It was a transnational event: a Swedish-Ottoman encounter across national borders.

The Swedish hospital also became a transnational arena. In addition to Gustaf Ribbing, two Swedish nurses, and one Matron, the staff consisted of an Arab doctor, a German Deaconess from the Deaconess institution in Jerusalem, an English Bible woman, one cook, one female assistant, and a (male) farm-help; all Arabs. In addition, two Arab protestant ministers worked part time preaching for the patients.⁴⁰ Ribbing also wanted to evangelize, but he needed a translator in order to talk to the patients, who were Orthodox Christian and Muslim Arabs. The hospital, which in 1913 treated close to 3,000 patients, had no Jewish patients.⁴¹ This was not as a result of a planned strategy, but a consequence of the fact that there were no Jews living in Bethlehem.

The Swedish School in Jerusalem, 1902–1922

The Swedish school opened in October 1902, providing a kindergarten and the first two years of primary school for girls. Soon there were around 70 to 80 children attending the Swedish institution: the majority were Christian Arabs and in addition there were a few Muslim girls.

A German deaconess, Martha Klaer from Thalita Kumi, aided headmistress Afifa Sliman in the running of the school. The German deaconess regularly wrote reports about the school that were published in the SJS journal. The German influence was also palpable when a German minister from the Jerusalemverein inaugurated the school. Bishop von Schéele made an attempt to mark the school as Swedish by telling the supporters at home that the pupils' first wish was to have a portrait – an oil painting – of King Oscar II with his crown on. A girls' school in Stockholm responded to the bishop's call and started fundraising for a painting of the king. Despite the attempt to get King Oscar's portrait on the wall, the only direct Swedish participation in the school was providing funding for teachers. This was in addition to the SJS members who sent gifts to the children, especially at Christmas. The board and supporters at home requested a more direct Swedish involvement in the school. This was achieved in 1909, when the school obtained its first Swedish headmistress, Helfrid Willén. This same year, in 1909, Ottoman authorities officially recognized the school as the *École de la Société de Jérusalem* [The Jerusalem Society School]. The Swedish school had now become an official part of the Ottoman educational system.⁴²

⁴⁰ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 37.

⁴¹ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 30.

⁴² Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 28–9.

World War, the SJS, and the Future of Palestine

When the war broke out in 1914, Gustav Ribbing and his family were on leave in Sweden and they were unable to return to Palestine. The rest of the Swedish staff returned to Sweden in November 1914. Even so, the hospital managed to keep open due to its Arab and German staff, in addition to a German missionary doctor. The doctor's daughter, Gertrud Einsler worked as head of the Swedish school.

Back in Sweden, Ribbing, and several others from the Swedish staff in Bethlehem, gave talks about Palestine and the SJS. The Swedish housekeeper in Bethlehem, Helfrid Jönsson, published a pamphlet with photographs under the heading "On Holy Days in Jerusalem and Bethlehem" in 1916. The publication – sold to fund future work in Palestine – described how Christian Arabs celebrated Christmas in Bethlehem and how Christian Arabs and Jews celebrated Easter in Jerusalem.⁴³

During the war, the changing political realities in Palestine were on the SJS' agenda. In 1917, an article entitled "The Jews in Palestine and the Future of the Country," by Gustaf Dalman, was published in "Svenska Jerusalemföreningens Tidskrift." In this long article, Dalman praised Jewish colonization of the country and especially Baron Rotschild's role in the organization and funding of Jewish immigration. Dalman, however, was very critical towards Jewish mass immigration to Palestine. He emphasized that it was simply not true that "Palestine was a land without people." The country was small, geographically, and would not be able to feed a large number of people. Dalman provided a positive view of the Arab population, and he appears to have been given the role of spokesman for the SJS, who thus joined Dalman in his stand against the political Zionist movement and its claim to settlement in Palestine.⁴⁴ The SJS continued this policy after the war, and their sympathy grew for the Arab population's rights during the years under British rule.

During the British Mandate, from 1918 to 1948, Great Britain was to rely heavily on private agents, and especially missionaries, for providing health and educational services in Palestine. What role did the SJS carve out for *École de la Société de Jérusalem* in this new, post-war landscape?

Post War Years in Palestine: The Swedish School 1902–1922

Since the arrival of the Ribblings, in 1903, the medical mission in Bethlehem had dominated the SJS work in Palestine. This was to change during the Mandate Period. In

⁴³ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 39.

⁴⁴ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 40–1. Balfour Declaration, November 1917.

1925, financial problems forced the SJS board to close the hospital.⁴⁵ The school in Jerusalem, however, could continue, in part, due to a large testimonial gift from the widow of Bishop von Schéele, Gustava von Schéele, who died in 1925. The gift was earmarked for the school in Jerusalem and explicitly assigned to the purchase of a building in Jerusalem suitable for a school.⁴⁶ This was a most welcome gift. When the new headmistress, Signe Ekblad (1894–1952) arrived in Jerusalem in 1922, she described the condition of the Swedish school as appalling. Ekblad's vision of what was expecting her in Jerusalem did not match the realities on the ground. This had also been the case when Henrik Steen encountered the realities of Jerusalem. Unlike her predecessor, however, Ekblad did not give up and return home.

The Headmistress Signe Ekblad

Signe Ekblad was born into a middle class, low-church family in Stockholm. She was trained as a teacher and later in life, after several years in Palestine, she received an MA in Semitic languages at Uppsala University. In an autobiographical text, she describes her decision to become a teacher in Jerusalem as a religious calling. She writes that her calling was to embody a Christian spirit through practical deeds and humanitarian work. Ekblad's calling was clearly also inspired by the Swedish settlement movement's work among poor industrial workers. From 1912 to 1915, Ekblad had worked and lived at the settlement Birkagården, in the poor, inner area of Stockholm.⁴⁷ Her interest in social work was aroused during this period and her stay at Birkagården profoundly influenced her future work in Jerusalem.⁴⁸

Birkagården had its supporters among the radical, Christian, cultural, and intellectual elite in Sweden. Social Christianity, with an emphasis on reconciliation between the classes and self-help rather than charity, were the central points of this movement. One of the founders, the Swedish minister Natanael Beskow – who was married to the famous author and illustrator of children's books, Elsa Beskow – encouraged well-educated Swedish youth to be inspired by the life, practice, and tolerance of Jesus. The settlement movement contributed significantly to the establishment of the welfare

⁴⁵ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 40–1. During the war years, the building of the Swedish hospital had continued in Bethlehem. Before he was able to return to Palestine, Gustav Ribbing died in the Spanish flu in October 1918. In 1923, a new missionary doctor, Edmond Lindholm, who had worked for the Red Cross as a doctor in war-camps, succeeded Ribbing at the SJS hospital.

⁴⁶ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 43, 49.

⁴⁷ Birkagården, established by Swedish minister Natanael Bewskow and Ebba Pauli, was inspired by the work of the British settlement movement in the slums of inner London.

⁴⁸ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna: Signe Ekblad, jorsalsfarer, lærer og misjonær," in *Religiøse reiser: Mellom gamle spor og nye mål*, eds., Siv-Ellen Kraft and Ingvild S. Gilhus (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2007), 126.

state, both in the UK and in Sweden.⁴⁹ This ideology influenced Ekblad's understanding of her mission in Palestine.

The Swedish School during the British Mandate

The SJS mission board had decided that the new headmistress needed to devote the first six months to the study of Arabic, before she took over the school full time. Ekblad, however, allowed herself only one month to learn Arabic. She then took full responsibility of the school and its 62 children. Of these, 43 were Greek Catholic, 8 were Protestant, 7 were Muslim, and 4 were Roman Catholic. The teachers were Arab Christians, as the German staff had left after the war. Did the Swedish school have a role to play in a British ruled Palestine? This was the main question the mission board in Uppsala expected Ekblad to answer in her first report to her employers.

Palestinian society suffered immense losses during World War I, which led to a restructuring of gender roles. As soldiers, men were the main victims, and under these extreme conditions women now assumed the role as head of family.⁵⁰ The fact that women became head of households changed local views on women's possibilities in life. This led to increased acceptance of women's education and employment in Palestine. After 1918, the Anglican schools had waiting lists for girls. There was clearly a need for the education of girls. Ekblad wrote back to her employers that the Mandatory school system welcomed the Swedish school for Arab girls. It had to be, however, "a good school with a good kindergarten."⁵¹ Under Ekblad's leadership, the Swedish school became one of the most prestigious schools in Mandatory Palestine.

How did local demand in Jerusalem, and the British political framework, influence the development of the Swedish school? How did the Swedish school have a direct bearing on the local population?

A School for Arab or Jewish Pupils?

As mentioned earlier, the Ottoman government awarded official recognition to the Swedish school in 1909. The British authorities also recognized the school and, from 1922, the Swedish institution received state funding in a similar manner to

⁴⁹ See Katherine Bentley Beumann, *Women and the Settlement Movement* (London, New York: Radcliffe Press, 1996), 260; Birkagården, "Välkomna till glädje och gemenskap i ett aktivt hus," accessed October 3, 2018, <http://www.birkagarden.se>. See also Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–9.

⁵⁰ See for example Talha M. Çiçek, ed. *Syria in World War I: Politics, Economy, and Society* (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁵¹ Signe Ekblad, *Lyckliga arbetsår i Jerusalem* (Uppsala: Svenska Jerusalemsföreningen, 1949), 263.

other private schools under Mandate rule. The school was thus part of the British Mandate's educational system. The Jewish society in Palestine was expanding, and, by comparison, the Jews had a much better educational system than the Arab population. When building the Jewish (Zionist) society, priority was given to educating Jewish children in Hebrew schools. The British educational system, which was responsible for Arab schools, never became substantial enough to cater to all Arab children. As a result of state policy, many girls had no public school to attend. Official policy routed girls into private and mostly religious schools, while offering more support for boys' public education. During the Mandate, the only higher state education accessible to Arab girls were two teachers' colleges.⁵² This was the nationalistic and gendered reality on the ground, which Ekblad had to consider when developing a strategy for the Swedish school. A reality that did not necessarily correspond, however, with the ideas and aspirations entertained by the board and supporters in Sweden for a mission in Jerusalem.

Mission supporters in Sweden and in North America, who cherished the idea of proselytizing among Jews, questioned the lack of Jewish children attending the Swedish school.⁵³ Ekblad answered these critical voices by referring to an analysis of the British government's educational policy in the country. The Jewish population had schools for most of its children, both boys and girls. In contrast, only 41 percent of Arab boys and 18 percent of Arab girls had the opportunity to go to school.⁵⁴ Such facts, Ekblad concluded, indicated that the Arabs undoubtedly needed help in developing their educational system. Ekblad's interpretation of the SJS' mission was defined by local educational needs. She told critical supporters in Sweden that "we are needed among the Arabs."⁵⁵ As we have seen, work among Jews, in reality, had never been part of the SJS' work in Palestine. Neither Orthodox Jews nor secular Zionists welcomed Christian mission, and a mission aimed at proselytizing among Jews would have meant an existence on the very margins of Palestinian society. This was contrary to Ekblad's understanding of the SJS' role in Palestine, which she perceived should be to administer a well-run, modern, and ambitious school for Arab girls. A steady increase in pupils spurred Ekblad's ambition. It was clear that they met a real need among the Arab population. Ekblad's ambitions were shared by Hol Lars Larsson (Lewis Larson), the Swedish Consul General in Jerusalem, who became an important, local ally in the realization of this Swedish educational project.

Before the war, the SJS had relied on the assistance of Gustaf Dalman, the Swedish Consul General in Jerusalem, in their dealings with Ottoman officials. Hol

⁵² Okkenhaug, "The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure," 278.

⁵³ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "Signe Ekblad and the Swedish School in Jerusalem, 1922–1948," *Svensk Missionstidskrift* 2 (2006): 279. Svenska Jerusalemföreningens Tidsskrift, no. 3 (1924): 101–3.

⁵⁴ Ellen Fleischmann, *The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 38.

⁵⁵ Ekblad, *Lyckliga arbetsår i Jerusalem*, 145.

Lars Larsson, who succeeded Dalman in 1921, became crucial to Ekblads efforts. Larsson, born in Sweden, had come to Jerusalem with his mother and siblings as part of the group of religious emigrants from Nås, whom had joined the American Colony in the 1890s. Since Larsson had grown up in Jerusalem he was well connected locally. Larsson recognized the Swedish Schools's potential, and saw that it could expand and become a large educational institution for Arabs. His support was pivotal in Ekblad's endeavours to expand, and he aided in the purchase of land intended for the construction of a new school.⁵⁶

The Swedish School in Mandatory Palestine

With the support of General Consular Larsson, Ekblad convinced a skeptical board in Uppsala that building a new and large school was a sustainable project that would be worthwhile for the SJS. Ekblad had spent her summer vacations fundraising in Sweden, and had won the support and admiration of the Governor of Jerusalem, Edward Keith-Roach.⁵⁷ In 1926, the SJS bought a building suitable for a school on a large plot of land outside the city wall. In December, the same year, Ekblad wrote an article in the SJS journal about the move to the new school building. Her article was written as a letter to the author Selma Lagerlöf, and it was first published in "Idun" [Norse goddess of youth], a Swedish weekly newspaper for "women and the home." Idun's readers were women from the middle and upper middle classes. Ekblad succeeded in creating widespread attention for her educational project, and eventually the idea of a school in Jerusalem reverberated in Swedish society. In 1927, as part of the funding campaign for the new school, the weekly journal "Husmodern" ["The Housewife"], published a petition signed by four of the most significant women in Swedish society at the time. These four were Anna Söderblom, who was married to the Swedish Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, known for his liberal theology and ecumenical work; Countess Elsa Bernadotte af Wisborg, a granddaughter of King Oscar II and head of the Swedish YMCA; the earlier mentioned author and artist Elsa Beskow who was married to the radical minister Nathaniel Beskow; and Selma Lagerlöf who in 1909 had been the first female writer to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. In the petition, these four women encouraged their fellow Swedes to support the SJS' work in Jerusalem, in order to give the children of Jerusalem "a good and Christian upbringing."⁵⁸

"A good and Christian upbringing" in this context meant an educational program based on liberal or even radical Lutheran, Swedish, practical theology. To some

⁵⁶ *Svenska Jerusalemsföreningens Tidskrift*, no. 4 (1926): 182–8

⁵⁷ Okkenhaug, "Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna," 129.

⁵⁸ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 50–1.

extent this was linked to the SJS' practice in Palestine before the war, but during the Mandate period the SJS saw an explicit transfer from evangelization to socio-cultural influence. At the Swedish school, every day began and ended with a prayer and the singing of a psalm. All students had to attend lessons in Christianity, despite the fact that half of the pupils came from non-Christian homes. Even so, there were no attempts at proselytizing. Ekblad's aim was to create "harmonious, Christian human beings." It was a practical mission ideal that was accepted by most of the SJS' members. Even so, some of the members criticized Ekblad for tasking local Arab staff with teaching Christianity. Ekblad's reason for not teaching Christianity herself, was that the local teachers knew the Arab children and their world in a way she and other foreigners never would.⁵⁹

Time was precious for Ekblad, which was probably another reason why she did not spend it on teaching Christianity. The Swedish headmistress had great ambitions and envisioned a school that offered an education equal to, or better than, the British schools. These grand designs demanded a devoted headmistress able to cater to different kinds of practical and organizational issues. In addition, the headmistress had to nurture connections with the British colonial administration. In 1928, when the new school building was finished (Figs. 26.2, 26.3), Ekblad invited the Director of Education in Palestine, Humphrey Bowman, to assess the school and its surroundings. Bowman was full of praise for the new buildings and emphasized the significance of the school for Arab girls in the city.⁶⁰ Ekblad's success in making the Swedish school into one of the best Christian pedagogical schools for Arab children in Palestine was not only recognized by the Department of Education, but also by the Swedish minister in Cairo, Baron Harald Bildt, who earlier had advised against the building of a new school. Bildt now praised Ekblad for her impressive educational work in Jerusalem.⁶¹

One important reason for this success was Ekblad's insistence that the standard for the school in Jerusalem should be equal to that of primary education in Sweden. Buildings and furniture, for example, should meet the same high standard as schools in Sweden. Ekblad had oak furniture and textiles sent from Sweden, and she made sure that the building was furnished according to Swedish ideals with beautiful Swedish handcrafts and design. Elsa Beskow, the famous Swedish author and illustrator of children's books, was commissioned to design the school emblem. Copies of paintings by Carl Larsson – another famous Swede – hung in the classrooms. The Swedish element was underscored by the Swedish Christmas celebrations that took place at the school every year. Ekblad made sure that a pine tree was sent from Gothenburg and decorated, upon arrival, according to Swedish traditions. For the

⁵⁹ Okkenhaug, "Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna," 130.

⁶⁰ *Svenska Jerusalemsföreningens Tidsskrift*, no. 3 (1930): 93–5.

⁶¹ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 44.



Fig. 26.2: Signe Ekblad and children by The Swedish School's foundation stone, March, 1928. Inscription on the stone: "Grundsten lagd den 23. Mars 1928 [also in Arabic]". Copyright: Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

celebrations a whole host of red Christmas candles were lit, and there were gifts for all the children.

The Swedish Christmas Party became an extremely popular and sought-after event in Jerusalem. During Christmas, in 1930, Ekblad and her staff hosted 500 guests over three days. In addition to school children and staff, the guests included parents, both Christians and Muslims, and the people from the British Mandate administration. So as to not offend the custom of gender segregation, the fathers of the children were invited together with European guests.⁶²

The school continued to grow and by 1930 there were 150 pupils in the Kindergarten and the primary school (Fig. 26.4). The boys had to leave the school at the age of 9–10 years, when they continued their education in another mission school (often Anglican) or in a state school. The girls, who continued in the "higher school," left for similar institutions after the fourth or fifth grade at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The staff consisted of seven Arab teachers and one Swedish volunteer, in

⁶² Okkenhaug, "Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna," 128–9.



Fig. 26.3: The Swedish School. Inscription on the wall: “Svenska Skolan. Byggd 1928. Jesus sade: låten barnen komma till mig” [“The Swedish School. Built 1928. Jesus said: Let the children come to me”]. Copyright: Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

addition to Ekblad. All were female. In the 1940s, the number had increased to 200–250 pupils with a staff of ten Arab and two Swedish female teachers. As head of the school, Ekblad spent most of her time on administration, and the Arab teachers did most of the teaching. English was taught, but Arabic was the main language of instruction. This was contrary to practice in English and French mission schools, where most of the teaching was conducted in English or French.⁶³ The Swedish school thus had a profound local connection with a mostly Arab teaching staff and Arabic as the language of instruction. This deep attachment to the community also had a social and humanitarian aspect.

Humanitarian Work at the Swedish School

In order to attend the Swedish school the pupils had to pay a fee. Consequently, the children came from Arab middle- and upper-middle-class homes who could afford the school fee. The majority of these children were Christian. Even so, Ekblad also

⁶³ Okkenhaug, “Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna,” 131.

wanted to include girls from the poorer, Muslim neighbourhoods of Jerusalem. True to her background, from the settlement movement and the welfare work in the poorest neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Ekblad established a course for girls who could not afford schooling. The course consisted of basic Arabic and English, as well as sewing. She herself characterized this class as “significant social work.” In practical terms, it was a “help to self-help” project, aimed at enabling women to support their families financially. The girls were ten to twelve years old, and they did not have much previous schooling. They were allowed to attend the course until they got married. The forty to fifty girls, who were often undernourished, were given a meal at school and they received treatment for trachoma. This health care was expanded after some time, and the school offered all pupils treatment. The health department recognized the importance of this healthcare, and the school eventually received a relatively large sum from Jerusalem’s public administration budget.⁶⁴

The late 1930s was a time of severe political and social crisis in Palestine, which culminated with the Arab uprising that lasted from 1936 to 1939. In 1938, after two years with unrest and violent clashes between Arab forces and the Mandate government, the Arab staff and Ekblad organized a soup kitchen for the girls in the sewing class (Fig. 26.1). These girls came from families that lived in the poorest Muslim neighbourhoods in the old city. The soup kitchen was soon expanded to also include feeding the girls’ mothers and younger siblings. Around one hundred children from other schools, as well as their mothers and younger sisters and brothers, also received food at the Swedish school. Ten years later, during the war of 1947–48 the Arab staff, some of the older pupils, and Ekblad, again organized soup kitchens for the poor in the old city.⁶⁵ This relief work is yet another example of local demands influencing the mission-project. The situation of local people and an inadequate government welfare system had a direct bearing on the policy of the Swedish school’s activities.

After the end of World War II, the exacerbated conflict between the Arab and Jewish populations ended in civil war (1947–48). Great Britain decided to leave Palestine (1948) and handed over the task to the United Nations of finding a future for Arabs and Jews in this war-torn country. In March 1948, the SJS board in Uppsala ordered Signe Ekblad to leave Palestine. The Arab staff would stay on and keep the school open as long as possible. During the fighting, the school building was damaged and plundered. With the new political realities that followed after 1948, when the Swedish school became part of the state of Israel, the SJS decided to close down the school.

The SJS was not able to return to former Palestine before 1959. This time they took over a girls’ school from the Lutheran congregation in Bethlehem, which was

⁶⁴ Okkenhaug, “Att avresa till Jerusalem som lärarinna,” 280.

⁶⁵ Ekblad, *Lyckliga arbetsår i Jerusalem*, 145.



Fig. 26.4: Physical education outdoors, c.1930. The Swedish Jerusalem Society's School.
Copyright: Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

renamed the Good Shepherd's Swedish School. The same year they also re-opened their hospital in Bethlehem. This hospital, now named Hussein bin Talal's Hospital, is today a regional hospital financed by the SJS – which is still active – and the Palestinian authorities.⁶⁶ The Good Shepherd's Swedish School, with its 300 pupils, is among the most important Palestinian girls' schools today.⁶⁷

Conclusion

While the SJS started out as a mission to the Jews and Christian Arabs, their missionary agenda – which was impacted by local factors and other mission organizations – was transformed into education and health work among the Arab population. After World War I, under British rule, the SJS's mission in Palestine developed into a large, prestigious school in Jerusalem. In addition, the SJS undertook significant welfare

⁶⁶ Björk, *Sverige i Jerusalem och Betlehem*, 59.

⁶⁷ Swedish Jerusalem Society, "Välkommen till Svenska Jerusalemforeningen," accessed January 20, 2018, <http://www.jerusalemforeningen.se/>.

and relief projects that were established as a response to poverty among Jerusalem's poorest Arab inhabitants.

During the first period of Swedish presence in Palestine, from 1900 to 1918, the SJS arenas were characterized by dynamic interactions between three different parties: Swedes, German Protestants, and Christian Arabs. The Swedes and Germans represented a small, Western minority, while the Arabs, who represented the majority in this encounter, had various roles as teachers, workers, cooks, ministers, patients, pupils, and parents. The same applied to the period between 1922 to 1948, when the Swedish establishment in Jerusalem had a substantial majority of Arab teachers, housekeepers, pupils, and parents, and only three to four Swedish teachers. Even if local protagonists substantially outnumbered the Swedes, the encounters between Swedes and Palestinians took place within inherent asymmetries of power and Western dominance. During the British mandate, the head position at the Swedish school was always Swedish. Signe Ekblad, however, was never part of the Mandate ruling society, and local demands, the agency of local protagonists, as well as the dynamics between the Arab staff and the Swedish headmistress, were decisive in shaping the ideology and practice of this Swedish institution in Jerusalem.

The SJS' non-proselytizing, humanitarian approach found widespread support among the Swedish upper and middle classes. In Sweden, the lack of state welfare initiatives had inspired liberal Christians to establish welfare institutions for the poor. Transmitting this model to Palestine, Swedish and Arab Christian teachers provided modern welfare for the inhabitants of Jerusalem during a time of rapid change in Palestine.



Fig. 27.1: The Nordic flags. From left to right: Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Norway. The Nordic cross flags are examples of Christian heritage still present in the symbols of the nation state. Although the myth of the Danish flag, the *Dannebrog*, falling down from heaven during a crusade in Estonia in the early thirteenth century is a much later fabrication, the Dannebrog is indeed among the world's oldest national flags currently in official use, dating back to the fourteenth century. Originally a military banner, it was adopted as an emblem of the state in the mid-nineteenth century. The *Dannebrog* served as a model for the other Nordic cross flags established in the sixteenth century (Sweden), the nineteenth century (Norway and Finland), and the twentieth century (Iceland) respectively. Photo: Jan Rietz/pixgallery.com.

Anna Bohlin

Chapter 27

God's Kingdom on Earth: Liberal Theology and Christian Liberalism in Sweden

The social movements and political ideas that shaped the Scandinavian welfare states were manifold, yet in the narrative of the secular, democratic, Nordic countries of the twentieth century, the notion of the Kingdom of God is often neglected. This chapter aims to highlight the Jerusalem code in the genealogy of the welfare state by focusing on one case: Sweden. The Kingdom of God on earth was a concept promoted in public debate primarily by the Christian Liberals from the 1840s and onwards, and this idea was also discussed and elaborated in theology by liberal theologians. The views of Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), a writer and liberal Member of Parliament, merit special attention. Rydberg influenced the Social Democrats, whom were the architects that devised what was to become close ties between *folkhemmet* (the people's home) and *folkkyrkan* (the national church). These close ties provide an example of the simultaneous secularization and fragmentation of the Jerusalem code.

The Kingdom of God was a key issue at the first ecumenical meeting in 1925, which took place in Stockholm. The meeting was instigated by the archbishop of the Church of Sweden, Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931) and it gathered 600 delegates from 37 different countries. Most Christian denominations were represented, except the Roman-Catholic church and the Pentecostal Movement. As a response to the ravages of World War I, the Christian churches recognised the need to work together for peace – for the Kingdom of God – despite their differences.¹ The Kingdom of God also became a model for the future society and the national church envisioned by Harald Hallén (1884–1967), a priest and a member of the Social Democratic Party.

¹ Torsten Bohlin, *Den kristna gudsrikestanken under 1800-talet och i nutiden* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1928), 2; Urban Claesson, *Folkhemmets kyrka: Harald Hallén och folkkyrkans genombrott: En studie av socialdemokrati, kyrka och nationsbygge med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1905–1933* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 323.

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In Sweden, new government directives on Christian education in schools had been issued in 1919, which removed the Catechism and Jesus' Sermon on the Mount from the curriculum, and stressed the ethical rather than the eschatological aspects of Christian beliefs.² Backed up by these new approaches to Christian teachings, Hallén's efforts would result in close ties between the Church of Sweden and the welfare state – the so-called Swedish *folkhem* (people's home).³ The Kingdom of God was on the agenda.

This chapter will track the Jerusalem code as one of many different paths leading into the secular welfare state, by focusing on one case: Sweden. It seeks to highlight some instances of how the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth was used and transformed from the interpretations by Christian Liberals in the 1840s – such as Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) and Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866) – to the split into, on the one hand, an eschatological interpretation, and, on the other, a civic interpretation that merged with the welfare project. The understanding of the Kingdom of God also became a key issue in theological debate in the second half of the nineteenth century. Liberal theology, promoting the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth, would gain influence in leading circles of the Church of Sweden at the beginning of the twentieth century. Granted, the conflict between a future, eschatological Kingdom of God versus a realisation of the Kingdom in the present time dates back to the Gospels themselves.⁴ Furthermore, as Howard P. Kainz makes clear, a whole range of political ideologies has been “buttressed by variant interpretations or misinterpretations of the concept of the Kingdom,” including Marx's “final ‘communist’ stage” and the Nazi import of “external accoutrements . . . from the Judaeo-Christian tradition for the construction of [a] secular-nationalistic Kingdom.”⁵ Nevertheless, the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century appear intensely preoccupied with the Kingdom of God. The wide range of simultaneous interpretations suggests the pressure on, and consequent fragmentation of, the Jerusalem code. In what way, then, did the Kingdom of God contribute to the Swedish *folkhem*?

Folkhem

The concept of *folkhemmet*, “the people's home,” was prominent in Swedish debate across all political ideologies long before the Social Democrat leader Per Albin

² K. G. Hammar, *Liberalteologi och kyrkopolitik: Kretsen kring Kristendomen och vår tid 1906-omkr. 1920* (Lund: CWK Gleerups bokförlag, 1972), 193–209.

³ Claesson, *Folkhemmets kyrka*.

⁴ See Chapter 2 (Walter Sparn), 55–73, Chapter 10 (Vidar L. Haanes), 189–211; Howard P. Kainz, *Democracy and the “Kingdom of God”* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993), 62.

⁵ Kainz, *Democracy and the “Kingdom of God”* 2, 133, 136.

Hansson (1885–1946) claimed it for his own party in 1928. Furthermore, this notion is directly linked to Bremer and to the Swedish women's movement of the early twentieth century. The home as a model for society – a fundamental idea for Bremer and many of her contemporaries – was equally fundamental to, for example, Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940), in her famous speech at the international suffrage conference in Stockholm 1911, entitled “Hem och stat” [Home and State].⁶ Bremer's idea of the “second mother” – a person with nurturing qualities rather than the birth mother – was developed into the concept of “social motherhood” in 1903 by Ellen Key (1849–1926), a controversial feminist and “early *folkhem* ideologist.”⁷ Political scientist Fredrika Lagergren observes that virtue constituted the moral underpinning for the *folkhem* ideology. As opposed to an individualistic, liberal state, where the state is supposed to be neutral, the *folkhem* is collectivistic in the sense that the individual is understood as formed by the community. Consequently, the state is tasked with fostering citizens that will subject to the needs of the community, while politics will be based on virtues.⁸ The similarities to the storyworld of Christian salvation history are striking, but the transcendental aspect – still the motivating goal for Bremer's utopian city – had to a large extent transformed into material ends.

A feminist take on the Kingdom of God, was set forth by Emilia Fogelklou (1878–1972), the first woman to obtain an academic degree in theology in Sweden. Fogelklou suggested that the realisation of the Kingdom of God was dependent on women: the exercise of social motherhood is a prerequisite for God's Kingdom on

6 Selma Lagerlöf, *Troll och människor I* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1915); Anna Bohlin, *Röstens anatomi: Läsningar av politik i Elin Wägners Silverforsen, Selma Lagerlöfs Löwensköldtrilogi och Klara Johansons Tidevarvskåserier* (Umeå: Bokförlaget h:ström, 2008); Inger Hammar, “Kvinnokall och kvinnosak: Några nedslag i 1800-talets debatt om genus, medborgarskap och offentlighet,” in *Kvinnor på gränsen till medborgarskap: Genus, politik och offentlighet 1800–1950*, eds. Christina Florin and Lars Kvarnström (Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 2001), 116–48; Inger Hammar, “Fredrika Bremers *Morgonväckter*. En provocation mot rådande genusordning,” in *Mig törstar! Studier i Fredrika Bremers spår*, eds. Åsa Arping and Birgitta Ahlmo-Nilsson (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2001), 141–64; Lisbeth Stenberg, “A star in a constellation. The international women's movement as a context for reading the works of Selma Lagerlöf,” in *Re-Mapping Lagerlöf: Performance, intermediality, and European transmissions*, eds. Helena Forsås-Scott, Lisbeth Stenberg, and Bjarne Thorup Thomsen (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 24–38. Lagerlöf was among those women who signed a petition in support for the Swedish Jerusalem Society and the Swedish School in Jerusalem: see Chapter 26 (Inger Marie Okkenhaug), 518–39.

7 Key renounced the Christian faith and developed her own belief in *Life*. Ellen Key, *Lifslinjer I. Kärleken och äktenskapet* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1903); Claudia Lindén, *Om kärlek: Litteratur, sexualitet och politik hos Ellen Key* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2002); Fredrika Lagergren, *På andra sidan välfärdsstaten: En studie i politiska idéers betydelse* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 1999); Bohlin, *Röstens anatomi*.

8 Lagergren, *På andra sidan välfärdsstaten*, 122–3, 127; Bohlin, *Röstens anatomi*, 110.

earth.⁹ The Quakers' practical Christianity impressed her, and later, in the 1930s, she would establish the Society of Friends in Sweden. Fogelklou influenced, and was influenced by, Natanael Beskow (1865–1953), who was central to a group of liberal theologians and their views on God's Kingdom on earth. From 1916, Fogelklou and Beskow worked together at Birkagården in Stockholm. The establishment of Birkagården was inspired by the British settlement-movement, in which educated people moved to working-class areas in order to share living conditions and to help better the prospects of the poor by practical means and education.¹⁰ Birkagården was an early welfare project whose explicit goal was to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. As Inger Marie Okkenhaug relates, in her contribution to this volume, one of the co-workers at Birkagården, Signe Ekblad (1894–1952), would in 1922 move on to become the headmistress of the Swedish School in Jerusalem, organized by the Swedish Jerusalem Society.

Liberal Theology

In the late 1830s and 1840s, the publication of D. F. Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* [*The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*] (1835–1836) caused a scandal all over Europe – not least in Sweden – with repercussions reaching far beyond theological debate. The development of liberal theology and Christian Liberals were equally inspired by Strauss' book. Christian Liberals such as Almqvist and Bremer were both engaged in the subsequent debate, and so was the vicar Nils Ignell (1806–1864), who, according to Edvard Rodhe, was the first – and for a long time the only – liberal theologian in Sweden.¹¹ Ignell's life-changing experience was, however, the encounter with the writings of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), whom he translated into Swedish, but he also translated anonymously a discussion on Strauss.¹² Ignell approached Bremer on the premise that their views on Strauss'

⁹ Cecilia Johnselius Theodoru, "Så ock på jorden": *Emilia Fogelklous gudsröstanke – en feministisk utopi* (Stockholm: Avdelningen för idéhistoria, Stockholms universitet, 2000), 61. For a discussion on feminism and Christian notions in the Socialist Owenite movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Theodoru, "Så ock på jorden"; Malin Andrews Bergman, *Emilia Fogelklou, människan och gärningen – en biografi* (Skellefteå: Artos bokförlag, 1999), 96, 106, 147–54; K. G. Hammar, *Liberalteologi och kyrkopolitik*, 37, 270.

¹¹ Edvard Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen: Nils Ignell – Viktor Rydberg – Pontus Wikner* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1935), 15.

¹² Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen*, 16–7; Anders Burman, *Politik i sak: C.J.L. Almqvists samhällstänkande 1839–1851* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2005), 194–7.

work coincided. Bremer did not agree. Nevertheless, she did appreciate that they were joined together in hoping for the growth of God's Kingdom on earth.¹³

Theologian K.G. Hammar stresses the apologetic character of liberal theology: Challenged by the natural science and the historical-critical interpretations of the Bible, liberal theologians tried to update Christian beliefs to harmonize with modern society. The theory of verbal inspiration was replaced by an emphasis on the religious experience, invoking the Lutheran idea of faith as trust.¹⁴ Liberal theology was in essence a German Protestant theological line of thought, introduced by Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), who accorded the Kingdom of God a central position in his theology. Ritschl had some influential followers in Sweden. In fact, Nathan Söderblom himself – who, in 1914, had been appointed archbishop to considerable complaint from the Conservative clergy – used to belong to Beskow's liberal group, which was centred around the journal *Kristendomen och vår tid* [*Christianity and Our Time*]. This journal was modelled on the German journal of Liberal theology, *Die christliche Welt* [*The Christian World*]. Liberal theology dominated the debate across Europe for a long time, claims K. G. Hammar (later archbishop), who studied Beskow's liberal group in his Ph.D. thesis. By 1920, Hammar argues, liberal theology was replaced by the dialectical theology represented by the Swiss Karl Barth.¹⁵ Both liberal and dialectical theology, however, reflected upon the notion of the Kingdom of God.

The wide range of different conceptions of the Kingdom of God is the object of a study published in 1928, by the theologian Torsten Bohlin (1889–1950), which dealt primarily with Evangelical theology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The extent of the differences between the many interpretations of the Kingdom of God may be suggested by the categories Bohlin used to map different conceptions: Bohlin separates the individualistic from the universalist concepts, and each group is further divided between predominantly transcendent-eschatological notions on the one hand, and predominantly immanent-ethical notions on the other. Obviously, liberal theology falls within the category of universalist, immanent-ethical concepts. In accordance with Barth, Bohlin critiques the idea of creating God's Kingdom on earth, and claims that such an interpretation erases the line between humans and God, and between history and eternity. A fundamental problem is the Lutheran idea of justification by faith: the Kingdom of God should be delivered as a gift – not earned and achieved as a result of co-workmanship with God.¹⁶ Theological debate did inform

¹³ Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen*, 18.

¹⁴ Hammar, *Liberalteologi och kyrkopolitik*, 10.

¹⁵ Hammar, *Liberalteologi och kyrkopolitik*, 332.

¹⁶ Still, Bohlin contends, the Kingdom of God must also be considered to be at hand, and Man recognized as more than a selfless tool for God's will. Bohlin, *Den kristna gudsrikestanken under 1800-talet och i nutiden*, 315–20, 345–50, 439–58. For a discussion on Ritschl and his influence on Scandinavian theology, see also Joar Haga, “... at vinde et høiere personlig liv med herredømme

the development of the *folkhem* ideology, but the Christian Liberal tradition was more important in relation to the Jerusalem code. Regarding the evolution of the Swedish welfare state a key figure stands out: the writer, academic, mythologist, and Member of Parliament Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895).

The Legacy of the Christian Liberalism in the Welfare State

Rydberg's political ideals were formed by the Christian Liberals of the 1840s, such as Bremer and Almqvist, and highly influenced by the Utopian Socialism of Charles Fourier (1772–1837) and Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825).¹⁷ From the 1870s and onwards, as the political landscape was becoming more and more polarized, Rydberg became trapped between a Liberal *laissez-faire* politics and Marxism – a difficult position he shared with many European intellectuals. Like Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) and John Ruskin (1819–1900) in Britain, Rydberg would have a major impact on the Socialist movement, despite the fact that he explicitly renounced anti-Christian Socialism. The later Social Democrat Minister of Finance, Ernst Wigforss (1881–1977), declared famously that it was Viktor Rydberg, rather than Karl Marx (1818–1883), who aroused his anti-capitalism, and Rydberg's works were, in fact, read in workers' educational associations well into the 1920s.¹⁸ Rydberg's harsh anti-capitalism was motivated by his strife for the New Jerusalem, and his controversial contribution to the theological debate was the pamphlet *Bibelns lära om Kristus [The Bible's Teachings on Christ]* (1862).

Rydberg approved of Darwin and he was a fierce promoter of scientific critique of Christian dogmas, but this did not stop him from believing in Christian salvation history. In line with Bremer and Almqvist he adopted an evolutionistic view of God's continuing work in history, although, in his advocacy for a critical-historicist interpretation of the Bible, he was certainly more radical than his predecessors. He attacked the Lutheran church – and the Church of Sweden in particular – for imposing dogmas that were not based on the Bible. Yet Rydberg did not intend to

over sin givne natur': Ånd og kropp hos Johannes Ording og tysk nyprotestantisme," in *kirke, kultur, politikk: festskrift til professor dr. theol. Bernt T. Oftestad på 70-årsdagen*, eds. Birger Løvlie, Kristin Norseth, and Jan Schumacher (Trondheim: Tapir forlag, 2011), 45–59.

17 Andreas Hedberg, *En strid för det som borde vara: Viktor Rydberg som moderniseringskritiker 1891–1895* (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2012).

18 Arne Helldén, *Ernst Wigforss: En idébiografi om socialdemokratins kultur- och samhällsideal* (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 1990), 29–37; Hedberg, *En strid för det som borde vara*, 219.

overthrow the church: On the contrary, he aimed “to create a solid foundation for the future church,” writes literary historian Andreas Hedberg.¹⁹

In *The Bible's Teaching on Christ*, Rydberg's main target is the Trinity. To understand the Biblical idea of Messiah you need to study the Jewish tradition, he argues. According to the Scriptures, Jesus is indeed created first of Man and will judge the world at the end of times, but the point is that he is human and not God himself. Rydberg states that the completely senseless idea of the Trinity is a late misunderstanding, and a great obstacle for every rational person to believe in Christianity. Church historians Anders Jarlert and Alexander Maurits point out that Rydberg was hardly unique in questioning the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity: This had been a recurring critique through the ages, and it was in fact shared by other prominent figures in contemporary Swedish debate. Rydberg was not alone either in his polemical use of Luther, claiming that his *Teachings on Christ* continued the Lutheran Reformation. In the nineteenth century, Luther was probably read more than ever before, or after, according to Jarlert and Maurits.²⁰ Science, God, and political freedom, may be very well be accommodated: “To believe in freedom in science,” said Rydberg, “is to believe in the human intellect; to believe in freedom in politics and social work, is to believe in a moral world order; to believe in freedom in religion, is to believe in God.”²¹ Like Bremer, Rydberg believed that the Kingdom of God would include, and could be promoted by, people who did not confess to the Christian faith. That position proved to be a corner stone for Harald Hallén's concept of the national church.²²

Hallén was captured, at an early age, by Rydberg's idea of the Kingdom of God on earth and, in particular, by *The Bible's Teachings on Christ*.²³ Unlike Rydberg, however, Hallén became a member of the Social Democratic Party, and he was instrumental in establishing the understanding of the national church as an ethical foundation for the welfare project. When free churches were permitted, through subsequent changes of the church laws from the year 1858 onwards, the state church had competition. Church historian Urban Claesson emphasises that the Lutheran state church,

19 Andreas Hedberg, “Modernitetens lära om Kristus,” in *Bibelns lära om Kristus: Provokation och inspiration*, eds. Birthe Sjöberg and Jimmy Vulovic (Lund: Absalon, 2012), 110. My translation.

20 Anders Jarlert and Alexander Maurits, “Kants rätta arftagare och den äkta bibelteologien – Viktor Rydbergs lära om Kristus,” in *Bibelns lära om Kristus. Provokation och inspiration*, eds. Birthe Sjöberg and Jimmy Vulovic (Lund: Absalon, 2012).

21 “Att i vetenskapen tro på friheten är att tro på mänskliga förnuftet; att i det politiska och sociala tro på friheten är att tro på en sedlig verldsordning; att i det religiösa tro på friheten är att tro på Gud.” Viktor Rydberg, *Bibelns lära om Kristus: Samvetsgrann undersökning*, 2nd ed. (Göteborg: Handelstidningens bolags tryckeri, 1862), 7. My translation. Rydberg had contact with Bremer, who approved of *The Bible's Teachings on Christ*, even though she did not fully share his views on Jesus. Carina Burman, *Bremer. En biografi* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2001), 453–4.

22 Claesson, *Folkhemmets kyrka*, 112.

23 Claesson, *Folkhemmets kyrka*, 123.

at the beginning of the twentieth century, had to legitimize its existence by invoking the new power in political life: the people.²⁴ Still, controversy persisted regarding the nature of the bond between the church and the people.

The concept of a “national church” (*folkkyrka*) was coined by the conservative movement The Young Church (*Ungkyrkorörelsen*). Their leader Manfred Björkquist (1884–1985) introduced the slogan “The people of Sweden – a people of God,” suggesting that the Swedish people was chosen by God to safeguard the Protestant church against Orthodoxy in the East and Catholicism in the South.²⁵ Although the nationalistic conception of the national church would vanish rather quickly, this kind of vocational nationalism, more or less aggressive, was common in many European countries during the nineteenth century and may be found in the Danish Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872) as well as in the Finnish national author Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) – and to some extent in Almqvist and Bremer.²⁶ The nation had been inserted as an essential step in salvation history. In 1933, Björkquist had to acknowledge that the Conservative concept of the national church did indeed have striking similarities to the Nazi state church, but he claimed that there was a crucial difference between being called to the Kingdom of God and being forced.²⁷ Claesson argues that Hallén used the Conservative concept of “the national church” and filled it with a democratic, liberal idea of the people promoted by liberal theology: an active people of enlightened citizens constructing the national church from below.²⁸ This standpoint also entailed picking a fight with the Social Democrat doctrine that religion ought to be regarded as a private matter. Hallén successfully argued that religion did indeed belong to the *res publica*, and that the Church of Sweden, though independent from the state, had an obligation to include every citizen in the Kingdom of God.²⁹

24 Claesson, *Folkhemmet kyrka*, 20.

25 Claesson, *Folkhemmet kyrka*, 105–6; Alf Tergel, “Ungkyrkorörelsen och nationalismen,” in *Kyrka och nationalism i Norden: Nationalism och skandinavism i de nordiska folkkyrkorna under 1800-talet*, ed. Ingemar Brohed (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998), 343–55.

26 Anthony D. Smith, “Biblical beliefs in the shaping of modern nations,” *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 3 (July 2015), 403–22; Dag Thorkildsen, “‘For Norge, kjempers fødeland’ – norsk nasjonalisme, skandinavisme og demokrati i det 19. Århundre,” in *Kyrka och nationalism i Norden: Nationalism och skandinavism i de nordiska folkkyrkorna under 1800-talet*, ed. Ingemar Brohed (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998), 129–155; Matti Klinge, *Idyll och hot. Zacharias Topelius – hans politik och idéer* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000), 28. See also Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

27 Manfred Björkquist, *Den kristne och nationalsocialismen* (Stockholm: Sveriges Kristliga Studentrörelses Förlag, 1933), 12–3.

28 Claesson, *Folkhemmet kyrka*, 107, 113, 150–52, 177. For a discussion on the Swedish national church, see also Ragnar Ekström, *Gudsfolk och folkkyrka* (Lund: Gleerups förlag, 1963).

29 Claesson, *Folkhemmet kyrka*, 284.

K.G. Hammar observes that at the end of the 1920s, the theologian Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977) crushed the basis for liberal theology. He accused liberal theology for humanising God: the historicist interpretations of Christ would invariably fail to arrive at the truth and, worse, would entail a hopelessly static view of the church. Instead of a monistic, worldly, individualistic, anthropocentric Christianity, Aulén proposed an alternative based on holiness, dualism, eschatology, and community.³⁰ The days of the Kingdom of God as a viable political concept were over, but the community that the national church would offer would still provide an ethical formation of the citizens. The Swedish national church would hence teach the Kingdom of God as an eschatological concept, but it would administer its members according to the territorial concept of the national church developed by liberal theology. The *folkhem* ideology, on the other hand, would sever the ties to the Kingdom of God. The Jerusalem code was split. The construction of the Swedish welfare state, nevertheless, was clearly informed by the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth.

30 K. G. Hammar, *Liberalteologi och kyrkopolitik*, 334–5.



Fig. 28.1: Sigurd and Baldwin, 1900. Tapestry made by The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company/ Det norske Billedvæveri. 456 × 340 cm. The Royal Palace, Oslo. Photo: Kjartan Hauglid, De kongelige samlinger.

Torild Gjesvik

Chapter 28

Weaving the Nation: Sigurd the Crusader and the Norwegian National Tapestries

The Norwegian National Tapestries (1900) portray King Sigurd the Crusader (c.1090–1130) who travelled to Jerusalem in the early twelfth century. This chapter explores how these two tapestries came into being and asks how the Crusader king became a relevant symbol for the Norwegian nation around 1900. The iconography of the tapestries is analysed and compared to the narrative of King Sigurd as it is told in *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús* from the thirteenth century. The comparison reflects different versions of King Sigurd, as well as changing perceptions of Jerusalem.

In the art collection of the Royal Palace in Oslo there are two monumental tapestries representing the Norwegian king Sigurd Magnusson (c.1090–1130) in Jerusalem and Constantinople (Figs. 28.1 and 28.2). The tapestries were made in 1900, almost 800 years after the king's journey. King Sigurd travelled from Norway in 1108 and reached the Holy Land in the year 1111. The expedition earned him the byname *Jorsalfare* in Norwegian [Jerusalem-traveller], after the Old Norse name for Jerusalem: Jorsal.¹ In English he is often called Sigurd the Crusader, pointing to the purpose of the journey. King Sigurd's crusade took place after the first wave of European military expeditions to the Holy Land. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had been established in 1099, and King Sigurd was received by the first king of the crusader state, Baldwin I, upon arriving in Palestine. En route to Jerusalem, Sigurd fought several battles, mainly against local rulers in Muslim Spain and Moorish pirates. While in the Holy Land he assisted King Baldwin in conquering the town Sidon, today's Sayda in Lebanon.

King Sigurd's crusade is described in several written sources from the Middle Ages. The best known is *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús* [*Magnussønnes saga*] by the Icelandic historian, poet, and chieftain Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241). The saga was written around 1220–1235 and is part of his book *Heimskringla*, where he presents the lives of Norse kings.²

The two tapestries were based on paintings by Gerhard Munthe (1849–1929), and were woven by the workshop The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company [Det norske Billedvæveri], led by artist and weaver Frida Hansen (1855–1931). Gerhard Munthe and

¹ See Chapter 6 (Pål Berg Svenungsen), vol. 1, 95–131.

² Snorri Sturluson and C. R. Unger, *Heimskringla, eller Norges kongesagaer* (Christiania: Brøgger & Christie, 1868), 325.

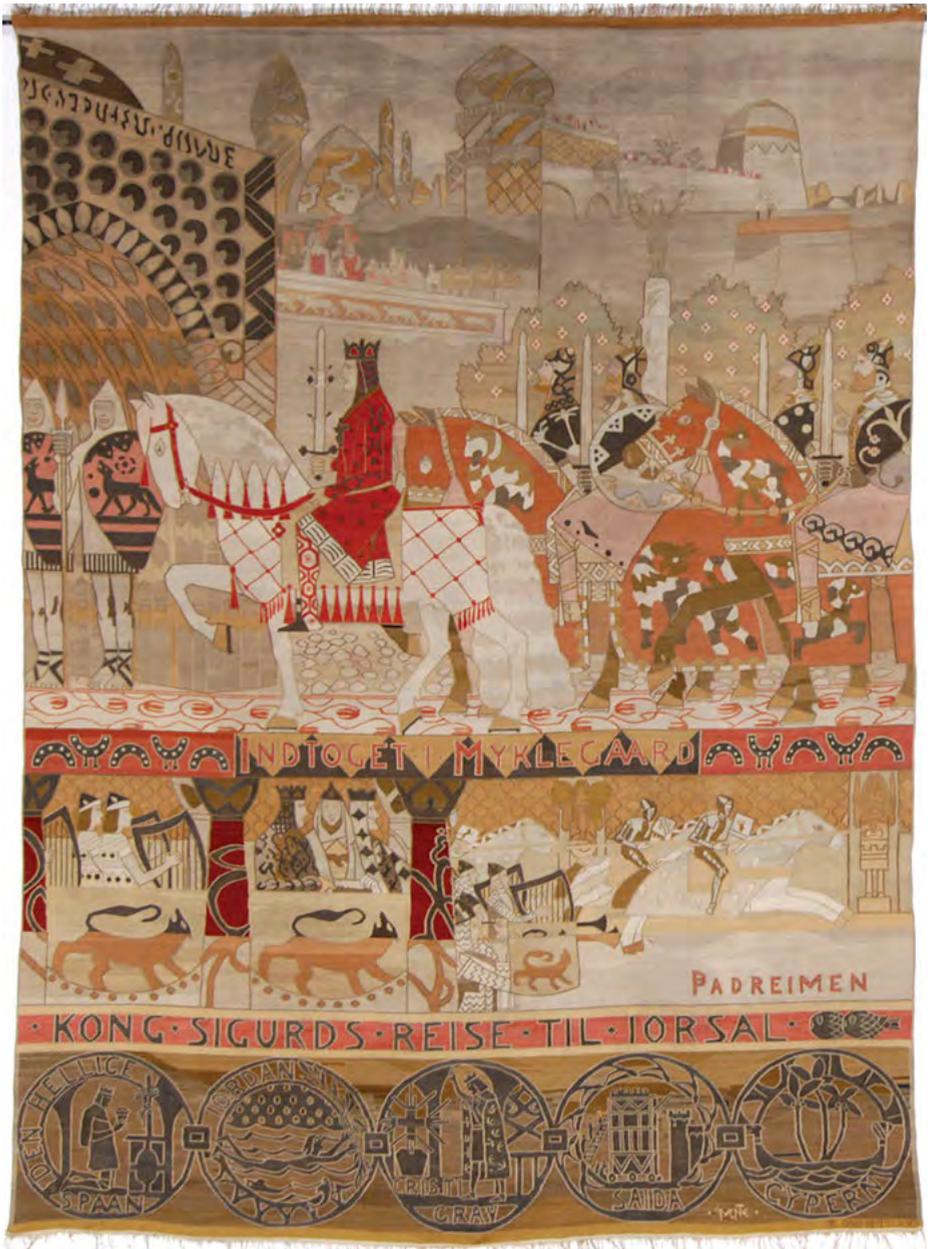


Fig. 28.2: *The Entry into Miklagard*, 1900. Tapestry made by The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company/Det norske Billedvæveri. 452 x 336 cm. The Royal Palace, Oslo. Photo: Kjartan Hauglid, De kongelige samlinger.



Fig. 28.3: The National Tapestries displayed in the main staircase of The Royal Palace, Oslo. Photo: Severin Worm-Petersen, Det kongelige slott. The Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology.

Frida Hansen were both among the most prominent Norwegian artists of their generation. The tapestries were exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900, where they earned a gold medal. The same year the tapestries were named *The National Tapestries* [*Riksteppene*] – a title that is still used today – thus asserting their particular national relevance. It was argued that these tapestries must be secured for the nation and their destiny was debated in the Norwegian Parliament and in newspapers. Eventually they were bought by private means and donated to the Royal Palace. For almost a century they hung in the main staircase/vestibule, thus amounting to a prelude for visitors entering the Palace (Fig. 28.3).



Fig. 28.4: Gerhard Munthe, *King Sigurd and King Baldwin Riding from Jerusalem to the Jordan River*. Illustration from Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 1899.

How did the images of a medieval king, on a rather bloodstained journey to Jerusalem, come to be seen as an apt representation for the Norwegian nation around 1900? From today's perspective, the idealization of Sigurd the Crusader might seem somewhat surprising. Norway tends to promote itself as a peace-loving nation, and for several decades it has mediated international peace negotiations, including in the Middle East. In this article I explore Gerhard Munthe's images of Sigurd the Crusader in Jerusalem and Constantinople, and inquire into how the tapestries came into being. I also discuss their reception, and how they gained their status as national tapestries and were linked to the quest for a national identity and sovereignty.

The tapestries can be seen as bringing together different layers of time: the early twelfth century when Sigurd the Crusader travelled to Jerusalem; the early thirteenth century when Snorri Sturluson wrote his saga; and the years around 1900 when Gerhard Munthe took up the motif of Sigurd's crusade. At that time, Norway was in a union with Sweden, and did not have full national independence.³ Over the years, the story of Sigurd the Crusader has been told in different ways and in different media. In the case of The National Tapestries artistic, cultural, and political matters are shown to be closely intertwined. This case also illuminates how contemporary concerns have been woven into changing perceptions of Sigurd.

³ For a discussion of Norway's union with Denmark, followed by the union with Sweden, see below.

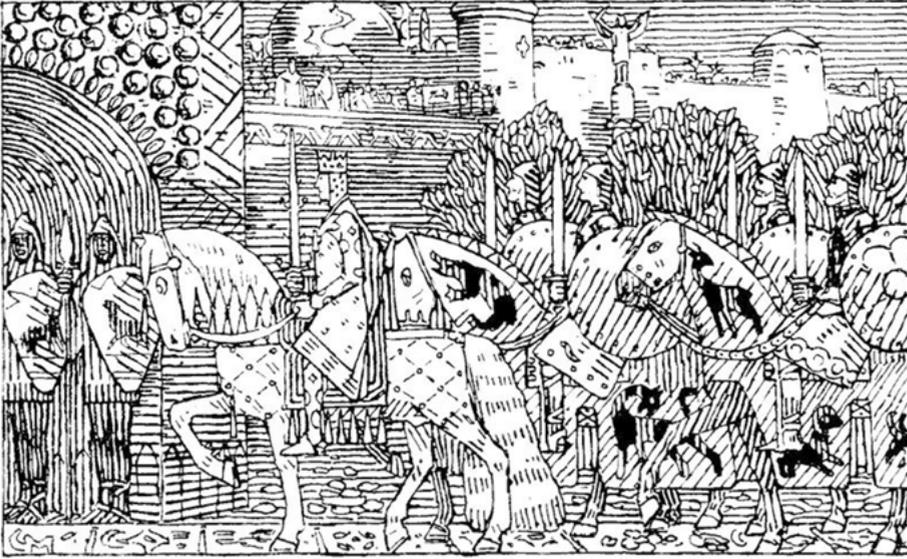


Fig. 28.5: Gerhard Munthe, *The Entry into Miklagard*. Illustration from Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 1899.

King Sigurd's Crusade According to Gerhard Munthe and Snorri Sturluson

Let us first scrutinise how Munthe worked with the motifs of King Sigurd in Jerusalem and Constantinople. How does he portray the king, and how does he tell the story of Sigurd's crusade? Munthe's main source of inspiration was *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús*. King Magnús Barefoot reigned in Norway 1093–1103 and had three sons: Eystein, Sigurd, and Olav. After King Magnús's death, Norway was divided between the three. Because Olav was only a small child, the elder brothers Eystein and Sigurd were to rule his part.

The first part of the saga narrates the story of King Sigurd and his crusade to the Holy Land. Snorri Sturluson writes that the brothers agreed to outfit a journey, and decided that Sigurd should go while Eystein should rule the whole country in his absence. "Four years after the death of King Magnús, King Sigurth and his expedition left Norway. He had with him sixty ships."⁴ About three years later, he

⁴ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 2nd paperback print, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 689. In Lee M. Hollander's translation of the saga, Sigurd is spelled Sigurth. I have used the modern Norwegian spelling – Sigurd – in the article, except when I cite Hollander.

reached Jerusalem. Sigurd was only about eighteen years old when he left Norway with his fleet.⁵

In 1899 a new, richly illustrated edition of *Heimskringla* was published in Norway.⁶ Gerhard Munthe was responsible for the book's overall visual design, including borders, ornaments, and vignettes, and he also contributed a substantial number of illustrations. This edition of *Heimskringla* is regarded as one of the high points of Norwegian book design and as a prominent example of art nouveau.

One of the illustrations for *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús* represents King Sigurd and King Baldwin riding together from Jerusalem to the Jordan River (Fig. 28.4). King Baldwin had been one of the leaders of the first crusade, and had become the first king of The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1100. Another illustration represented King Sigurd's entrance into Constantinople, or Miklagard – meaning “the great city” – as it was called in Old Norse (Fig. 28.5). These illustrations mark the starting point for Munthe's interest in the two motifs. Having finished his drawings for the book, he made two considerably larger and more extensive versions in tempera painting (Figs. 28.6 and 22.0) The tapestries were based on these paintings and were finished the year after, in 1900.⁷ In the two tempera paintings, the story of King Sigurd's crusade is elaborated in some detail. Munthe took his cues from Snorri Sturluson's text, and the different scenes in the paintings visualize important moments in the saga.

The paintings are conceived as a pair. Compositionally they are both divided into three parts, separated by decorative borders. The two main motifs closely resemble Munthe's illustrations for the saga, and are explained in the titles inscribed below: *Sigurd og Balduin [Sigurd and Baldwin]* and *Intoget i Myklegaard [The Entry into Miklagard]*.⁸ Below the main motifs, Munthe has chosen two other important scenes from the saga. The painting of Sigurd and Baldwin includes an image of King Sigurd's fleet leaving Norway, which is another reworked version of one of Munthe's illustrations in *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús*. The scene below King Sigurd's entrance into Miklagard refers to his visit to the hippodrome (called *Padreimen* in the saga) in Constantinople, where he was invited by the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus.⁹

⁵ Sigurd was born around 1090, but his exact birthdate is unknown.

⁶ Snorri Sturluson, Gustav Storm and Halfdan Egedius, *Kongsagaer* (Kristiania: J. M. Stenersen, 1899).

⁷ Jens Thiis, *Gerhard Munthe: en Studie* (Trondhjem: Aktietrykkeriet, 1903), 34.

⁸ I generally use the modern Norwegian spelling Miklagard. Myklegaard, the spelling used in Munthe's time, is used in citations, such as this one. Similarly, King Baldwin was spelt Balduin in Munthe's time.

⁹ Alexius I Comnenus, Byzantine emperor 1081–1118. In the *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús* he is named Kirjalax.

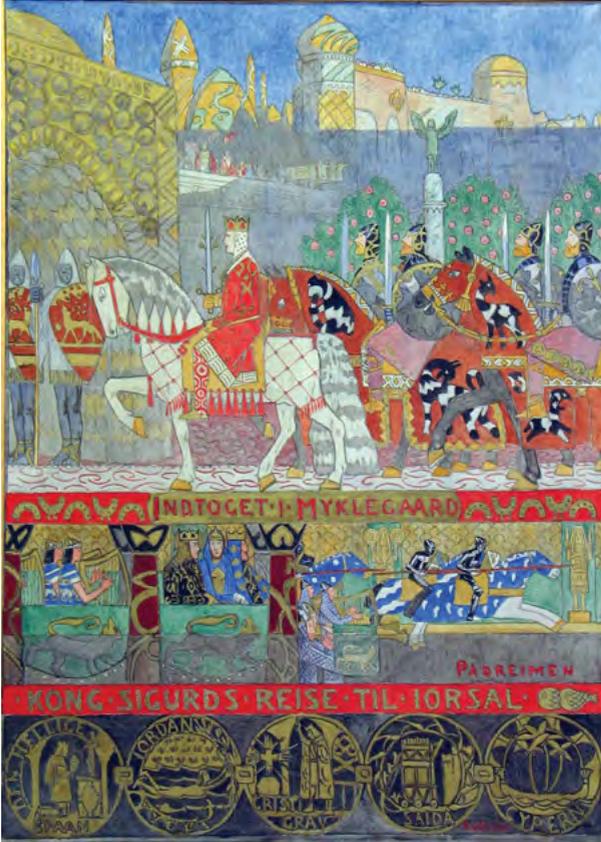


Fig. 28.6: Gerhard Munthe, *The Entry into Myklegard*, 1899. Tempera, 143 × 103 cm. © Trondheim kunstmuseum. Photo: Ute Freia Beer.

I return to some of the iconographical details of these larger images, but let us first scrutinise the medallions in the lower part of the paintings (Figs. 28.7 and 28.8). These smaller images, formed as emblems, are headed by the text “*Kong Sigurds reise til Jorsal*” [King Sigurd’s Journey to Jerusalem], and represent other crucial episodes from Sigurd’s crusade. Except for one, all refer to scenes from the saga. The medallions are arranged chronologically, from left to right, and narrate in condensed form the journey of King Sigurd.

The Narrative of the Emblems

In the *Sigurd and Baldwin* tempera painting the image of the first medallion is an equestrian motif (Fig. 28.7). The man on horseback, carrying a shield and a raised sword, is accompanied by the inscription “HENRIC REX.” It refers to the first stop on King Sigurd’s journey, and his visit to Henry I, King of England. Snorri Sturluson



Fig. 28.7: Gerhard Munthe, *Sigurd and Baldwin*. (Detail, Fig. 22.0).



Fig. 28.8: Gerhard Munthe, *The Entry into Miklagard*. (Detail, Fig. 28.6).

writes: “In the fall King Sigurth sailed to England. At that time Henry, the son of William the Bastard, was king. King Sigurth remained there during the winter.”¹⁰ In spring, Sigurd and his men moved on and reached Galicia (part of today’s Spain) in the autumn. The second image represents Saint James – as indicated by the inscription “St Jago” – and alludes to the king’s visit to one of the main pilgrim sites in Europe, Santiago de Compostela. According to the saga, Sigurd spent most of the winter in Galicia before sailing onwards along the coast of today’s Portugal. En route he fought his first three battles against “the heathens.”¹¹ The third medallion shows a fortress being struck by lightning (as a sign of God’s holy wrath visited

¹⁰ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 689.

¹¹ In Lee M. Hollander’s translation of the saga, the word “heathens” is used about the adversaries of Sigurd. Most of the heathens that Sigurd encountered would have been Muslims. On terminology, see Bjørn Bandlien, “Images of Muslims in Medieval Norway and Iceland,” in *Fighting for the Faith – the Many Crusades*, eds. Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch, and Janus Møller (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediævalia, Centre for Medieval Studies, Stockholm University, 2018), and Chapter 6 (Pål Berg Svenungsen) vol. 1, 95–131. See also Øystein Morten, *Jakten på Sigurd Jorsalfare* (Oslo: Spartacus, 2014), 94–107. Morten critically traces King Sigurd’s journey as it is told by Snorri Sturluson. He also discusses the complex religious constellations in parts of today’s Spain and Portugal at the time of Sigurd’s crusade. In my article I will not discuss the historical correctness, or lack thereof, in the saga. My focus is rather how the text of the saga is interpreted and used by Gerhard Munthe.

upon the heathen men?), and refers to the battle at Alcasse.¹² In his laconic style, Snorri Sturluson writes: “Then King Sigurth with his fleet proceeded west [south] along the heathen part of Spain and made land by a city which is called Alcasse, and there had a fourth battle with the heathens and conquered that city. He slew many people there so as to depopulate the city. There they made an immense amount of booty.”¹³

The somewhat strange image of the fourth medallion of the *Sigurd and Baldwin* painting, showing a ship hovering in the air, refers to one of the most discussed episodes of Sigurd’s journey. The king had passed through Norvasund (the Old Norse name for The Strait of Gibraltar), sailed along the coast of Serkland (here probably meaning the coast of North Africa) and reached Formentera, the smallest of the Balearic Islands. “There a large force of heathen black men had established themselves in some cave and had placed a stone wall in front of its mouth.”¹⁴ Snorri Sturluson writes that these “heathen” men had “harried far and wide on the land and had brought all their booty into the cave.”¹⁵ King Sigurd and his men tried to conquer the island, but the cave was situated high up on a steep hillside, and “the heathens” could easily defend themselves by hurling stones or shooting down at the Norsemen. The saga continues: “Then the heathens brought costly stuffs and other precious things out on the wall, shook them at the Norwegians, shouted at them, egged them to come on, and taunted them.”¹⁶ King Sigurd responded by making a sly plan:

He had two ship-boats which are called barks [launches] dragged up to the top of the cliff above the opening of the cave and had them secured with strong ropes under the ribs and the stern. Then as many men got into them as could find room in them, and then they let the boats down above the cave with ropes.¹⁷

This is the moment Munthe has chosen to represent. The men in the boats could now attack “the heathens” who fled into the cave. King Sigurd then built a fire in the cave’s opening, and consequently “the heathens” were either burnt to death or slain. Snorri Sturluson concludes: “The Norwegians took the greatest amount of booty they had gotten on this expedition.”¹⁸

The last medallion in the *Sigurd and Baldwin* painting refers to King Sigurd’s visit to Sicily. According to the saga, he was greeted by Duke Roger, and after seven days of feasting together, “King Sigurth took the duke by the hand, led him up to the high-

12 Identified by Morten as Alcacer do Sal in today’s Portugal. Morten, *Jakten på Sigurd Jorsalfare*, 103.

13 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 691.

14 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 692.

15 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 692.

16 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 692.

17 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 692.

18 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 693.

seat, and conferred the title of king on him and the right to be king over the realm of Sicily; but before that time earls had ruled that land.”¹⁹ Snorri Sturluson relates that after having left Sicily, Sigurd sailed to Palestine, landed at the seaport Acre, and went overland to Jerusalem, where he was received by King Baldwin.

In these five medallions, in the *Sigurd and Baldwin* painting, King Sigurd’s victories are emphasized as well as his authority as king. Even the format of the medallions serves to underscore this point: they might recall royal signet rings. King Sigurd meets on equal terms with other kings and even has the authority to bestow royal authority onto others. Sigurd as a Christian king and the mission of the crusade is implied in the reference to Saint James, and is the main theme of the medallions represented in the painting of Sigurd’s entrance into Constantinople, *The Entry into Miklagard*.

The first three emblems of *The Entry into Miklagard* tempera painting show key moments from the king’s visit to Jerusalem (Fig 28.8). The image of the king kneeling in front of a crucifix, surrounded by the text “*Den hellige spaan*” [The Holy Splinter], refers to Sigurd’s receiving a chip of the Holy Cross as a relic. “With the consent of King Balduin and the Patriarch a splinter was taken from the Holy Cross. They both swore by the sacred relics that this wood was from the Holy Cross on which God himself was martyred.”²⁰ This precious relic was received on several conditions: King Sigurd and twelve of his men had to swear that they would: “promote Christianity with all his power and establish an archbishopric [in his land] if he could, and that [this piece of] the cross should be deposited where Holy King Ólaf was interred, and that he [the king] should promote the paying of tithes [to the church] and that he should do so himself.”²¹ King Sigurd did not fulfil all these obligations, but according to tradition, the relic was taken back to Norway.²²

The next scene shows the king’s ritual bath in the Jordan River and alludes to the baptism of Christ by St John. Snorri Sturluson explains that the two kings rode together to the river and then back to Jerusalem, and cites the bard Einar Skulason, who says that Sigurd “bathed in blessed Jordan’s/burn, of sin to cleanse him.”²³ The third medallion represents King Sigurd visiting the tomb of Christ. This episode is not explicitly mentioned in the saga, but is found in other sources.²⁴ While staying in Palestine, Sigurd and his men accompanied King Baldwin and his army to Sidon (today’s Sayda): “That city was heathen. . . . And when the two kings had

¹⁹ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 694. Roger was Grand Count of Sicily (1105–1130), and then Roger II King of Sicily (1130–1154). For a discussion of the historical inaccuracies of the saga on this point, see Morten, *Jakten på Sigurd Jorsalfare*, 124–5.

²⁰ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 696.

²¹ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 696.

²² For additional information about this relic, see Chapter 6 (Pål Berg Svenungsen), vol. 1, 95–131.

²³ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 696.

²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aix/Aachen.

beleaguered the city for a short time the heathen men surrendered, and the kings took possession of the city, and their troops of all other booty. King Sigurth yielded to King Balduin entire possession of the city.”²⁵ Snorri Sturluson cites the bard Haldór Skvaldri: “Heathen fastness, feeder-of-/famished-wolves, thou tookst and,/ great-hearted, gavest back then,/gallant ruler, to Balduin.”²⁶ The image shows a belfry (siege tower), which was used in medieval warfare.

After leaving Palestine, Sigurd went to Cyprus which, according to the inscription “Cypem,” is the theme of the last medallion of *The Entry into Miklagard* painting. It shows a ship and palm trees. Palm trees, and palm sprigs, are common Christian pilgrim symbols. Here they also add a paradisiacal flavour to this place of rest, where – the saga tells us – Sigurd stayed for some time before going on to Greece and Constantinople.

Munthe’s Vision of King Sigurd in Jerusalem and Constantinople

Having followed the narrative of the medallions, it is time to return to the main motifs of the paintings. What image of King Sigurd does Munthe create, and how does he represent Jerusalem? Gerhard Munthe had never been to the Holy City himself, and the visual sources he might have used as inspiration in portraying Jerusalem are uncertain. The painting of Sigurd and Baldwin shows a hilly, desert-like landscape (Fig. 22.0). A few date palms, olive trees(?), and the caravan in the background add an exotic touch to the scene. On top of the hill lies Jerusalem. We can see parts of the city walls, and what appears to be the Dome of the Rock.

Although Munthe’s representation of the Holy City is highly stylized, it is recognizable as Jerusalem. The main features of the landscape – the hills and the situation of the city – can be seen in other contemporary images of Jerusalem. One example is the picture reproduced in the Norwegian priest Birger Hall’s book *Fra Østen. Reiseerindringer fra Ægypten, Syrien og Palæstina* [From the East. Travel Recollections from Egypt, Syria and Palestine] from 1888 (Fig. 20.2).²⁷ Another

²⁵ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 696.

²⁶ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 696.

²⁷ Birger Hall, *Fra Østen. Reiseerindringer fra Ægypten, Syrien og Palæstina* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1888), 132. Hall does not state the name of the artist or from where he has taken this picture. However, the same picture was reproduced in Johan Storm Munch’s *Minder fra en Jerusalemsfærd* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1884), 30. Munch states that he has borrowed the image from Christopher Andreas Holmboe, *Bibelsk Real-Ordbog* (Christiania: Mallings Forlagsboghandel, 1868). So far I have not traced this particular image of Jerusalem any further, but it is interesting to note its reuse. Perhaps Holmboe borrowed it from an international source. On Hall and Storm Munch’s journeys, see Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29.



Fig. 28.9: Friedrich Perlberg, *View of Jerusalem*, c.1898. Water colour on paper. Private Collection / Photo © Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images.

example is the German artist Friedrich Perlberg's painting "View of Jerusalem," which includes exoticizing details such as camels, and their tenders dressed in long tunics (Fig. 28.9).²⁸

²⁸ Friedrich Perlberg was Munthe's contemporary and they might have known each other from Munich, where they both lived for some years. Perlberg followed Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany, on his visit to the Holy City in 1898. Some of his paintings from this visit were reproduced as postcards. The emperor's visit to Jerusalem was mentioned in Norwegian newspapers at the time, but so far I have not been able to trace any illustrated articles in the Norwegian press. It is tempting to speculate that Munthe might in some way have been inspired by pictures made in relation to the emperor's visit. However, it is uncertain when Munthe actually finished his illustrations for *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús: Heimskringla* was published in several volumes from 1896 to 1899, and Munthe might or might not have finished his pictures of Sigurd before the emperor's visit. I thank Jan Kokkin for sharing his findings with me on this point. It should also be added that Perlberg's painting has much in common with the illustration printed in Hall's book.

In the *Sigurd and Baldwin* painting, in the foreground, as on a stage, King Sigurd and King Baldwin are riding (Fig. 22.0). The Norwegian king stands out in his richly decorated red cloak. He is wearing a crown and a chainmail hood and is carrying a cross. His white horse with red harness is a convention used in several medieval representations of the crusaders.²⁹ King Baldwin looks at, and gestures to his guest. Judging by the green caparisons of the other two horses, the kings are accompanied by one of King Baldwin's knights. The ornamental road in the foreground continues uphill where two men, carrying some sort of sticks, are running. These men are not mentioned in the saga, but art historian Hilmar Bakken identifies them as messengers.³⁰

According to Snorri Sturluson, the Norwegian king was welcomed with honour: "King Balduin received King Sigurth most graciously and with him rode to the River Jordan and back to Jerusalem."³¹ This is the moment that Munthe has chosen as the main motif of the painting. In the narrative of the saga and in Munthe's interpretation of the scene, the authority of King Sigurd is strongly emphasized. He is received as a distinguished guest and the two kings are portrayed as equals.

Demonstrating the king's authority is an important aspect of the other painting as well. In *The Entry into Miklagard*, Munthe has chosen to represent the king about to enter Constantinople (Fig. 28.6). In Snorri Sturluson's narrative, Sigurd is allowed to enter through *Gullvarta* [Golden Gate] which was the Emperor's gate of victory: "Also Emperor Kirjalax had heard of the approach of King Sigurth, and he had the castle gate of Miklagarth opened which is called Gullvarta (Golden Gate). That gate the emperor is to ride through when he has been away for a long time from Miklagarth and returns victorious."³²

The painting is overwhelmingly rich in colours and details. The architecture appears to be a kind of oriental fantasy with minaret-like towers and onion domes. Munthe had not been to Constantinople, but as he included a column with a Winged

29 See for example the plan of Jerusalem from about 1200, "Picture Bible, Psalter Fragment?" from St. Omer, Benedictine Abbey of St. Bertin, c.1190–1200, in *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, The Hague KB, 76 F 5, fol. 1r sc. 1 and 2, National Library of the Netherlands. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Nationale bibliotheek van Nederland, accessed May 5, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/images/76+F+5>. And Jean Colombe's miniature of the battle of Dorylaeum in Sébastien Mamerot: *Les Passages d'Outremer* from c.1474. Wikipedia, "Bataille de Dorylée. Miniature de Jean Colombe tirée des Passages d'outremer de Sébastien Mamerot, BnF Fr 5594, f.37v.," accessed May 25, 2018, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexis_Ier_Comnène#/media/File:Passages_d%27outremer_-_BNF_Fr.5594,_f37v_-_bataille_de_Dorylée.jpg. It is not known from which sources Gerhard Munthe picked up this convention.

30 Hilmar Bakken, *Gerhard Munthes dekorative kunst* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1946), 163. So far, I have seen no other references to these two figures, and it is not clear if Bakken's identification is his own interpretation or if he has this information from other sources.

31 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 695.

32 Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 698.

Victory statue, he had probably heard of the Column of Marcian. This Column was erected during the fifth century and has served as an important landmark in the city.

According to the saga, the street, from the gate all the way up to the Royal Palace, had been covered with costly textiles. King Sigurd instructed his men “to ride into the city with a proud bearing and not to show any astonishment at all the new things they might see.”³³ In Munthe’s representation, Sigurd is leading his men towards the gate, where the emperor’s guards are waiting. Once again Sigurd stands out in his red robe. The robe as well as the red harness of his white horse has been changed since his visit to Jerusalem. His men look straight ahead and are holding their swords erect. Their horses carry red caparisons adorned with various fantastic beasts.

During Sigurd’s visit to Constantinople, the emperor continued to bestow honours on the Norwegian king. So says the saga. At one point, the emperor sent some of his men to King Sigurd and asked if he preferred to receive six hundredweights of gold, or to have the emperor arrange games in the hippodrome. King Sigurd preferred the latter, and the games were arranged according to custom. This is the other scene from Constantinople that Munthe has chosen as a motif. Sigurd is seated together with the emperor and the empress, looking at the racing horses. The games are accompanied by music from harps and various wind instruments.

Both the saga and Munthe’s images present King Sigurd as a hero. However, there are also striking differences in the way they portray the king. In the saga, Sigurd’s battles are the main focus of the narrative covering the voyage from Norway to the Holy Land, and Sigurd is presented as a successful crusader and warrior. The king and his army’s slaying of religious opponents and their taking of booty are told matter-of-factly and as a self-evident part of the crusade’s purpose. Munthe – on the other hand – plays down this violent aspect of King Sigurd’s expedition, and in the medallions only hints at some of the battles. In the saga, Eystein is said to have ruled Norway admirably in Sigurd’s absence, and yet Sigurd stands out as the hero who ventured out and was received on a par with the great rulers of the Holy City and of Constantinople. It is exactly the Norwegian king’s proud performance on the world stage which is emphasized in Munthe’s images.³⁴

³³ Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, 698.

³⁴ After Sigurd’s return to Norway, the saga tells a more complex story of his character and of the strained relationship between the two brothers Eystein and Sigurd. Sigurd is portrayed as having a dark and troubled mind, verging on madness. However, such complexities are not hinted at in Munthe’s visual version of the story.

The Middle Ages as Norway's Golden Age

While eighteenth-century scholars such as the French Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire and the British historian Edward Gibbon were deeply sceptical towards the Crusades, and saw them as morally corrupt, the conception of the Crusades and the crusaders changed during the following century. The British ecclesiastical historian Jonathan Riley-Smith connects this changed and more positive approach with nineteenth-century imperialism, and with the renewed appreciation of the Middle Ages.³⁵ The heroizing of the crusaders was a European phenomenon, and in this respect Munthe's images were part of a wider trend.³⁶

The heroizing of Sigurd the Crusader was also connected to specific historical and political circumstances in Norway. From the late fourteenth century, Norway had been in union with Denmark and Sweden, the so-called Kalmar Union. After its dissolution, Norway became a dependency under Denmark from 1537 until 1814. After the Napoleonic Wars, Denmark, which had supported Napoleon, was forced to cede Norway to Sweden under the 1814 Treaty of Kiel. Norway managed to adopt its own constitution the same year, but continued to be in union with Sweden until 1905.

Within the union with Sweden, Norway was granted a high degree of autonomy, with its own parliament, government, and prime minister. However, Sweden controlled Norway's foreign policy, and the Swedish king was also king of Norway. The relationship between the two countries varied from relative harmony to considerable tension. During the 1890s, the Norwegian government challenged Sweden and demanded control over its own foreign policy and the establishment of independent consulates.³⁷ The special appeal of Sigurd the Crusader around this time testifies to a desire to re-establish Norway as a proud and independent nation in the world.

Gerhard Munthe was not the first artist to be fascinated by Sigurd. In 1872 Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson – one of Norway's most prominent poets – had published his historical drama *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, inspired by *The Saga of the Sons of Magnús*.³⁸ The composer Edvard Grieg contributed a work of incidental music – *Sigurd Jorsalfar* (Opus 22) – for the drama's premiere at Christiania Theatre the same year. When the National Theatre opened in 1899 in Kristiania (today's Oslo), Bjørnson's drama, accompanied by a revised version of Grieg's music, was performed as one of three

³⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 336.

³⁶ Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

³⁷ Store norske leksikon, "Unionsoppløsningen i 1905," accessed November 6, 2017, https://snl.no/Unionsoppl%C3%B8sningen_i_1905.

³⁸ Bjørnson's play is not explicitly about Sigurd's Crusade. Its main focus is the relationship between the two brothers after Sigurd's return to Norway.

plays marking this important national event.³⁹ The same year, the new edition of *Heimskringla* was published, and Munthe made his paintings of Sigurd the Crusader. The tapestries were finished in 1900.

The growing awareness of King Sigurd, peaking around the turn of the century, was also part of a general interest in the Middle Ages. Medievalism – a strong European trend – was in Norway connected to the search for a national identity which characterized much of the nineteenth century and was closely related to the struggle for national independence.⁴⁰ The centuries under Danish supremacy were commonly referred to as “the night of 400 years,” reflecting the negative view long associated with this period of Norwegian history.⁴¹ In order to establish firm ground for a national identity, the Norwegian elite harked back to the Viking Age and the Middle Ages, when Norway had been an independent kingdom. These periods were conceived of as Norway’s golden ages.⁴² In the quest for a national identity, the Norwegian freeholding peasants played a significant role. Unlike in many other countries, serfdom did not exist, and many Norwegian peasants owned and farmed their own land. In several parts of the country, old traditions, such as building techniques and dress practices, persisted, and thus the Norwegian peasant was conceived of as representing a strong, direct link to the Middle Ages.

The 1880 excavation of the Gokstad ship, a well-preserved Viking Age ship burial, contributed to the interest in and idealization of Norway’s early history. Munthe’s

39 The play was staged six times between 1899 and 1914. The high frequency of performances during these years, before and after the dissolution of Norway’s union with Sweden in 1905, confirms the importance of Sigurd the Crusader as a national symbol during this period. Since then, it has been put on only once by the National Theatre. That was in 1944, under the German occupation of Norway. Nationaltheatret Arkiv, “Produksjoner,” accessed October 13, 2017, http://forest.nationaltheatret.no/Productions/Index/?as_tit=SIGURD%20JORSALFAR.

40 See for example Bjarne Hodne, *Norsk nasjonalkultur: en kulturpolitisk oversikt* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995). On the international phenomenon of medievalism, see for example David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 319.

41 See Lorentz Dietrichson (Norwegian historian of art and literature): “The night of four hundred years’ has become common coinage for those four centuries of Norway’s history, from 1400 to 1800, which passed between the sunset of the Haakons’ and the Olafs’ and the dawn of the constitutional day at Eidsvoll. And this expression has certainly proved to be justified.” [“De fire Aarhundreders Nat’ er blevet et staaende Udtryk for Norges Liv i de Aarhundreder, der forløb mellem Haakoners og Olafers Soldnedgang og Ejdvoldsdagens Morgenrøde, mellem 1400 og 1800. Og dette Udtryk har ganske vist sin Berettigelse.”] L. Dietrichson, *Omrids af den norske Poesis Historie: Litterærhistoriske Forelæsninger: 1: Norges Bidrag til Fælleslitteraturen*. vol. 1 (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1866), 1. It should be added that the conception and interpretation of the centuries under Danish rule have changed in more recent years. Translations other than those from the saga, are my own. I want to thank my husband, Svein Jarvoll, for assisting me in these translations.

42 For a discussion about this prevailing national narrative, see Kristin Bliksrud Aavitsland, “From Nationalism to Cosmopolitan Classicism: Harry Fett’s Concept of Cultural Capital,” *Future anterior* 7, no. 2 (2010): 21–5.

representation of King Sigurd's fleet testifies to his fascination with the Viking ships. Apart from two of the sails – one adorned with the lamb and the cross, the other with an image of Christ crucified – which clearly point to the expedition as a crusade, the ships with their carved dragon-like prows appear rather like a Viking fleet.

In 1879 a woven tapestry from the Middle Ages was found when the Baldishol Church in Hedmark County was demolished. Some years later, this sensational finding came to the public's attention. The so-called Baldishol Tapestry was made between 1150 and 1190, and its rich colours had been amazingly well preserved.⁴³ It is a fragment of a frieze, probably representing the different months of the year. The preserved fragment has been interpreted as depicting the months April and May. April is represented by a man standing next to a blossoming tree with birds; May by a warrior riding a horse.⁴⁴ Its Romanesque style recalls to some extent the famous Bayeux Tapestry from the eleventh century. The finding of the tapestry contributed to a renewed interest in the Norwegian weaving tradition. An important part of this interest was the revival of the art of vertical loom weaving. In the late nineteenth century, the vertical loom was still used in some rural areas, and as we shall see, both Gerhard Munthe and Frida Hansen were greatly inspired by this particular weaving tradition.

Munthe's Programme for a National Art

Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* had been translated into Norwegian in the sixteenth century. During the nineteenth century, public interest grew considerably and several new translations were published.⁴⁵ The 1899 edition proved particularly influential. It was reprinted many times, is still found in many Norwegian homes, and is commonly referred to simply as "Snorre." In 1895 or 1896, the publisher Johan Martin Stenersen started planning this edition of *Heimskringla*. The historian Gustav Storm made a new translation, and Stenersen hired the painter Erik Werenskiöld to be in charge of the book's visual design and illustrations. Werenskiöld had distinguished himself greatly as a book illustrator by his contributions to the 1879 edition of the Norwegian folktales by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe. Several other well-known Norwegian artists contributed illustrations for *Heimskringla*: Christian Krohg, Halfdan Egedius, Eilif Peterssen, and Wilhelm Wetelsen. However, Werenskiöld was particularly keen to ensure Gerhard Munthe's participation. Looking back, Werenskiöld writes:

⁴³ *The Baldishol Tapestry*, 1150–1190. 118 x 203 cm. Anonymous. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. <http://samling.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/object/OK-02862>.

⁴⁴ Aase Bay Sjøvold, *Norsk billedvev*. Vi ser på kunsthåndverk i Norge, vol. 5 (Oslo: Huitfeldt forlag, 1976), 7–17. See also Hans Dedekam, *Baldisholtæppet* (Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1918).

⁴⁵ Hodne, *Norsk nasjonalkultur: en kulturpolitisk oversikt*, 35; Jan Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe: en norsk designpioner* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art Publishers, 2018), 98.

My first priority was of course to get in touch with Munthe, asking him if he wished to take on the design of the work. He accepted the offer on the spot and with great enthusiasm. We instantly agreed on the overall character of the work; it was self-evident. Norwegian above all: simple, primitive.⁴⁶

Erik Werenskiold and Gerhard Munthe were both part of a nationally minded cultural elite called *Lysakerkretsen* [The Lysaker Circle], so named because several of its leading figures – including Werenskiold and Munthe – lived at Lysaker, just outside Kristiania. The Lysaker Circle was not a formally organized group, but rather a more loosely formed social circle, including artists, intellectuals, and scientists, such as the polar explorer and national hero Frithjof Nansen, and Andreas Aubert, one of Norway's leading art historians. Its proponents were joined in a wish to promote and build the nation, and represented the most influential cultural political milieu in Norway around the turn of the century.⁴⁷ Their confidence in this national programme is clearly expressed in Werenskiold's statement above. Significantly, he also used Frithjof Nansen as a model for the Norwegian king Olav Trygvason (968–1000) in his own drawings for *Heimskringla*.

Munthe was deeply committed to creating a new national decorative art. He had been trained as a painter in Norway and Germany. For many years he painted mostly naturalistic landscapes. However, during the 1890s he started experimenting with ornamental works alongside traditional painting. The design and illustrations he made for *Heimskringla* are excellent examples of his new so-called decorative style. These works are characterized by a stylized, graphic expression, and emphasis is given to linear and rhythmic ornaments. Munthe practiced his decorative style not only in drawings and paintings, but also in furniture decoration and designs for everyday objects.⁴⁸ The style Munthe and Werenskiold arrived at in their illustrations for *Heimskringla* has been termed *Snorrestil* [Snorri style]. To develop a new national and decorative style, Munthe considered it necessary to break with naturalism and the classic tradition. His sources of inspiration were a mix of old Norwegian art and international art, including Romanesque art, the art of the Bronze Age, Assyrian art, and Egyptian art.⁴⁹

46 “var det en selvfølge at jeg først og fremst henvendte mig til Munthe og spurte om han vilde påta sig utsmykningen av verket: han grep tilbudet med begge hender og brant av iver og begeistring. Planen og verkets karakter var vi jo straks enig om; den gav sig av sig selv. Norsk fremfor alt, enkelt, primitivt.” Erik Werenskiold, “Snorre-Tegningene.” *Kunst og kultur*, 16 (1929): 65.

47 Bodil Stenseth, *En norsk elite: nasjonsbyggerne på Lysaker: 1890–1940* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1993), 32.

48 In this respect, there are interesting parallels between Gerhard Munthe and the originator of the British Arts and Crafts movement, William Morris. Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, “Morris and Munthe,” in “*Honnør til en hånet stil*”: *festskrift til Stephan Tschudi-Madsen på 70-årsdagen*, eds. Stephan Tschudi-Madsen et al. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1993), 111–17.

49 Gerhard Munthe, *Minder og Meninger: fra 1850-Aarene til Nu: med samtidige Tegninger fra Kunstnerens Samlinger* (Kristiania: Cammermeyer, 1919); Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe. En norsk designpioner*, 104.

Gerhard Munthe also travelled extensively in rural Norway. He studied and was greatly inspired by Norwegian folk art, such as woodcarving, *rosemaling* [Rose Painting], and especially old tapestries and textiles. In many of his decorative paintings, the inspiration from traditional tapestry weaving is clearly visible. In turn, these paintings were often used as models for textiles and tapestries and were woven by female professional weavers. Munthe was hailed as the great innovator of Norwegian textile art. Many of his decorative works were inspired by Norwegian fairy tales, but occasionally his motifs were taken from Norway's history. The images of Sigurd the Crusader are the most important examples.

In Munthe's vision for a new national art, not only were the motifs to be inspired by Norwegian themes; equally – or even more – important to him was his wish to develop a national style and colour scheme. In Norwegian folk art, Munthe saw a predilection for a few strong main colours. Five colours seemed to him particularly Norwegian in character: lobster red, red-violet, traditional blue, blue-green, and yellow. In one of his essays, Munthe connects these colours to national traits and traditions. For example, he sees lobster red as representing “loud joy and straight-forwardness as opposed to the reserved,” and red-violet as “stern and frightening.”⁵⁰ Traditional blue – *potteblå* – in Norwegian, meaning “chamber-pot blue,” a blue made by dyeing yarn in human urine – he sees as fresh and bold.⁵¹ He was also concerned about the combination of colours. In particular, he points out the frequent use of complementary colours in Norwegian folk art, such as the combination of red and bluish green, comparing it with “red rowanberries surrounded by green leaves” and emphasizing the active energy resulting from their combination.⁵²

The idea of regarding specific colours as expressions of national character might be hard to follow today. Yet, the colour scheme prescribed by Munthe does to some extent correspond to the colour scheme seen in the Baldishol Tapestry as well as in several other old Norwegian tapestries, such as “The Adoration of the Magi” from 1717, which Munthe saw and sketched on one of his travels.⁵³ However, Munthe's tempera paintings of King Sigurd in Jerusalem and Constantinople show that he did not feel obliged to follow this colour scheme closely in his works. Admittedly, these paintings of Sigurd are characterized by the use of bright colours: red, blue, green, and yellow. He also uses violet in the areas of shadow in the two

⁵⁰ “larmende glæde . . . det Endetille, som opponerer mod det Betænkte.” Munthe, *Minder og Meninger*, 65.

⁵¹ Munthe, *Minder og Meninger*, 65.

⁵² Cited from Ulrike Greve, “Gerhard Munthe og den tekstile kunst,” *Kunst og kultur*, 16 (1929): 98. See also Munthe, *Minder og Meninger*, 66.

⁵³ *The Adoration of the Magi*. Tapestry from Gudbrandsdalen, 1717. 195 x 152.5 cm. Anonymous. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. <http://samling.nasjonalmuseet.no/no/object/OK-01712>. The sketchbook is owned by The National Library of Norway. MS Fol. 1061. The sketch is reproduced in Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe. En norsk designpioner*, 59.

paintings. In addition, he uses black and white, and gold – thus underlining the works' royal theme, perhaps also their exotic setting. However, the overall effect of the paintings is very different from that of traditional Norwegian folk art.

From Paintings to Tapestries

In the two tempera paintings of Sigurd the Crusader, Munthe reworked the small black-and-white book illustrations into large-format, colourful, and gilded paintings. By adding the medallions in the lower part of the paintings, he also managed to tell a more complete story of the crusade. Judging from the richly decorated style of the paintings, Munthe must have invested considerable time and effort in making them. Nevertheless, it was not the paintings that were to receive the most attention and acclaim, but rather the tapestries made by Frida Hansen's workshop.

Frida Hansen is considered one of Norway's leading art nouveau artists. She started her working career after her husband's bankruptcy, took up weaving at the end of the 1880s, and established her own workshop in 1897. Two years later her workshop was reorganized and given the name The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company [Det norske Billedvæveri]. She was then the leader of a company with more than twenty employees.⁵⁴ The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company took on commissions, invited artists to submit cartoons for weaving, but also made an extensive collection of tapestries after Frida Hansen's own designs. Gerhard Munthe made and sold cartoons based on many of his decorative works, and Frida Hansen's firm bought the cartoons from him.⁵⁵ The weaver Ulrike Greve – Frida Hansen's contemporary, who also made several tapestries based on Munthe's cartoons – considered the making of these motifs the greatest task of Norwegian tapestry weaving. She confessed that it must make every passionate weaver green with envy.⁵⁶

Concerning the motifs, Hansen's tapestries featuring *Sigurd and Baldwin* and *The Entry into Miklagard* adhere strictly to Munthe's tempera paintings, but their colours are strikingly different. The sizes of the tapestries are also much more monumental: They each measure fifteen square meters. Did Munthe specify certain colours or were they chosen by Frida Hansen herself? Unfortunately, the cartoons' whereabouts is not known, and I have not been able to trace any correspondence

⁵⁴ Frida Hansen, Hanne Beate Ueland, Janne Kathrine Leithe, and Arlyne Moi, *Frida Hansen: art nouveau i full blomst* (Stavanger: Stavanger kunstmuseum, 2015), 16. See also Anikken Thue, *Frida Hansen: en europeer i norsk tekstilkunst omkring 1900* (Stavanger: Universitetsforlaget, 1986), 52–6.

⁵⁵ Greve, "Gerhard Munthe og den tekstile kunst," 97,100. I also thank Anniken Thue for information about how Frida Hansen and The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company obtained the cartoons for The National Tapestries.

⁵⁶ Greve, "Gerhard Munthe og den tekstile kunst," 100.

between the two. Given Munthe's interest in traditional tapestry weaving, one would expect him to have been diligent about the execution of tapestries based on his own works. Surprisingly, however, he did not seem much involved after he sold his cartoons. Ulrike Greve states that Munthe did not make himself available to the weavers, leaving them very much to their own devices.⁵⁷

If Frida Hansen's experience was similar to Greve's, the colours might well have been Hansen's own choice. Compared to the colours of the paintings, the colours of the tapestries are more subdued.⁵⁸ The backgrounds of the main motifs are dominated by beige and brown nuances. The lower parts of the tapestries – the medallions and the frieze – are also characterized by earth colours, mainly different shades of brown. In the two main motifs, bright colour accents are added: most conspicuously the red cloak of Sigurd, and the ochre caparisons.

While Greve concluded generously that Frida Hansen solved the task of weaving the two tapestries with honour, Gerhard Munthe was not too happy with the result. In a letter to his friend, art historian Andreas Aubert, he recognizes that the tapestries are well executed, but does not see them as artistically successful, because “the colours, with the exception of two, did not adhere to the idea of the compositions or to my original.”⁵⁹ How then did the public regard the tapestries?

Reception and Debate

Though Munthe was critical, critics were delighted when the two tapestries of Sigurd the Crusader were first exhibited in Kristiania, in the spring of 1900. The exhibition was arranged by The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company and presented the collection of tapestries woven by Frida Hansen's workshop that was to be shown at the Exposition Universelle in Paris later the same year.⁶⁰ The exhibition was very positively received, especially the two tapestries of King Sigurd the Crusader. The art historian Rolf Thommessen, writing for the newspaper *Verdens Gang*, compared the tapestries with Grieg's music:

Norsemen, ever bound for new horizons be! The two tapestries, where Gerhard Munthe makes Sigurd the Crusader ride out of Jorsal and into Myklagaard, are as splendid as Grieg's music is.

⁵⁷ Greve, “Gerhard Munthe og den tekstile kunst,” 100.

⁵⁸ According to art historian Ingeborg Lønning, at the Royal Palace the colours have faded somewhat (e-mail: 26.10.2017). When the tapestries were shown in Queen Sonja's Art Stable during summer 2018, it was possible to get a glimpse of the reverse side of the tapestries. It showed that the background of the frieze depicting Sigurd's fleet was originally blue.

⁵⁹ Letter from Gerhard Munthe to Andreas Aubert, January 1, 1903 (The National Library of Norway). Cited from Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe. En norsk designpioner*, 82. “aldenstund alle Farver paa to nær er udenfor Kompositionenes Tankegang og min Original.”

⁶⁰ Thue, *Frida Hansen: en europeer i norsk tekstilkunst omkring 1900*, 67, 72.

A sound of festivity fills the air and makes them shine like a clear day in the large room, with an undertone of Norwegian colour, similar to the weft of folksong in our music.⁶¹

In addition to the strong synaesthetic bent of Thommessen's critique, he clearly voices the theme "Norway in the world," which, as we have seen, was an important concern at the time. This theme applies both to Sigurd the Crusader and to the tapestries going to be shown at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. The Norwegian poet and author Vilhelm Krag, writing for the newspaper *Morgenbladet*, praises the tapestries' style and colours:

Munthe's tapestries have a vigorous celebratory character of their own. Their lines are large and sharp-edged, their colours simple and virile. His straight-backed posture and fair skin are somehow suggestive of nascent majesty. . . . It is like the proud, unadorned style of the saga, transformed into colours.⁶²

While Thommessen considers the tapestries in musical terms, Krag compares their style to the literary style of the sagas. In both cases they are linked to other art forms considered to be outstanding expressions of national character. In Krag's critique, their linear, simple, and dignified style is also clearly associated with masculinity.

Frida Hansen and her workshop not only presented the tapestries of Sigurd the Crusader, but also contributed a collection of tapestries based on Hansen's own designs. Her two main works were "The Dance of Salomé" [*Salomes dans*] (Fig. 28.10) and "The Five Wise and the Five Foolish Virgins" [*De fem kloge og de fem daarlige Jomfruer*]. Her choice of motifs was based on those of old Norwegian tapestries, but stylistically her works were distinctly art nouveau. Several of the critics compared Munthe's and Hansen's works, and in these discussions, questions about which works represented a true national art were prominent. Interestingly, these questions were also connected with gender issues. Krag's critique in *Morgenbladet* continued: "In contrast, Mrs Frida Hansen's monumental 'The Dance of Salomé' seems effeminately oriental."⁶³ Rolf Thommessen also

⁶¹ "Norrønafolk, det vil fare! En Pragt som Griegs Musik ejer de to Tæpper, hvor Gerhard Munthe lader Sigurd Jorsalfar ride ud av Jorsal og ind i Myklagaard. En Klang af Fest, der fylder Luften og lader dem lyse som en klar Dag i det store Rum, og i en Undertone af norsk Farve som Folkevisens Islæt i vor Musik." Rolf Thommessen, "Det norske Billedværeri," *Verdens Gang*, March 12, 1900.

⁶² "Der er over Munthes Billedvæv en egen kraftfuld Festivitas. Linierne er store og meislede, Farverne enkle og mandige. Der er ligesom en majestætisk Optakt over Sigurd Jorsalfars lyse, ranke Skikkelse. . . . Det er ligesom Sagaens knappe, stolte Stil omsat i Farver." *Morgenbladet*, March 13, 1900, signed VK. Art historian Jan Kokkin has identified VK as Vilhelm Krag. Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe. En norsk designpioner*, 82.

⁶³ "I Modsætning dertil virker Fru Frida Hansens mægtige Salomes Dans blødaktig orientalsk." Vilhelm Krag, *Morgenbladet*, March 13, 1900.



Fig. 28.10: Frida Hansen, *The Dance of Salomé*, 1900. 193 x 682 cm. Museum für Gestaltung, Zürich.

contrasted the masculine style of Munthe’s art with the feminine style of Frida Hansen’s:

If Munthe’s art is manly, because it is never afraid of underlining contrast, and because it is satisfied only with what is most distinct in form as well as in colour, it is not difficult to see that Mrs Frida Hansen’s tapestries are made by a woman. The colours are much more subdued and more seductive, the forms softer and her art is on the whole more softspoken.⁶⁴

Art historian Anniken Thue compares the receptions of Frida Hansen’s and Gerhard Munthe’s works when they were shown in Kristiania and in Paris. She concludes that both were praised for their works. However, it was generally Frida Hansen’s ornamental works – for example tapestries with floral motifs – that found favour with the critics. Tapestries like “The Dance of Salomé” were habitually compared with Munthe’s works and were criticized for a lack of national character.⁶⁵

After the exhibition in Kristiania, Frida Hansen’s and Munthe’s tapestries were exhibited in the Norwegian pavilion at the Exposition Universelle which opened in Paris in April 1900. Norway contributed a large number of tapestries which in general were favourably received by the international critics.⁶⁶ Ferdinand Leborgne,

⁶⁴ “Er Munthes kunst mandig, fordi den aldrig frygter for at understrege Modsætninger, og fordi den i Form som i Farve kun nøjer sig med det mest utprægede, saa er det ikke vanskelig at se, at Fru Frida Hansens Tepper er gjort af en Kvinde. Farverne er langt blødere og mere indsmigrende, Formerne mygere, og den hele kunst stilfærdigere.” Rolf Thommessen, “Det norske Billedvæveri,” *Verdens Gang*, March 12, 1900.

⁶⁵ Thue, *Frida Hansen: en europeer i norsk tekstilkunst omkring 1900*, 74. Thue points out a paradox, because Hansen’s motifs were also firmly rooted in the Norwegian tapestry tradition. *The Five Wise and the Five Foolish Virgins* was, for example, the theme of a Norwegian tapestry from about 1650 which was known at the time.

⁶⁶ In addition to works by Gerhard Munthe and Frida Hansen’s company The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company, tapestries made at Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseums Vævscole og Atelier for Kunstvævning were on show. K. V. Hammer, *Norges Deltagelse i Verdensudstillingen Paris 1900: Beretning* (Kristiania: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri A/S, 1904), 69.

who wrote the official report of the jury, praised the Norwegian tapestry production as “a true revelation to the world.”⁶⁷ He credits Munthe for having created a true national decorative style.⁶⁸ The Norwegian Tapestry Weaving Company received a gold medal for their collection of tapestries, including the two tapestries of Sigurd, and both Frida Hansen and Gerhard Munthe received gold medals for their participation in the making of the tapestries.⁶⁹

The Making of The National Tapestries

In March 1900, shortly before the Exposition Universelle opened in Paris, a group of twenty-seven prominent Norwegian citizens submitted a proposal to the Norwegian Parliament. They represented many different occupations and professions and included artists, academics, lawyers, politicians, churchmen, and several others.⁷⁰ They were concerned that the tapestries might be bought and taken out of the country, and urged Parliament to grant the necessary sum to secure them for the Norwegian State. They argued that the tapestries represented the pinnacle of a new national art, and thus it would be appropriate if the Norwegian State bought them before the exhibition in Paris opened and presented them as a national treasure.⁷¹

67 “sand aabenbarelse for alverden.” Hammer, *Norges Deltagelse i Verdensudstillingen Paris 1900: Beretning*, 172.

68 Hammer, *Norges Deltagelse i Verdensudstillingen Paris 1900: Beretning*, 173. Leborgne does not explicitly mention *The National Tapestries*, and he also praises Frida Hansen and Augusta Christensen. The international reception in general did not draw such a clear line between Munthe’s and Hansen’s works regarding national character. Thue, *Frida Hansen: en europeer i norsk tekstilkunst omkring 1900*, 78.

69 Munthe’s participation at the exhibition also included a selection of paintings, and he was dissatisfied because he did not in addition receive the Grand Prix for these works. On the controversy of the medals, see Thue, *Frida Hansen: en europeer i norsk tekstilkunst omkring 1900*, 80–2; and Kokkin, *Gerhard Munthe. En norsk designpioner*, 85.

70 The proposal was signed by art historian Andreas Aubert; the painters Eilif Peterssen and Erik Werenskiold; director of the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design Henrik Grosch; museum pioneer Hans Aall; polar explorer and national hero Frithjof Nansen; historian Ernst Sars; philologist and translator Alexander Seippel; chief librarian Axel Charlot Drolsum; psalmist Elias Blix; meteorologist Henrik Mohn; folklorist Moltke Moe; architect Adolf Schirmer; lawyer Bernhard Getz; E. Schønberg; mathematician Elling Holst; former prime minister Francis Hagerup; historian Alexander Bugge; art historian Lorentz Dietrichson; writer Arne Garborg; bishop Anton Christian Bang; lawyer Nikolaus Gjelsvik; linguist Hans Ross; priest Christopher Bruun; singer and composer Thorvald Lammers; and the mayor of Kristiania, Hagbard Emanuel Berner.

71 Stortinget, “Indst. S. XXVI. Indstilling fra budgetkomiteen angaaende bevilgning til videnskabelige, litterære og kunstneriske formaal (St. Prp. Nr. 1, hovedpost IV, kap. 3, St. Prp. Nr. 38 samt dok. Nr. 9, 10, 12 og 38),” accessed November 3, 2017, https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlinger/Lesevisning/?p=1899-00&paid=6&wid=a&psid=DIVL2217&pgid=a_1612.

Furthermore, they argued that “as national tapestries” the works would “speak loud and clear . . . about the old roots and sovereignty of the Norwegian Kingdom.”⁷² The proposal also suggested that the tapestries be given a ceremonial role. It was pointed out that the format of the tapestries had been chosen to fit the Cathedral at Trondheim (today’s Nidaros Cathedral), and that it would be particularly appropriate to use them at coronation ceremonies: “They will, in particular during coronation ceremonies in the Dome of Olaf, both for the heirs of the Norwegian throne, as well as for the Norwegian people, respectfully bear witness to the prestige of our ancient kingdom.”⁷³ It was suggested that the tapestries should be kept at one of Norway’s three museums of decorative art and design. However, because these museums did not possess the means to buy the tapestries, the proposers urged Parliament to grant the necessary sum of 10,800 Norwegian *Kroner* in order to secure them “as national tapestries for the Norwegian State.”⁷⁴ Judging from the material I have studied so far, this proposal seems to launch the term *National Tapestries*. At times, the tapestries were also referred to as *The Jorsal Tapestries* [*Jorsal-teppærne*]. Yet, giving them the name *The National Tapestries* was an important statement and argument. Was the Parliament convinced by it?

The committee discussing the proposal concluded that although several of its members were sympathetic to the cause, the budget was already stretched. Therefore, with the exception of one member (Carl Berner), they recommended that the grant not be made. The committee’s recommendation was presented to Parliament, and the matter was discussed and put to a vote on May 22, 1900. All but fifteen members voted against buying the tapestries.

The very same day, the newspaper *Verdens Gang* published an article by art historian Andreas Aubert – one of the proposers. In his article, several of the arguments of the original proposal were repeated and elaborated. He started by stating that the art of tapestry weaving had deep roots in Norway, and drew a line from the Middle Ages up to his own times, stating that this old tradition was still alive in remote areas in Norway. He pointed out that at the very time peasants were giving

72 “Som Norges rigstepper vil de overfor verden tale klart og lydt . . . om det norske kongedømmets gamle rodfæstede suverænitet . . .” Stortinget, “Indst. S. XXVI. Indstilling fra budgetkomiteen angaaende bevilgning til videnskabelige, litterære og kunstneriske formaal (St. prp. nr. 1, hovedpost IV, kap. 3, St. prp. nr. 38 samt dok. nr. 9, 10, 12 og 38).”

73 “særlig under kroningshøitiderne i Olafs døm vil de, for arvtagerne af Norges kongetrone, som for det norske folk, vidne pietetsfuldt om det ældgamle kongedømmes heder.” Stortinget, “Indst. S. XXVI. Indstilling fra budgetkomiteen angaaende bevilgning til videnskabelige, litterære og kunstneriske formaal (St. prp. nr. 1, hovedpost IV, kap. 3, St. prp. nr. 38 samt dok. nr. 9, 10, 12 og 38).” I have not yet succeeded in finding out more about the decision to choose a format that would fit the interior of the Nidaros Cathedral. On St Olav and Nidaros Cathedral, see also Chapter 14 (Øystein Ekroll), vol. 1, 270–98.

74 “som rigstepper for den norske stat.” Stortinget, “Indst. S. XXVI. Indstilling fra budgetkomiteen angaaende bevilgning til videnskabelige, litterære og kunstneriske formaal (St. prp. nr. 1, hovedpost IV, kap. 3, St. prp. nr. 38 samt dok. nr. 9, 10, 12 og 38).”

it up, men and women in the towns were reviving the old art of tapestry weaving.⁷⁵ Although Aubert regarded buying the tapestries to be a national responsibility, he also appealed to private donors, in case Parliament declined.

What happened after Parliament refused to buy the tapestries? About a year later, in March 1901, the tapestries reappeared in a short notice in the newspaper *Aftenposten* concerning their being mounted in the main staircase of the Royal Palace. The hanging is only a trial: Electrical wiring is being installed in the Palace and the works involved could damage the tapestries. The notice states that the tapestries had indeed been bought on the initiative of and by donations from a number of private citizens, and given to the Royal Palace.⁷⁶ Their action ensured that the tapestries remained in Norway. Moreover, by donating them to the Royal Palace, and not to one of the Norwegian museums, they also managed to strengthen their symbolic significance. Their being hung in the main staircase – where every visitor to the Palace would encounter them – suggested, very directly, an association between King Sigurd and the contemporary Kingdom of Norway (Fig. 28.3). Paradoxically perhaps, when the tapestries were first mounted, the king was Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway.

Although Parliament had refused to buy the tapestries, they appeared once again on its agenda. In the state budget for 1902–1903, a proposal was made to grant 1,000 Norwegian *Kroner* to secure *The National Tapestries* – which by now had been placed permanently in the Royal Palace – and to paint the walls a more suitable colour. Following expert advice, the government proposed to secure the works by mounting protective textiles on their reverse sides, and to provide curtains which could cover them when the Palace was not in use.⁷⁷

When the matter was debated in Parliament November 14, 1902, the proposal had already been reduced to 300 Norwegian *Kroner* and the representatives were to decide only for or against the security measures. One member considered these measures to be “a pure waste,” but after the Minister of Finance, Elias Sunde, had explained the matter more carefully, the proposal was adopted unanimously.⁷⁸ This

75 Albert Aubert, “Jorsalfar-Tæpperne. Luksus eller Statsøkonomi,” [The Jorsalfar Tapestries. Luxury or Economy of State], *Verdens Gang*, May 22, 1900.

76 “I Slottets Hovedopgang,” [In the Main Entrance to the Royal Palace] *Aftenposten*, March 20, 1901. So far, I have not been able to ascertain who were the generous donors. Judging from the notice in *Aftenposten*, it seems likely that the money was raised mainly by or among the men who had signed the original proposal.

77 St. prp. nr. 1. Hovedpost 1. (1902–1903) Det kongelige hus og de til hans Majestæt Kongens disposition stillede Statseiendomme [The Royal Palace and the other Properties of State at his Majesty the King's Disposition], p. 4, accessed November 3, 2017, https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlinger/Lesevisning/?p=1902-03&paid=1&wid=a&psid=DIVL1951&pgid=a_1142.

78 “rent sløseri.” The Minister of Finance mentions that the tapestries had been bought for NOK 8,000, that is, NOK 3,300 less than their original price. Stortinget, “Møde den 14de november kl.10 form,” accessed November 3, 2017, https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlinger/Lesevisning/?p=1902-03&paid=7&wid=a&psid=DIVL640&pgid=a_0349.

decision demonstrates that although the tapestries were bought by private means, Parliament felt some responsibility for securing the works once they had been donated to the Royal Palace.

Aubert's and the other proposers' vision of using the tapestries at coronation ceremonies in the Nidaros Cathedral was never realized. The National Tapestries continued to embellish the main staircase at the Royal Palace until the 1990s. At that time, they were taken down in connection with the extensive restoration works at the Palace, which took place from about 1993 to 2000. In 2015 the tapestries were on loan for the exhibition *The Magic North* in Helsinki, and in the summer of 2018 they were shown at the exhibition *Tradition and Inspiration* in Queen Sonja's Art Stable in Oslo. Except for these two exhibitions, the tapestries have been stored in the magazines of the Royal Palace. The decision to store them rather than remount them in their former place might well be due to concerns about their conservation. However, it is difficult not to reflect on changes of mentality and political climate that have taken place during the last century, concerning nationalism in general and the Crusades in particular. Although the tapestries maintain their great decorative effect, their heroic portrayal of King Sigurd on his crusade to the Holy Land might today seem somewhat problematic.

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