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Chapter 12

“Who Can Approach our Jerusalem without Weeping?”: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Danish Sources, 1515–1729

The Roman destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 was an important event in the Christian storyworld. Nine sermons which treat this event, on the tenth Sunday after Trinitatis, from 1515 to 1762, make up the core of this article. In these early Protestant texts, the destruction of Jerusalem was not primarily understood according to the chronology of the triumphant Church replacing the defeated synagogue. It was rather understood as a response to a certain continuous human status in front of God. The history was a warning and the presence of the catastrophe became urgent when the preachers no longer viewed the Roman emperors as proto-Christian heroes defeating Judaism, but placed their congregation in line with the Jews of Jerusalem. What had happened to Jerusalem could also happen to Copenhagen. The survey of sermons from a span of almost two hundred years demonstrates how the preachers adapted their message to new historical situations. It also demonstrates that as time passed, however, the warning message loosened its tie to the historical city of Jerusalem. This happened while the function of the story shifted from being a tool of discipline for the government to becoming an internal and individualized Jerusalem memory.

Copenhagen – As in Jerusalem

In his ten-volume chronicle, the Danish historian Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609) described the siege of Copenhagen in 1536.¹ It was a terrible sight, just before the final surrender to the party of the reformation king, Christian III. The city lacked food supplies and heartbreaking scenes of starvation were played out with people collapsing and dying in the streets. Children were suckling blood from their dead mothers' breasts. There had never been any hunger like this in the memory of man, Huitfeldt could insure the

¹ Arild Huitfeldt, *En kaart historiske Beskriffuelse, Paa hues merckeligt, som sig Aarlige under Kong Christian Den Tredie . . . haffuer tildragit* (Copenhagen: Matz Vingaard, 1595), fol. Aa.iii.

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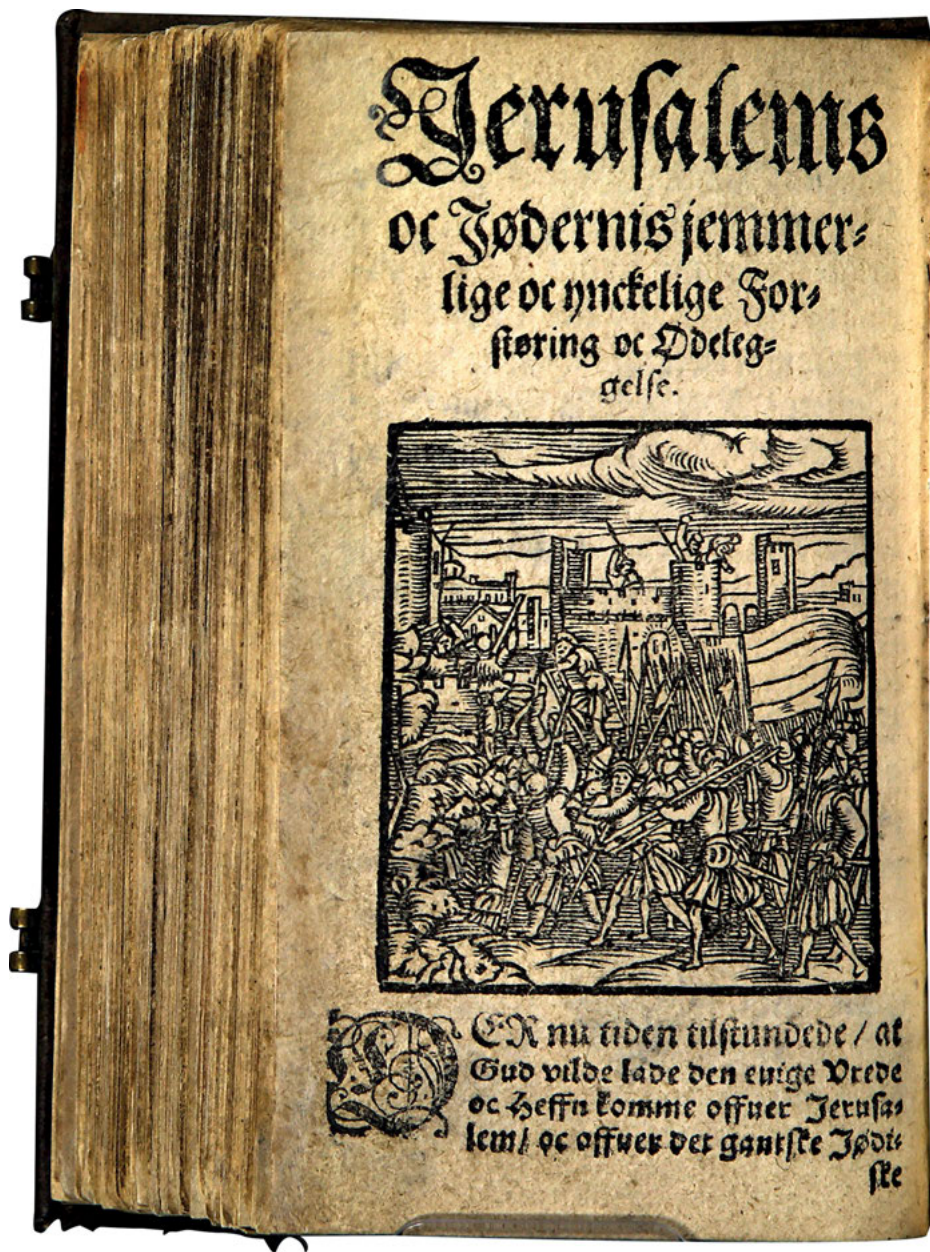


Fig. 12.1: Title page of Peder Tideman, *Jerusalemis oc Jødernis Jemmerlige oc Yncelige forstoringe / kaartelige aff Josephi Historie fordansket* (*The pitiful and miserable destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews briefly recorded in Danish after Josephus' Historia*) (1587). The illustration shows the Romans' destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70.

reader. The only comparable example people could imagine, was what had once happened during the siege of Jerusalem. Huitfeldt described the capital as the “Jerusalem of Copenhagen” (*Københavnske Jerusalem*). The resemblance was close, but not total. When people went to the City Major and the magistrates of Copenhagen to complain of their misery and hunger, it was only to hear that they had not yet eaten their own children, as they had done in Jerusalem.² The text is an early example of how the inhabitants of early modern Denmark–Norway used the destruction of Jerusalem in the year AD 70 as a main model and a mirror when they interpreted their own times and the lives of their citizens. It was easy to imagine that what had happened to Jerusalem in AD 70 could also happen to Copenhagen or any other city.

The main question addressed in this article is how the early modern pastors construed this bridge between the listener’s situation in early modern Denmark–Norway and the situation in Jerusalem. The sources show how the allegorical interpretation of the text gradually loosened the tie from the actual history of the destruction. At the same time, the function of the story shifted from being a tool of discipline for the government to becoming an internal and individualized Jerusalem memory.

The “Judensonntag”

In their Sunday sermons, the pastors in early modern Denmark–Norway often referred to Jerusalem. The images of the city differed according to the Gospel of the day. During the liturgical year it varied from the city on the hill, the dwelling place of God, the scene of Christ’s entrance on Palm Sunday, of the crucifixion and the resurrection, the city of sin, and the future goal, the heavenly city. At least once a year it was the destruction of Jerusalem that was painted before the eyes of the audience.³ In German-speaking areas, at least from the sixteenth century onwards, it was called the “Jüdensonntag.”⁴ Each tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* the pastor read the Gospel according to Luke 19:41–48 – Christ cries over Jerusalem and predicts its coming catastrophe, because the Jewish citizens did not recognize the time of visitation. It was a widespread interpretation to explain the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in AD 70 as the fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy. During

2 “Vaar der oc saadan hunger i Kiøbenhaffn/ at mand aldrig aff saadan haffde hørt at sige/ lige fast ved den i Jerusalem. Oc naar nogen gick til Byes Borgermestere oc Øffrigheden/ oc klagede deris Nød oc hunger/ da gaffve de dennem kaarte svar/ bade dennem gaa hiem igjen/ de haffde icke endda ædit deris egne Børn/ som de gjorde i Jerusalem,” Huitfeldt, *En kaart historiske Beskriffuelse*, fol. Aa.iii.

3 The epistles and Gospel texts were taken from the Roman *Missale*.

4 Irene Mildemberger, *Der Israelsonntag – Gedenktag der Zerstörung Jerusalems. Untersuchungen zu seiner homiletischen und liturgischen Gestaltung in der evangelischen Tradition* (Berlin: Intitut Kirche und Judentum, 2004), 30–34. See also Evelina Volkmann, *Vom “Judensonntag” zum “Israelsonntag”. Predigtarbeit im Horizont des christlich-jüdischen Gesprächs* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 2002), 20–95.

the Catholic period the history of the destruction was read as a narrative celebrating the military and ideological triumph of Christianity.⁵ Lutheran hermeneutics, however, prepared the way for a new reading of the Gospel and a new function of the history of the destruction. According to these hermeneutics, the early modern congregation was placed in the same situation as the Jews in Jerusalem. Like the Jerusalem Jews, the Christian congregation was also confronted with a new presence of the Word of God. The reading of the Gospel and the subsequent destruction thus turned into a warning.

Nine sermons on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* in various postillae from 1515 to 1762 comprise the core of this article.⁶ This survey of sermons, spanning almost two hundred years, demonstrates how the preachers adapted their message to new historical situations.

The knowledge of the history of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in early modern Denmark–Norway derived from Flavius Josephus’s description of the catastrophe, transmitted in *De belli Judaica* (75–79).⁷ The text had been revised into a German version in 1534 by Johannes Bugenhagen,⁸ and this version became the basis for the Danish version published by Peder Tideman in 1539 (*Jerusalem oc Jødemis jemmerlige oc yncelige Forstöring //kortelige aff Josephi historie fordansket* (Fig. 12.1)).⁹ Tideman’s version of the event gained an almost canonical status in post-reformation Danish culture. In Danish literature, this tract became the most widespread and long-lived polemics against Jews and Judaism. In Germany, Bugenhagen had since 1534 added his version to his Gospel harmony of the Passion (1524), while in Denmark, Tideman’s version was added to Tausen’s postilla (1539), and to Peder Palladius’s translation of Bugenhagen’s Gospel harmony, as well as to bibles, psalm books, and different kinds of devotional literature.¹⁰ Bugenhagen’s and then Tideman’s version of the destruction were thus both liturgical and pedagogical parts of the explanation of the Gospel. Since Bugenhagen’s time it was a widespread tradition, at least in Germany, to

5 See also Chapter 3 (Beatrice Groves) 54–61.

6 The row of fixed biblical texts for each Sunday of the church year constituted the basis for a vast publication of different *postillae*.

7 Josephus wrote his work in Greek, and most of the medieval preachers relied on one of the two Latin translations, both from late antiquity, Jussi Hanska, “Preachers as Historians: The Case of the Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42, no. 1 (2012): 32. On the Christian use of Josephus’s writings, see Heinz Schreckenberg, “Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art,” in *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*, eds. Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert (Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992).

8 Johan Bugenhagen, *Das leiden und Aufferstehung vnsers HERRN Jhesu Christi* (Wittemberg: Georg Rhaw, 1544).

9 Lausten, Martin Schwartz. *Kirke og synagoge. Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 303.

10 Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 312.

read Josephus’s account at vespers on this particular Sunday, the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*.

This Sunday consisted of the concurrence of three elements: the Gospel text from Luke 19:41–48, the specific history of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, and the knowledge that the specific celebration concurred with the Jewish mourning of the actual destruction.¹¹

The tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* was part of the mobile liturgical year, and was most often celebrated in August. This was also the month when the Jews commemorated and mourned the destruction of their Temple, at the day of *Tisha B’Av* (9th of Ab). Already the church father Jerome (347–420) had referred to the Jewish mourning in Jerusalem on this particular date.¹² He contrasted the pitiful procession of lamenting Jews encircling the city of Jerusalem with the golden crosses overlooking them from the summit of the Mount of Olives and from the dome of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³ It was a visualization of the main model – defeated Judaism and triumphant Christianity.¹⁴ Amnon Linder has shown how the Christian Church had already evolved a proper liturgy and texts to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem, analogous to the Jewish 9th of Ab, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great in the sixth century.¹⁵

The Jewish mourning and the Christian triumph were intertwined, and sometimes their interdependency was expressed even more clearly. A pregnant example is from *San Giovanni in Laterano*, the papal basilica in Rome.¹⁶ From at least the

11 According to Amnon Linder, the Gospel of Luke 19 was introduced as the Gospel lesson proper to this Sunday in about the middle of the eighth century: Amnon Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” *Sacris Erudiri* 30 (1987–88), 263. The commemoration of the *Destructio* of Jerusalem on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* was fixed from the eleventh century Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 269. He traces, however, the intended concurrence between the text of the Christian liturgy and the time of the Jewish celebration back to the origin of the commemoration by Gregory the Great (see below, n. 17). Irene Mildener’s sources and observations differ slightly from Linder’s (Mildener, *Der Israelsonntag*, 54–57). According to Mildener the Gospel of Luke 19 was part of the readings on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* from the eleventh century onwards (at least). The earliest reference she knows for the concurrence of the destruction and the Jewish mourning occurs from the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis, “Gemma Animae,” in *PL* 172. While Linder uses a vast number of liturgical sources, Mildener has only investigated the sermons, which provide less evidence.

12 There existed, however, different liturgical systems. The particular Gospel was read on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* according to Parisian or Dominican liturgy, or on the ninth Sunday after Pentecost according to Franciscan or Roman liturgy, Hanska, “Preachers as Historians,” 31.

13 Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Sophoriam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76 A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 673. According to Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253.

14 “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253–92, 53.

15 Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253–92. Lindner argues that the concurrence with the Jewish mourning was intended in both the origin of the commemoration during the time of Gregory the Great, and during the period of reintroduction and reconfirmation in the eighth century. Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 275–78.

16 See also Chapter 3 in volume 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55.

twelfth century it is reported how the Roman Jews observed that the columns of the canopy were sweating on this special day of mourning.¹⁷ The columns were allegedly *spolia* from the Temple of Solomon, brought to Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem.

The concurrence of these three elements, the Gospel text, the history of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, and the Jewish mourning, points to a certain connection between history and message. To the Lutheran congregations in the sixteenth century, the bridge from the situation in Jerusalem and the subsequent destruction of the city to the sermon in the city church, was not a physical link like sweating columns, but depended on the reception of the Gospel.

History, Allegory, or Both?

Throughout the Middle Ages the explanation of Luke 19 shows a variety of interpretations.¹⁸ The great homiletic, Pope Gregory the Great (c.540–604) paved the way with his allegorical and moralistic explanation of the text. It was originally delivered at the Lateran Basilica (590–92), but was later included in his collection of homilies, so that it was spread through hundreds of copied manuscripts and widely quoted by later preachers.¹⁹ To Gregory, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperors was the evident reason for the tears of Christ in Luke 19:41: “No one who has read the story of the destruction of Jerusalem brought about by the Roman rulers Vespasian and Titus is ignorant that it occasioned the Lord’s weeping.”²⁰ This historical fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy, or rather, the reason for Christ’s foreseeing, is merely a fact in Gregory’s explanation, and the actual situation in the Gospel

17 Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 7. “In the church of St John in the Lateran there are two bronze columns taken from the temple, the handiwork of King Solomon, each column being engraved ‘Solomon the son of David.’ The Jews of Rome told me that every year upon the 9th of Ab they found the columns exuding moisture like water. There is also the cave where Titus the son of Vespasian stored the temple vessels which he brought from Jerusalem.”

18 Mildenerger, *Der Israelsonntag*, 30–57.

19 For example Bede in his *Expositio Lucae* (709–15); the *Glossa Ordinaria* and several late medieval biblical commentaries, see Hanska, “Preachers as Historians”. Mildenerger notes several sermons that referred to Gregory’s account and explanations, mostly German, Mildenerger, *Der Israelsonntag*, 43–48, 49. (t.ex Johannes Tauler (1300–61)). Gregory’s text is not necessarily linked to the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, as there is no indication on which liturgical occasion the sermon was delivered, cf. Magnus Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, Cistercian Studies Series 123 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 357–69. See also Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 263.

20 Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 123, 357.

is therefore not worthy of more than a short literal explanation before Gregory develops the moral interpretation. Since earthly Jerusalem and the Temple had lost its religious significance, it was the allegorical message that was the focus:

But we know that Jerusalem has already been overthrown, and transformed into something better by its overthrow; we know that the robbers have been banished from the Temple, and the Temple itself torn down. Since this is so, we must extract some inner similitude from these external events; these overthrown buildings must cause us to fear the ruins of our lives. *For seeing the city, he wept over it, saying, If only you at least had known.*²¹

According to Gregory’s interpretation, the city of Jerusalem was a symbol of a perishing soul, and the Temple was the life of religious persons, as well as the heart and conscience of the faithful.²² The message of Gregory was, in order to be recognized at Judgement Day, one must cleanse one’s heart, repent, and unite orthodox faith with good deeds, by doing good even to the repulsive and contemptible among us.²³

Gregory’s allegorical-moral interpretation influenced a certain line of the tradition where the allegorical significance was emphasized. At the same time, another line emphasized the *history* of the destruction in addition to the allegorical interpretation inherited from Gregory. The Carolingian theologian Walafrid Strabo (808/9–849) was one of those who described in detail the horrors of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, before he turned to the allegorical interpretation of Gregory.²⁴ In the Danish tradition, Christiern Pedersen explains the Gospel of Luke 19 according to Nicholas of Lyra, in his *Jærtegnpostille* from 1515 (cf. Fig. 12.2).²⁵

According to Pedersen’s explanation, Christ cried out of compassion for the Jews because of their sin and his knowledge of the coming wrath. He introduces both the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, according to Josephus, as well as eyewitnesses to the ruins of Jerusalem in the sixteenth century, as evidence of the fulfillment of Christ’s prediction.²⁶ Pedersen does not emphasize any particular significance of the destruction, but highlights a certain historical detail, namely the most dramatic event according to the tradition of Egesippus (second century) and Josephus, about the mother Mary who roasted and ate her own baby because of the hunger caused by the Roman siege. This story obviously upset the audience, and

²¹ Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 359.

²² Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 362–63.

²³ Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 365–68.

²⁴ For the use of history and historical sources in the sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem, see Hanska, “Preachers as Historians.”

²⁵ Christen Pedersen (1480–1515). In addition to comments on all Sundays of the liturgical year, he also added short examples, miracles or other significant stories, which gave the publication its name, *Jærtegnpostillen*.

²⁶ Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia, som lesiss alle Søndage om aared* (Paris: J. B. Ascensius, 1515), fol. clxi.



Fig. 12.2: Illustration to Christiern Pedersen's explanation of Luke 19 on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*: Jesus in the Temple ("And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought", Luke 19:45). From Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler och Evangelia som lesiss alle Søndage om aared* [. . .] (*Jærtegnpostillen*) (1515), fol. clxi.

was what was particularly remembered for generations, as Huitfeldt’s description of the hunger in Copenhagen in 1536 has suggested. In Pedersen’s explanation, the *sensus historicus* is emphasized without any special allegorical or tropological consequences. There was no direct link between the history and his own situation, neither historically nor morally. This situation changed with the reformation when the motive of the destruction gained renewed importance.

History and Presence

In his sermon on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* on 13 August 1525, the German reformer Martin Luther made a direct move from the past to the present historical situation in his own time. It was clearly expressed in the title: “A sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem. In like manner will Germany also be destroyed, if she will not recognize the time of her visitation. What the Temple of God is.”²⁷ It was towards the end of the peasants’ war, and Luther legitimated the slaughtering of the peasants as part of God’s salvation plans in the same way as the destruction of Jerusalem had been part of His plans. During the spring of 1525, between Easter and Pentecost, they had lost almost hundred thousand men, and now Luther feared God would lay the whole of Germany to ruin if the rejection of the Gospel continued. The slaughter was just the beginning of the evil winds, of what he interpreted as God’s awful work. According to Luther, it was a warning to all Germans to receive the teaching of the reformers, unless something even worse would happen.

Luther identified his audience with the Jews in Jerusalem – God’s call in Jerusalem and in Germany was the same. How did Luther construe this bridge? It was all about the true recipients of the Word of God. The first-century Jews and the sixteenth-century Germans met the same Word of God. It was “one and the selfsame Word, the very same God, and the identical Christ, the Jews themselves had; therefore the punishment in body and soul will also most certainly be the same.”²⁸ Luther’s starting point was still nothing other than the *sensus historicus* of the Gospel. This was not Christ’s weeping, but what he wept about, namely the punishment of Jerusalem, caused by the sins of the people. The sin was to despise the Word. This was what happened to the Jews in Jerusalem and was about to happen in Germany as well,

²⁷ Martin Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem. Das teutsch Landt auch also Zerstört werd/ wo es die Zeyt seiner Heymsuchung nicht erkent. Was der Tempel Gottis sey,” (Nürnberg: Andreae, 1525). See also Winfried Frey, “Das Motiv der Zerstörung Jerusalems als Exempel in deutschen Texten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Versuch,” *Derekh Judaica Urbinatensia* (2002): 42.

²⁸ “Denn es ist gleich ein wort/ eben der selbig Got einerley Christus/ wie es die Juden gehabt haben/ Darumb wirt gewislich die straff an leyb und an seel auch geleych sein,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” fol. Aiiiiv.

according to Luther. The situation was in other words exactly the same. In this way, Luther moves the attention from the Jews to a continuous sin, to despising the Word of God. His interpretation does not depend on a certain relation between Jews and Christians. Everyone who has committed this sin could mirror themselves in the Jews.

This was the time of visitation, and if Germany failed to react, she would be destroyed like Jerusalem had been. According to Luther, the fate of Jerusalem was thus a warning to the Christian congregation: “If they are punished who do not know the time of their visitation, what will be done to those who persecute, blaspheme and disgrace the Gospel and the Word of God?”²⁹

To Luther, the history of the destruction was an example of God’s anger and hence a call to fearing God and to conversion:

And the clearer the Word is preached the greater the punishment will be. I fear it will be the destruction of all Germany. Would to God I were a false prophet in this matter. Yet it will most certainly take place. God cannot permit this shameful disregard of his Word to go unpunished, nor will he wait long, for the Gospel is so abundantly proclaimed that it has never been as plainly and clearly taught since the days of the Apostles, as it is at present. Hence it applies to Germany, as I fear it will be destroyed.³⁰

The Time of Visitation in Copenhagen

With the evangelical preaching, the dismissal of the Catholic bishops, and King Christian III’s new Protestant church order in 1536/7, the time of visitation came to Denmark–Norway.

Hans Tausen (1494–1561), the “Danish Luther”, was the reformer most inspired by Martin Luther in Denmark,³¹ and his church postil from 1539 was the most important homiletic publication from the Danish Reformation.³² In his sermon on the

29 “Werden die gestrafft die nicht erkennen das sie sind heymgesucht/ was wirt denen geschehen/ die es vervolgen/ lesteren und schenten,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” A ii. See also Hans Tausen *Sommerdelen aff Postillen* (Magdeburg: Hans Walther, 1539), CXCVII – CXCVIIv.

30 “/unnd ye heller das wort ist/ ye grösser die straff wirt sein. Ich fürcht es werdt das ganz Teutschlandt kostenn/ Gott well das ich eyn falscher Prophet sey im der sach/ Es wirt aber gantz gewis geschehenn/ Gott kan die büberey ungerochenn nicht lassenn/ es wirt auch nicht lang zu sehenn/ den das Evangelium ist so reych geprediget/ das es so klar nicht is gewesen zu der Apostelzeyt. Darum wirt es Teutschlant gelten/ das sorg ich / es mus in grund ghen,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” fol. Aiv–Aivv.

31 Jens Chr. V. Johansen, “Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia,” in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, New History of the Sermon 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 308.

32 Martin Schwarz Lausten lists Peder Palladius and Hans Tausen under common headings in his book, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, since these two theologians had the same views on Jews and Judaism (Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark: From the Middle*

tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* (cf. Fig. 12.3), Tausen insists on the Christian congregation as the direct addressee of Christ’s warning. The move from history to presence comes immediately after the Gospel text. As for Luther, the bridge is the new preaching of the Gospel which establishes the similar situation and *the time of visitation*. While God has offered himself to everyone through his holy Gospel, and offered forgiveness for all sins, eternal blessings, and endless joy, people are nevertheless blinded.³³ The blindness of the Jews and the blindness among the Christians of Tausen’s own time is the same.

In Tausen’s text the destruction of Jerusalem constitutes a certain break in Salvation history. According to Tausen, the catastrophe completes a long line of God’s harsh wrath towards ingratitude, from Noah’s time onwards. Tausen is familiar with Bugenhagen’s version of the history of the destruction that was translated into Danish the same year (1539), and the history refers in detail to Josephus, Egesippus, and Eusebius before it returns to the contemporary message.³⁴ The destruction of Jerusalem was the final punishment towards the Jewish people,³⁵ and the loss of the Jews’ status as God’s chosen people was part of the final punishment. Hans Tausen emphasizes this point as the Christian Church correspondingly is “put

Ages to Recent Times, ca. 1100–1948, Brill Reference Library of Judaism 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 25–28, 25). In comparison to Martin Luther, with whom they had both studied in Wittenberg, Schwarz Lausten concludes: “these two leading Danish reformers were in agreement with Luther in their theological views of Jews and Judaism, but nowhere did they cite or refer to the three anti-Jewish texts written by Luther in 1543 [. . .]. They neither imitated Luther’s vulgar polemical tone nor repeated his suggestion of punishing Jews and casting them out of Christian society. It cannot be determined whether the simple reason was that there were no Jews residing in Denmark yet, or whether it was that they disapproved of this side of their great master,” Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, 28.

33 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIIIv.

34 Tausen was probably influenced by Bugenhagen’s version of the story, as he had translated Bugenhagen’s Gospel harmony into Danish in 1538, but had omitted Bugenhagen’s appendix on the destruction of Jerusalem, which nevertheless was translated and published by Tideman the following year. When Tausen incorporated the passion story into his sermon collection (Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIIIv.), attached to different sermons, he incorporated the destruction (Luke 19) into the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*. The retelling of the history of the destruction and the previous warning fills 4 pages (fols. CXCIIIv–CXCVIv). The total explanation of the Gospel text is rendered from fols. CXCIIv–CXCVIII.

35 “Det skede seg saa wed xl. Aar efter Christi himmelferd/ der Jøderne hadde nu lenge nog dræbt/ fengselet oc foriaget hans troo Christne/ oc wilde jeg y ingen maade lade besige/ at det hellige Evangelium motte bleffuet hørd hoss dennom/ da wilde Gud nu føre sin endelige straff offver dennom/ thi lod han dennom falde wdi ett stort howmod emod de Romerske herrer til deres egen forderffuelse.” (*It happened 40 years after the ascension of Christ/ when the Jews for long enough had killed/ imprisoned and haunted his faithful Christians/ and I would in no way let it be said/ that the holy Gospel was heard among them/ then God would bring his final punishment on them/ and because of this he let them fall in great pride against the Roman masters to their own destruction.*) Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIVv.

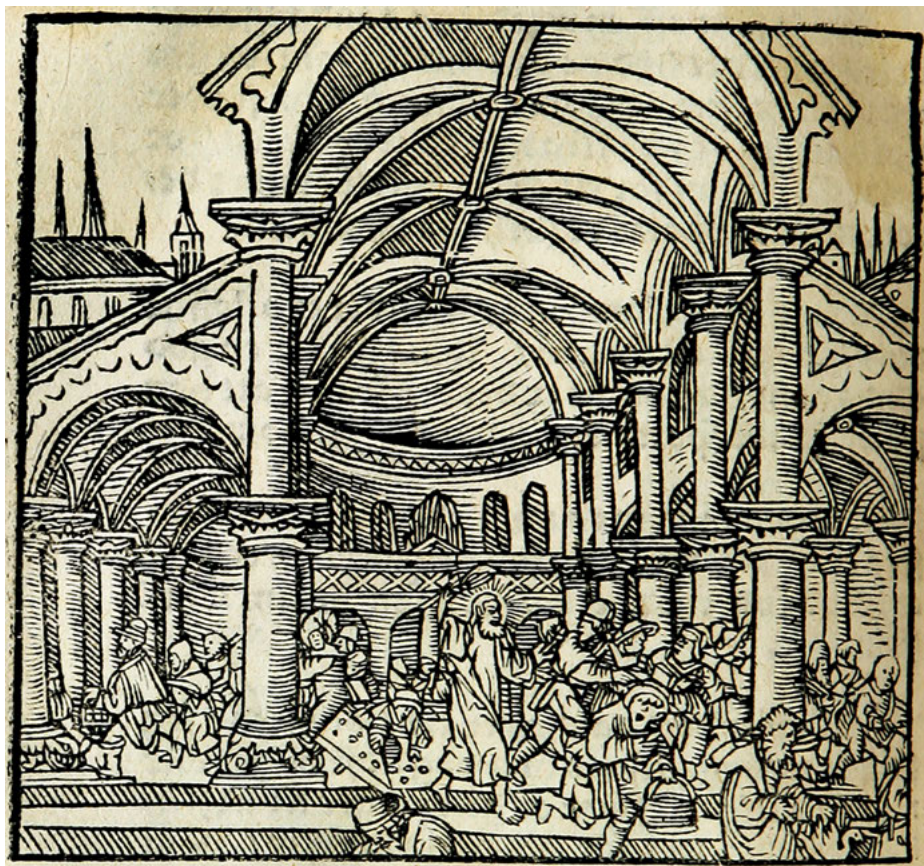


Fig. 12.3: Illustration to Hans Tausen's explanation of Luke 19 on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* (Jesus in the Temple, according to Luke 19). From Hans Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen berid aff M. Hans Tausen/Predickere i Kiøbenhaffn* (1539), fol. CXCIIv.

in their [the Jews'] place."³⁶ The loss of the Jews' status as "chosen" was evident both regarding the holy city, and the holy people. The city was destroyed, and the people were forced into slavery. It was a reversed position which according to Tausen had continued until the present time.³⁷

³⁶ Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCVII–CXCVIIv.

³⁷ "[. . .] huilken forachtelse dennom endu paahenger/ att ehwor de ere y werden/ da ere de ickun andet folks abern (e?)/ der som de før wore ett hederligt folk for alle andre offuer all werden/ Ja en Guds besynderlig eyndom oc ett helligt wdworld folk." ("[. . .] a contempt that still clings to them/ that wherever they are in the world/ then they are just other people's monkeys [aberne?] they who previous were a righteous people to all others above the whole world/Yes, a particular property of God and a holy chosen people.") (ibid., fol. CXCv).

The sin of the Jews was in not recognizing the mercy offered to them in this special time of visitation.³⁸ As Luther had also explained, the destruction was thus a necessary consequence of their own blindness. There had been several signs before the destruction to open their eyes, and Tausen refers to a certain star, a comet, a monstrous lamb, and other warnings, that all were elements of the literary transmission of Josephus, rendered in different versions by both Bugenhagen and Tideman,³⁹ but “neither knowledge nor instruction, tokens or signs from heaven/ that they would know the time of grace.”⁴⁰ At last, Tausen returns to his own time, the present *time of visitation*: “This horrible and awful example we should also indeed heed/ and take notice of/ that God has also visited us in this time of grace/ after we have been in great aberration/but we did not pay much attention to this.”⁴¹ And he concludes with the obvious warning: “Because if God did not save such a beloved people [. . .] why should he save us heathens who have been put in their place.”⁴²

In 1539, the same year as Tausen’s *Postilla*, Peder Tideman’s version of Josephus/Bugenhagen was also published. Compared to Bugenhagen’s version it was harsher towards the Jews, and even more polarized, to the advantage of the Romans against the Jews.⁴³ One reason for this was probably the fact that, unlike in Germany, there were no known Jews in Denmark–Norway in the sixteenth century. In the history of the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the city, the Jews were merely a rhetorical tool for the message of conversion.⁴⁴ Their example was meant

[. . .] for us to see / in what way God has always punished his people because of their Sin/ and that we should learn by that/ to behave according to the Word of God/ and let it penetrate our hearts/ that such torment and disaster/ will not assault us/ as happened to them.⁴⁵

38 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCI, CXCV.

39 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCV–CXCVI. Schwartz Lausten discusses the different variants of the tradition of the signs, cf. Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, 313–14, 320–21.

40 “der hialp hwercken lærdom eller undervissning iertegne eller himmeltegne/ att de wilde kende den naadelige tyd,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCVI.

41 “Dette gruelige oc forfærelige exempel skulle wii alt ocsaa achte noget/ oc tencke der paa/ att gud haffuer ocsaa besøgt oss ii denne naadelige tiid / effter storr wildfarelse wii haffve weret wdi / men wii skicke oss altho lidet der effter,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCVII.

42 “Thi sparede Gud icke saadant ett hiærte kiære folk [. . .] hvi skulde han spare oss hedninger som udi deres stæd ere komne,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCVII–CXCVIII.

43 Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge. Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2000), 303–28, 323–28. The 1581 edition had a slightly different title that clearly states that the destruction concerned not only the city of Jerusalem but also the Jews: *Jerusalem oc Jødernis Jemmerlige oc Yncelige forstørninge/kaartelige aff Josephi Historie fordansket*.

44 Schwarz Lausten emphasizes that, despite the strong anti-judaistic tendency, the main target was not to accuse the Jews, nor to argue against the Catholics, but rather to appeal to evangelical Christians to live according to penitence and conversion, Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 327.

45 “[. . .] at wi skulle see/hvor Gud altid haffver straffet sit folck for Synden/ Oc at wi skulle lære der aff/ at skicke oss effter Guds Ord/ oc lade det gaa oss alverlige til hierte/ paa det at saadan

As it had been for Tausen, as well as for Tideman, it was the Word of God that was at stake, to the biblical Jews as well as to his contemporaries in sixteenth-century Denmark.⁴⁶ The important pedagogical point was, as in Tausen, to reflect upon the fact that even when God punished this people, which he himself had ordained, how much more would he then punish the heathens, who have received his Gospel purely by his grace, if they did not appreciate it.⁴⁷

Hemmingsen: The Time of Blindness

Some decades after Tausen and the Reformation, the most influential Danish theologian in the sixteenth century appeared to be Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600). His *postilla* was printed in 1561 (Latin version)/ 1576 (Danish version). In his sermon for the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, he identified the true believers as the citizens of Jerusalem, and then paralleled the contemporary situation to the situation Christ had confronted in Jerusalem. But now, times had changed, according to Hemmingsen. The time of visitation, which meant the time of the Reformation when the Gospel was preached in truth, had passed. Now it was the time of blindness. The Gospel was despised, and God had now visited the realm with war, hunger, and pestilence. Where Luther, Tausen, and Tideman had insisted on conversion, Hemmingsen insisted on repentance. In Hemmingsen's theology, repentance replaced love as the constant effect of faith. Without repentance, God's destruction would follow, as it had in Jerusalem. The wrath of God was directed towards those who do not repent.

Firstly, we who believe in Christ/ and who are God's holy Jerusalem/ should listen and obey the voice of Christ/ which cries over our sins/ and because of this learn what mind and kind heart he has towards us. Thereafter we should know in which time God has so graciously visited us: because he has greatly, abundantly, and mysteriously visited us in these two Kingdoms. At first with his Word/ that truly is preached clearly and rightly in all churches in the kingdoms of

plaffve oc Wlycke/ icke skal offverfalde oss/som dem er verderfaret," Peder Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring* (Copenhagen: Johan Balhorn, 1587), fol. Bvii.

⁴⁶ Tideman highlights the Word in contrast to the Jews' status as the chosen People of God, the descendants of the Patriarchs, the people to whom the promises were given, and to whom the Prophets were sent, and to whom even Christ belonged according to the flesh. Even this people God punished because they despised his Word, and "at mand icke kand læse nogen større Straff oc Plage om noget Folk I den ganske Verden," Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring*, fol. Aiiv (Peder Tidemand til Læseren/the introduction).

⁴⁷ Tideman identifies the time of visitation as that time when the Gospel of Christ was preached and proclaimed to them, when they did not receive it. He concludes that the example is so harsh that a heart which is not moved by it, must be made of Steel or Stone ("Det hierte maatte ocsaa i sandhed være aff Staal eller Steen/ som icke forfærdis for saadant it grueligt Exempel"), Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring*, fol. Aiiv (Peder Tidemand til Læseren/the introduction).

Denmark and Norway. But because we did not pay attention to the Gospel/ God visited us with War/ Hunger and difficult times/ Pestilence/ and he has punished each and every one in different ways. And if we do not repent in time/ then he will truly visit us again with War/ Pestilence/ Hunger and difficult Times/ and at last destroy us/ as he did with the Jews.⁴⁸

A clear Lutheran teaching had secured the confessional identity and the position of Denmark – Norway as a leading example of true evangelical religion. According to the ideology of the Danish kings they defined their role as protecting the true religion established in 1537.⁴⁹ In 1569 the Foreign Articles, composed by Niels Hemmingsen, were published by Frederic II.⁵⁰ These articles were supposed to be a tool to avoid Catholic and Calvinistic immigration, and hence to secure confessional and doctrinal purity in the realm. Immigrants, who trespassed concerning the articles, could be punished with the loss of their lives. However, the problem in Hemmingsen’s sermon, quoted above, was that doctrinal purity was not enough when the audience despised the Word – they also had to embrace the Word, repent, and lead a Christian life. Thus, a central question to Hemmingsen’s authorship was what the necessary principles for a Christian life were.⁵¹ His answer was regret and contrition because of sin; faith and a new obedience.⁵² Only by repentance could the wrath of God be avoided.

After Hemmingsen, the exhortation to repentance becomes the standard interpretation of Luke 19 and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Norwegian superintendent

48 “Først skulle wi som tro paa Christum/ oc ere Guds hellige Jerusalem/ høre oc atlyde Christi røst/ som begræder vore synder/ oc heraff lære hvad Sind oc Hiertelag hand haffver til oss. Der næst skulle wi kiende den tid som Gud saa naadelige haffuer besøgt oss udi: Thi hand haffuer saare rigelige oc underlige besøgt oss her i disse tu Riger. Først met sit Ord/ som i Sandhed predicis reent oc ret i alle kircker udi Danmarckis oc Norigs rige. Men efterdi at wi saare lidet haffue actet Evangelium/ da haffuer Gud besøgt oss met Krig/ Hunger oc dyr Tid/ Pestilenze/ oc straffet huer i besynderlighed i atskillige maade. Oc der som wi icke giøre Penitente i tide/ da vil hand visselige besøge oss igjen met Krig/ Pestilenze/ Hunger oc dyr Tid/ oc endelige slæt ødelegge oss/ som hand gjorde ved Jøderne,” Niels Hemmingsen, *Postilla eller Forklaring offuer Euangelia* (Copenhagen: Gutterwitz oc Stöckelsmands Arffuinge, 1576), fol. LXXVII (Tenth Sunday after Trinitatis).

49 See preface (Kongens kundgjørelse) by King Christian III in *Ordinatio Ecclesiastica* 1537; cf. Terje Ellingsen, *Kirkeordinansen av 1537* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), 25–32.

50 Holger Fr. Rørdam, ed. *Danske Kirkelove . . . 1536–1683*, vol. D. 3. Vol. D. 3 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1889), 126–34; Cf. also Bjørn Korerup, *Den danske lirkes lærebekendelse og kirkeordinans af aar 1561 = Confessio et ordinatio ecclesiarum Danicarum anno MDLXI conscriptae* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1953), XLII.

51 For example in his work see, Niels Hemmingsen, *Liffsens Vey: Det er: En vis oc Christelig Underuisning om huad det Menniske skal vide, tro oc giøre, som det euige Liff vil indgaa* (Copenhagen, 1570).

52 Cf. The Strangers’ Articles, § 10: “Om de bekiende, at en salige Penitente er it Menniskis omuendelse til Gud, ved troen til Jesum Christum: huilcken Penitente staar i disse try stykker, som ere Anger och ruelse for Synden, Troen oc en ny Lydactighed.” (“If they confess, that a blessed penitence is a Man’s conversion towards God, in the faith of Jesus Christ: the penitence consists of these three, which are repentance and regret because of Sin, Faith, and a new Obedience.”) Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove*.

Jens Nilssøn's sermon from 1583 is a clear example.⁵³ His sermon points to God's continuous call for repentance through his prophets, his Word (Jesus), and through the preachers of his own time. God threw the glorious Jerusalem from the highest height to the lowest disgrace because they did not know the time of visitation. To know this time is nothing other than to listen to and receive the Word of God, believe the Gospel, and do penitence.⁵⁴

As well, Nilssøn refers to the history of the destruction, as known through Josephus, and he refers to the signs that preceded the catastrophe. His question is the same as his predecessors: if God could destroy Jerusalem and scatter the Jews until this day, what will he do to us if we proceed in the way of ungodliness? In Nilssøn's sermon, the punishment draws even closer through the description of familiar experiences:

I wonder if perhaps also we, with our places and towns, houses and homes, in the same way could be knocked over, be destroyed and ruined, Either with Thunder and lightning, or because of stormy wind or deluge or earthquake, Or because of war, naval war, and haemorrhages, or because of hard pestilence (as this affliction has already begun// and that fire is fermenting among us) or also because of other torments.⁵⁵

If God punishes, it is well deserved, Nilssøn states. Nilssøn refers to the neglected signs of warning: eclipses of sun and moon, unnatural weather, several comets, and the new star, brighter than all others, that appeared in 1572.⁵⁶ The threatening catastrophe was never far away.

From City to Heart

In the first part of the seventeenth century, Europe was afflicted by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). The Danish King Christian IV entered the war in 1626, and Denmark was threatened from the south. Hunger, pestilence, and bloodshed followed in the footsteps of war. In this historical context, the central theologian in this period of

⁵³ Jens Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583. Euangelium Luc. 19. Om Jerusalems Forstørring," in *To og Tredivte Prædikener holdt i Aarene 1578–1586 av M. Jens Nilssøn*, eds. A. Branderud and O. Kolsrud (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1917), 320.

⁵⁴ Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583," 329–30.

⁵⁵ "Mon icke vi medt voris Steder och byer, hus och hiem, I lige made kunde omkuld kastis forstørris och ødeleggis, Anten formeddelst Torden och Liusildt, eller formeddelst Stormvind eller vandflo eller iordskelff, Eller formeddelst krig, orlog, och blodstyrtning, eller formeddelst svar Pestilens (som then plage er nu allerede begynt // och den ild er potent iblant oss) eller och formeddelst andre plager," Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583," 336.

⁵⁶ A supernova in the constellation of Cassiopeia was observed for the first time in November 1572 and described by Tycho Brahe in *De nova stella* 1573.

Danish orthodoxy, Jesper Brochmand (1585–1652), utterly institutionalized the piety of penance. As the war certainly was an expression of the God’s wrath, the fear of God and the piety of the people was overarchingly important to assuage his anger.

Since 1551 three annual days of prayer and penance had been practiced in the Church of Denmark–Norway. However, during the experience of war in 1626, this was not enough. The king ordered prayer days every Friday in the cities, and on one Wednesday a month in the countryside. The regulations of penance from 1626, and later the regulations from 1629 concerning church discipline,⁵⁷ were arranged and written by Brochmand. The intention was to assuage “the rod of God’s righteous wrath” that was increasing in all neighbouring countries “with War and Killing, horrible diseases, difficult times and miserable crops and in several different ways.”⁵⁸ The regulation stated that the only way to avoid the punishment was to convert to the Lord in true and pious “contrition and sorrow” over one’s own sin.⁵⁹ The reasoning and practice of the prayer days was built on the pedagogics of the destruction of Jerusalem. The regulation of 1629 utterly sharpened the collective piety by issuing a group of helpers to all the local priests. In that way the discipline of the people could be supervised even more and guided on the right path.

In his sermon on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, printed in 1638, Brochmand explains the history of the destruction in a new manner compared to the sermons from the previous century. He moves directly from Christ’s entry in Jerusalem to the piety and the hearts of the listeners.

According to Brochmand, the citizens of Denmark causes Christ’s weeping as well as his death on the cross, as much as the citizens of Jerusalem had done. The addressee is notably different in this orthodox/pre-pietistic sermon compared to the previous generations. The goal is an identification between Christ’s tears and one’s own penitential tears:

Come forward, you people/ who until now have given Christ the reason to weep for your sins/ and regard with a devoted heart the brave tears of Christ/ and say: oh/ how could we sadden Jesus with our sins. We will allow ourselves be led to change for the better. In that way we

57 26.09.1616 (*Danske Kirkelove*, 119–25), 27.03.1629 (Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 140–57).

58 26.09.1616 (Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 119). The entire paragraph reads: “Efterdi att daglig Forfarenhed vdwiser, huorledis Gudz rettferdige wredis Riis tid efter anden sig vdbreder \ di alle omliggende Lande med Krig och Blodtz vdstyrning, forskreckelige Siugdomme, Dyrtid och Landenødt och vdi andre adtschillige Maade, och allewegne endochsaa hos neste Naboer tiltager och formeris: befinde wij dett Christeligt och tilbørligt att were, att wij alle och enhuer for sig vdi disse Riger och Lande wdi en sand Omvendelse med bodtferdige hierter indstille os for den Almechtige Guds naadige Ansicht, och betimelig wdi den salige och Gud sielff well tæckelige tid bede om naade och miskundhed hoes hannem, att saadan hans optende wredis Riis fra os for Gutz Søns Jesu Christi døds och blods Schyld maatte affwendis eller naadeligen for os formildis.”

59 Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 122.

would look at the tears and weeping of Christ/ that we by that would allow ourselves to be moved to the weeping of our hearts for the sake of our sins.⁶⁰

In Brochmand's sermon there is no distance between the scenery in Jerusalem and the heart of the Christians in Denmark. The situation takes place here and now, and Christ sees not only the sins of Jerusalem, but every sin in the hearts of the present: "If it does not move you/ that Jesus sees everything you do/ and that Jesus cries bloody tears because of your sins/ then listen to your judgement."⁶¹ Brochmand warns the listeners (or readers) not to lose their time of conversion, and thus end in *the hardening* as the Jews had done.⁶²

The next scenery in the Gospel, the cleansing of the Temple, is also moved directly into the hearts of the listeners. The body and soul of the believers is the Temple of the Lord:

When you dedicate your bodies to the achievements of sinful deeds/ your soul is occupied by evil desires: don't you then convert the Temple of God into a den of thieves? If Jesus got angry/ because there were buying and selling in the outer Temple of Jerusalem, how much more will Jesus be angry/ when your bodies and souls/ which he has redeemed with his holy blood/ that they should become the house of God and the Holy Spirit/ becomes the residences of Satan and sin?⁶³

The message is the Christian moral, and the means is the regimentation of the body.

Brochmand's piety of penance dominated theology in Denmark–Norway for generations. His postil was one of the most popular devotional books for two centuries. It exhorted a powerful demand for penance and "living faith" fortified through religious scrupulosity and resistance to temptations.

The Destruction of Copenhagen 1728

When the catastrophe finally struck Copenhagen and a devastating fire burst out in October 1728, the destruction of Jerusalem was the obvious model suitable for

⁶⁰ "Kommer nu frem I mennisker/ som hid indtil have givet Jesu aarsag til at græde over eders synder/ og beskuer med hjertens andagt Jesu modige taare/ og siger: ach/ at vi have bedrøvet Jesum med vore synder. Vi ville lade os av Jesu taare føre til bedring. Vi ville saaledes ansee Jesu taare og graad/ at vi der af ville lade os bevege til hiertens graad for vore begagne synder," Jesper Brochmand, *Huus-Postill* (Copenhagen, 1719), 308.

⁶¹ "Kand det ikke bevege eder/ at Jesus se alt hvad I gjøre/ og at Jesus græder over eders synder de blodige taare/ da hører eders dom," Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 308.

⁶² Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 310.

⁶³ "Naar I nu hengive eders legemer til syndige gierningers bedrift/ eders siel indtages af onde lyster: monne I da ikke gjøre Guds tempel til en røverkule. Fortørnes Jesus/ fordi der drives kiøb og sal i den udvortes Jerusalems tempel; hvor meget mer vil Jesus fortørnes/ at eders legemer og siele/ som hand haver med sit hellige blod igienkiøbt/ at de skulle være Guds og den Hellig Aands bolige/ blive henvendte til syndens og satans bolige?" Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 312.

explaining the disaster. Even the mind of a child, Carl Friederich Reiser (1718–86) who later wrote his memoirs, produced the images of Jerusalem when his eyes gazed at the fire of Copenhagen. More than fifty years later, the old *stadt-Chirurgus* described his horrible experience as a ten-year-old boy.⁶⁴ His narrative explained how the capital was made almost entirely into ashes by the fire of God’s wrath. It was a “terrible play,” and Reiser painted the horrible scenes “in this destroyed old Jerusalem of Copenhagen” to his readers.⁶⁵ The images that came to the mind of ten-year-old Reiser, were the punishment of Sodom and Gomorra from the Old Testament, the final judgement, and not least the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year AD 70.

Alas Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, I cried. It was in front of our eyes just as if it was the final judgement day . . . and we all thought God would do with us poor sinners as he once did with Sodom & Gomorra & c.: beams and stones flew around the square, and through streets and alleys in the way that we could have sworn that just as in Jerusalem, in our unfortunate Copenhagen there would not be left any trunk or stone upon another.⁶⁶

God had punished the people in Copenhagen in a way that resembled “the wretchedly and terrible destruction of Jerusalem,” Reiser explained.⁶⁷ As in Jerusalem, all the towers of Copenhagen were turned into gravel. Reiser described how tears flowed down his cheek while he remembered the sound of the mechanical construction [*sangverk*] that played “by itself” regularly every hour at the Church of the Holy Spirit (Helliggeistes-Kirke). The last melody played while the tower was collapsing and melting, was a cry to God to turn away his wrath: *Wend ab deinen zorn lieber Gott mit gnaden*.⁶⁸ It was as if the building itself accompanied the tragic theatre and underscored the meaning of the destruction.

In 1729, the year after the fire, pastor Hans Buch (1698–1751) preached on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* in the Garrison Church of Copenhagen, *Den Herre Zebaoths kirke*. The sermon was published with the title *About the weeping of Christ*

64 Carl Friedrich Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse over den mærkværdige og meget fyrgterlige store Ildebrand 1728* (Copenhagen: H. P. Møllers Forlag, 1858).

65 “Jeg gaaer da viidere i min fyrgterlige Ildebrands=Historie og siger at der er endnu mange fyrgterlige Scener tilbage i dette Skrekkelige Skue=Spil! Ja endog de Allerforskrekkeligste i dette forstyrrede gamle kiøbenhavnske Jerusalem!” Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 22.

66 “Ak Herre Jesu Christe raabte jeg forbarme dig over mig der var ret for vores Øyne som den yderste Domme=Dag var kommen. . .og vii tænkte alle vist nok at vor Herre vilde spille med Os arme Syndige Mennisker som fordum med Sodoma og Gomorra & c.: bielcker og steene fløy ommkring paa Torvet agder [sic] og stræder saa vii vilde have Svoret at ligesom Jerusalem, at vores arme, Kiøbenhavn aldrig var bleven stock eller steen til overs,” Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 26. (Cf. Luke 19:44), cf. also Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 43.

67 “Jerusalem’s jammerlige og skrekkelig Forstyrrelse.” The readers probably knew this reference well as it referred to the title of Tideman’s version of the event, as written previously in this chapter, see page 238.

68 Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 38.

*because of Jerusalem and an Admonition to Copenhagen to amendment because of the weeping of Christ/ the ashes of Jerusalem and the City itself.*⁶⁹

When Buch delivered his sermon, the catastrophe was a fact, and he identified the ashes of Copenhagen with the ruins of Jerusalem. What made up the identification were the sins of the inhabitants. This transfer of the reason for the ruins of Jerusalem (the sins) to the ruins of Copenhagen and to the readers' own life, was part of the detachment of the destruction of Jerusalem, as an example, from its historical context. Jerusalem's destruction, which had previously been identified as the main historical example, was now "far away," and possible to replace with a local catastrophe.

What has reduced Copenhagen to Ashes if not the sins of Copenhagen/ an Example of the righteous penalty of God is now far away/ and because of that scarcely visible, [namely] in Jerusalem; while another [example] is nearby/ yes, it is even evidently *within* this city burnt down to ashes; soon we could do a comparison between Jerusalem and ourselves/ when it comes to an ungodly and nonrepentant life/ because even if we did not crucify Christ bodily, we have probably crucified him spiritually with the governing Sins that pierced through a Seam/ Spear and nails; How long is there not gathered wood for the fire by despising the Gospel and the Grace of God [. . .].⁷⁰

The listed sins of the inhabitants were exactly what the Protestant preachers had warned against – the consequence was God's necessary punishment. With respect to the fire of Copenhagen in 1728, this explanation could excuse the actual cause of the fire which was a seven-year-old boy named Iver who had carried candles with him up to the loft, which had led to the ignition of his family's house, followed by the neighbouring buildings. Buch's explanation assured, however, that the fire was caused by God himself because of the inhabitants' sins. Any other reason – he mentions ravens or murderers – was just a means in the hand of God, as the Romans had been during the destruction of Jerusalem.

To Buch the tears are the main point of his sermon. The necessary consequence of God's wrath was the urgent need – anew – for repentance and conversion. To Buch's listeners the ashes of Copenhagen became inner images [*sinnbilder*] that should lead to an internal penitence. As the inhabitants did not already live in penitential tears, God himself had to push them forth.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Hans Jacobsen Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem og formaning til Kiöbenhavn af Christi graad/ Jerusalems og byens egen aske til bodfærdighet* (Copenhagen: Joachim Schmidtgen, 1729).

⁷⁰ "Hvad har vel lagt Kiöbenhavn i Aske uden Københavns synder/et Eksempel på Guds retfærdige straf findes nu langt borte/ og derfor saa vit usynligt, i Jerusalem; mens et nærmere hos/ ja øyensynligt i denne nedaskede bye; vi kunde snart gjøre en ligning mellem Jerusalem og os/ i henseende til et ugudeligt og ubodfærdigt levnet/ thi om vi ikke legemlig har kaarsfæstet Christum, saa har vi aandelig viis kaarsfæstet ham med herskende Synder som igiennem borede Søm/Spyd og nagler; hvor lenge er her ikke samlet træ til Ilden ved Evangelii og Guds Naades foragt [. . .]," Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 38–39.

⁷¹ Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 46.

The tears of Christ when he approached Jerusalem should be imitated by the Christians of Copenhagen, “our Jerusalem”: “If the saviour could not keep his tears back because of the catastrophe he could see 40 years forward in time, should we not weep, when the disaster and penalty is just above our heads: who can approach our Jerusalem without weeping?”⁷²

In Buch’s emotional sermon, Copenhagen turns into Jerusalem. It is no longer a comparison between the two cities, but a replacement, as in this exhortation to improvement: “Copenhagen has become a field of tears. Mix ashes and tears in bottles like the Romans. The dust, it seems to me, gets mouth and voice to speak to us/ and the bones of the Dead get life in order to deliver us a repentance sermon and initiate a prayer-day on behalf of God: Repent Jerusalem.”⁷³

Buch himself embodies his own message as his ink mixes with his tears while he is writing.⁷⁴ While the hardened children of the world are like dry wells, the “eyewater” pressed out from the eyes of the penitents are like miraculous holy water, able to prevent disasters and curses.⁷⁵ The sight of the destroyed Copenhagen evokes tears. And at the same time, the ashes of the city, the ruins, and the corpses also becomes a total reminder of the human condition. All the funerals after the fire are like “image-bibles”:

Then [. . .] the funerals [will be] like “image-bibles” to us, that show us one piece after the other, if not in copper then in earth/ if not in gold/ then in mould/ all the remains burnt to a frazzle/ as images of our Mortality and models of the Time to come/ that we should become both Dust and ashes.⁷⁶

The only way to reconstruct Copenhagen is to build it from inside. Every man should clean his heart just as he cleans his property destroyed by the fire. And if God should

72 “Hvis frelseren ikke kunne holde tårene tilbage for den ulykke han så 40 år frem i tid, skulle vi da ikke gråte, nu ulykken og straffen er lige over hodene på oss; hvo kan komme voris Jerusalem nær uden at græde?” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 46. “Hvor kan nogen christen siæl komme enten til eller fra Kiöbenhavn uden graad, naar hand seer for sine Øyne i steden for Kirker, avbrendte taarne, isteden for anseelige Bygninger, nøgne Skorsteene, i steden for Collegier, half staaende/ re-fnede/ og af Ilden sønderrevne Mure/ i steden for Gader/ Steenhobe/ forbrendt Gruus og Aske-dynger/ thi hver en afbrendt Gruus og Aske-dynger/ thi hver en afbrendt Bygning er en Graads boelig/ hver en afbrendt kirke en Taareperse, det kostbare Biblioteque, udbrendt Papiir/ Ezechiels Rulle fuld af Begrædelser,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 47–48.

73 “Köbenhavn er blitt til en grædeåker. Blande aske og gråt i flasker slik som romerne. Støven synes meg å faa mund og Mæle for at tale til os/ og de Dødes bene at faae til live for at holde en omvendelses Præcken og intimere for en Bede-dag paa Guds vegne: Bedre dig Jerusalem,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 49.

74 Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 47.

75 Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 62.

76 “Så skal da [. . .] begravelsene [være] som Billed-bibler for oss, der viser os det eene stykke efter det andet om ikke i kobber, saa i jord/ om ikke i guld/ saa i muld/ alle opbrændte lefninger/ som sindbilleder paa vor Dødelighed og Forbilleder paa den tilkommende Tid/ at vi blive baade Støv og aske,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 67–68.

give the inhabitants new houses and new temples and churches, the condition for this is allowing their own bodies to be the temples of God: if God should give us new dwellings, new houses, new churches, and new temples, then we should let our bodies be his temples, give him new hearts, new souls to his Dwellings; we must take off the old dirty clothes of Sin, if God should take away the burned and scorched clothes, loosen our sackcloth of sorrow, and shake off the dust.⁷⁷

Buch's sermon ends in hope. God has promised to wipe away all tears (Rev 21:4), and the Christians are the heirs of the same assurance which Israel received when they were described as dead bones by the prophet Ezekiel, "O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves" (Ezek 37:12). Therefore, God will console the afflicted people of Zion, and the sorrow will end for our Jerusalem.⁷⁸

The Tears of Christ

In his 1729 sermon, Buch had replaced Jerusalem with Copenhagen. Two sermons printed a generation after Buch, in the 1760s, suggest that the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 fades away as an historical example. Jerusalem becomes a pure allegory detached from history.

Christian Michael Rottbøl (1729–80) from *Vår Frue menighet* in Aarhus published the sermon "Jesus' remarkable and loving tears" (1763).⁷⁹ In this sermon, Jerusalem is not important except as the historical site of the Gospel text. There is no collective penitence addressed. On the other hand, the focal point is the tears of Christ and their consequence: the personal conversion. As Christ wept before the walls of Jerusalem, he weeps before our walls and our hearts, because of our sin.⁸⁰

In a 1769 sermon by the rationalistic theologian Peder Rosenstandt Goiske (1705–69),⁸¹ neither is there any identification between Copenhagen or the Christian congregation and the city of Jerusalem. The Israelites of the Old Testament are replaced by the true people of God, the Christian Church.⁸² The problem for Rosenstandt

⁷⁷ "Skal Gud igjen give oss nye boliger, nye huse, nye kirker og templer, saa maae vi lade vore legemer være hans Templer, give ham nye hierter, nye siæle til sine Boeliger; vi maa føre oss av de gamle skidne Syndens klæder, om Gud skal afføre oss de forbrendte svedne klæder, løse våre bedrøvelsessekke opp, og ryste støvet," Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 70.

⁷⁸ Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 75–76.

⁷⁹ "Jesu mærkelige og kiærlige Taare," found in C. M. Rottbøll, *Jesu mærkelige og kierlige Taare betragtede i en Prædiken paa X. Søndag efter Trinitatis* (Sorø: Jonas Lindgren, 1763).

⁸⁰ For example Rottbøll, *Jesu mærkelige og kierlige Taare*, 51.

⁸¹ D. P. Rosenstandt Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn- Og Hellige Dages Evangelier udi Prædikener* (Copenhagen: C. Schiønning, 1769).

⁸² The shift from history to the present audience occurs immediately, when Rosenstandt Goiske asks who is the addressee of God's words in the *exordium* from Hos 13:9 on the same day. The answer is Israel, the people of God, a people who lived in the vicinity of God's words, where God had

Goiske is, however, that a people who outwardly are “an Israel” and the people of God could at the same time also be an ungodly people. Among this people there could be impious men, people that evoke destruction upon both themselves and the people as well as the country.⁸³ The status of being the people of God therefore depends on the inner lives of the people. The text ends with a self-examination – the premise is to consider that the all-knowing Jesus sees us, “who we are, where we are, how our minds are, what is inside us and in what state we are.”⁸⁴ The goal is a true conversion, with the aim that the country should not be destroyed because of the sins of the individuals.⁸⁵ The final prayer makes a distinction between the earthly, spiritual, and heavenly Jerusalem, and detaches the Christian congregation from any continuity with the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The congregation is not identified with the Jerusalem in Luke 19, but rather exists in the spiritual Jerusalem, on their way to the heavenly city:

Do not let our City, do not let any City in our Country, become like the sinful Jerusalem, let none of us become like the ungodly Inhabitants of Jerusalem, over whom you wept, but let us either be as we are and remain unhappy, or happy in all changes of our and each one’s state of mind always remain yours, here we are good citizens of the spiritual Jerusalem, finally inhabitants in the heavenly new Jerusalem with you, where there will be no weeping, no reason to weep, but eternal, holy Peace, love and joy. Amen.⁸⁶

In this text, the history and the contemporary situation had already drifted apart, and in the storyworld of salvation history, the role of the Jews was no longer constitutive as anything other than a distant and wretched example.

his Temple: “Such a people were Israel in the old Testament.” Now, the addressee depends on the “means of grace,” Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 1–2.

83 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 2.

84 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 26. (“Om vi betænke, at den alvidende Jesus nu seer os, hvor vi ere, hvor vi ere, hvorledes sindede vi ere, hvad der er i os, og hvad Tilstand vi ere udi.”)

85 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 27.

86 “Lad ey vores Stad, lad ey nogen Stad I vores Land, blive, som det syndige Jerusalem, lad ingen af os blive, som de Jerusalems ugudelige Indbyggere, du græd over, men lad os, enten vi ere og blive bedrøvede, eller glade, i alle Forandringer af vores og vor Sinds Tilstand stedse blive dine, her gode Borgere i det aandelige Jerusalem, omsider Indvaanere i det himmelske nye Jerusalem hos dig, hvor der ingen Graad skal være, ingen Aarsag til Graad, men evig, hellig Fred, kerlighed og glæde. Amen,” Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 27.