

Tracing the Jerusalem Code 3

Tracing the Jerusalem Code

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

Edited by
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In memory of Erling Sverdrup Sandmo (1963–2020)

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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 legitimization 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 story-world 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).

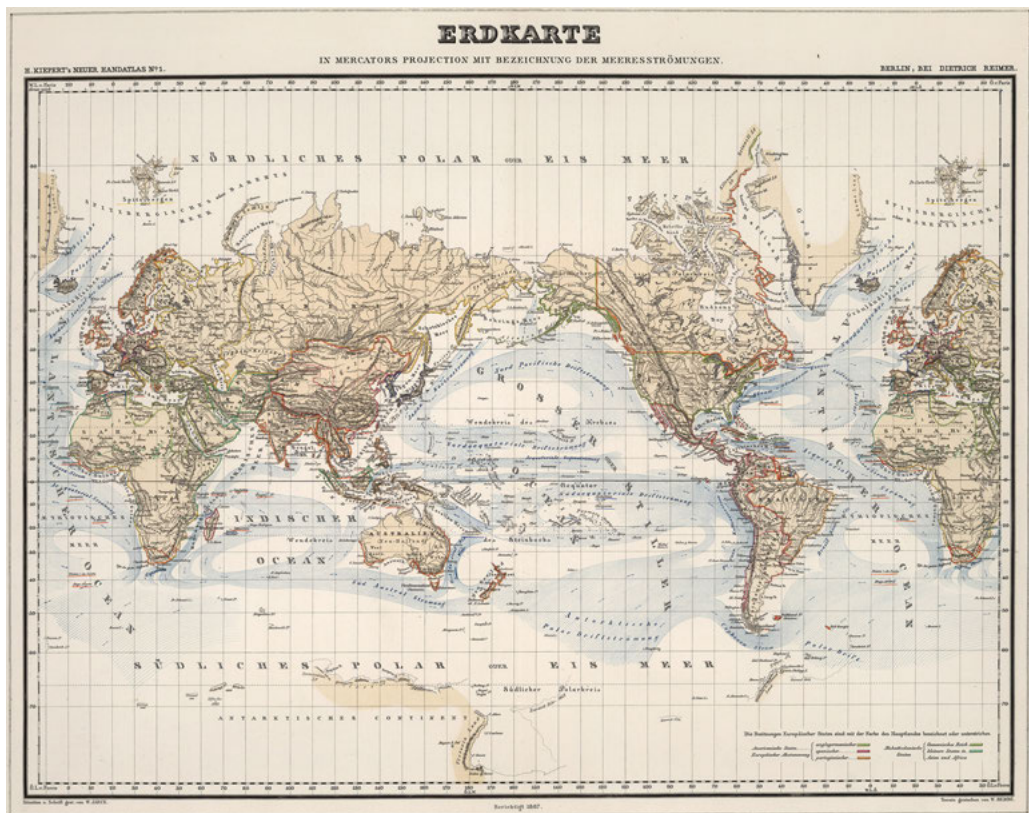


Fig. 1.0: World Map in Mercator's Projection with Distinctive Features and Ocean Currents [Erdkarte in Mercators Projection mit Bezeichnung der Meeresströmungen], 1867, Heinrich Kiepert. Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection.

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 exegesis. 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 Sparn), 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 Occidental," 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,

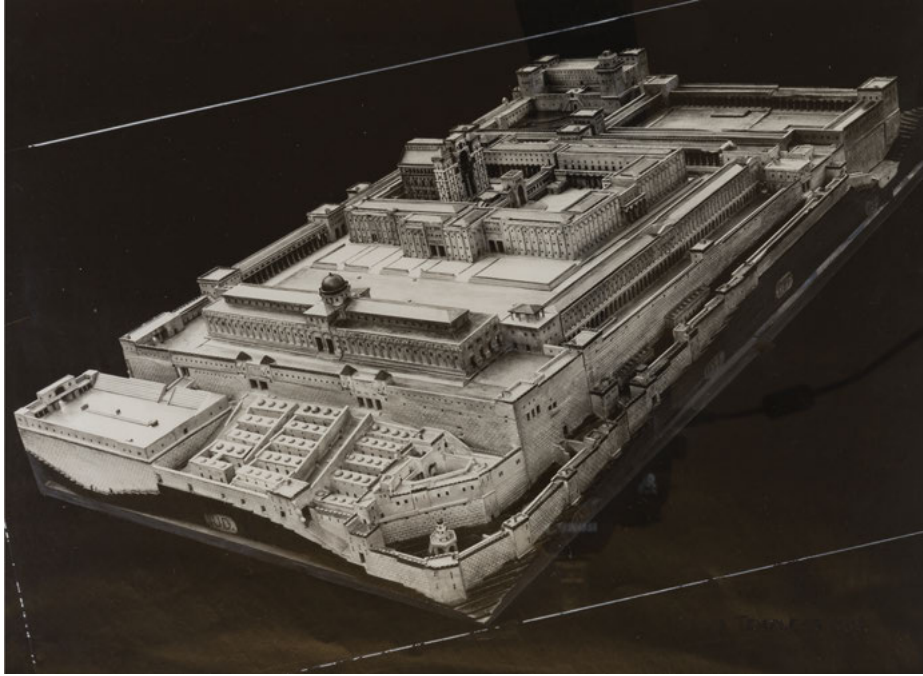


Fig. 1.3: Another of Conrad Schick's models: Herod's Temple, 1898–1916. American Colony Photo-Dept. Photographic print, hand-drawing. Sven Hedin Foundation, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

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 Tusculanum 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 Palménfelt, *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; Børte 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 genom-brott. 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 Researchers 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 Researchers 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, discomforted 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 reinstitution 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*, fortalet 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 Sparn 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 Neuherrenhut, 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 Neuherrenhut. In contrast, *Chapter 6*, by Birgitte Hammersø,