



Fig. 1.1: *Ierusalem ciuitas sancta, olim metropolis regni Iudaici, hodie uero colonia Turcae.* From the *Cosmographia universalis* by Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), first published 1554.

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Chapter 1

The Reformation of the Jerusalem Code in the Sixteenth Century

The multivalent interpretation of Jerusalem, earthly and celestial, constitutes a code to Scandinavian Christian Culture since its integration into Latin Christendom (ninth–twelfth century). Tracing this code through its Early Modern Period provides a fruitful perspective on vital changes in Church and Society. The process of reformation questioned the medieval perception of holiness and authority, and how this was transferred – from the first beginning of the Church and throughout history, and from Jerusalem to the ends of the world. The paradigm of justification by faith now legitimated both holiness and authority, and hence also the chosen people of God. Nevertheless, in order to legitimate secular and religious authorities, Danish-Norwegian and Swedish theologians, closely connected to the political regimes, testify to the pervasiveness of the multivalent employment of Jerusalem by visual sources, poetry, hymns, historiography, and other writings.

From the Holy City of Jerusalem to the Holy City of Wittenberg:

The Story of Johan Rantzau (1492–1565)

In the constant transformations of the Jerusalem Code throughout history, the central question is: Who represents the true Jerusalem, and hence the heavenly legitimation? By taking the example of a Danish nobleman – Johan Rantzau (Fig. 1.2), who first knelt as a Catholic pilgrim in Jerusalem in 1517 and later became a supporter of Martin Luther – as a starting point, we ask how the sixteenth-century Reformation was based on an altered concept of representation, and hence qualified the Christian storyworld anew both in respect to time and space.

In 1517, Johan Rantzau knelt down in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in the knighting ceremony of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. As a young nobleman Rantzau travelled “around the whole world,” both for religious and



Fig. 1.2: Johan Rantzau (1492–1565). Engraving from Trap's collection, 1867.

educational reasons.¹ His journey ranged through England, Spain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Asia, and Syria, before he arrived at Jerusalem during wintertime. In the Holy Land, Rantzau and the other pilgrims were probably escorted by the Franciscans who had resided at Mount Zion in Jerusalem since the fourteenth century.² The Muslim Mamluks had governed the city since the middle of the thirteenth century, and by their permission Christian pilgrims were allowed entrance to the shrines.³

Like Rantzau himself, most of the pilgrims to Palestine in the late Middle Ages were aristocrats, and one of their goals was to receive the knight stroke on their shoulders by the Guardian of the Holy Land.⁴ Perhaps Rantzau had feelings similar to those of Felix Fabri,

a pilgrim who had visited the tomb guarded by the local Muslim authorities one generation earlier: “It is a great confusion that Christ’s faithful worshippers should be let into Christ’s church by Christ’s blasphemers [. . .] I confess that while I was passing between them into the church I was filled with confusion and covered with blushes, nor could I look them straight in the face by reason of the shame which I felt.”⁵ The situation was to become even worse. During Rantzau’s stay in Jerusalem, on 20 March 1517

1 Martinus Coroneus, *Vita et res gestæ . . . Johannis Rantzovii* (Wittenberg: Hans Krafft, 1567), B.

2 Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, *Ottoman Empire and its Heritage* 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 43–44. For the history of the Franciscans in the Holy Land, see Beatrice Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta (1291–1517)* (Padova: Libreria Universitaria, 2016); and M. P. Ritsema van Eck, “Custodians of Sacred Space: Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through Texts and Sacri Monti (ca. 1480–1650)” (PhD diss., Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen, University of Amsterdam, 2017). This convent was where the pilgrims lodged, see also Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197.

3 At the end of the fifteenth century, it was reported that the Muslim custodian opened the church of the Holy Sepulchre only three times a year for the pilgrims, cf. Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 313.

4 Henny Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 6, no. 2 (1936–38): 5.

5 Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, vol. 7–8. (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1887–97; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1971), 341. Translation according to Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 301.

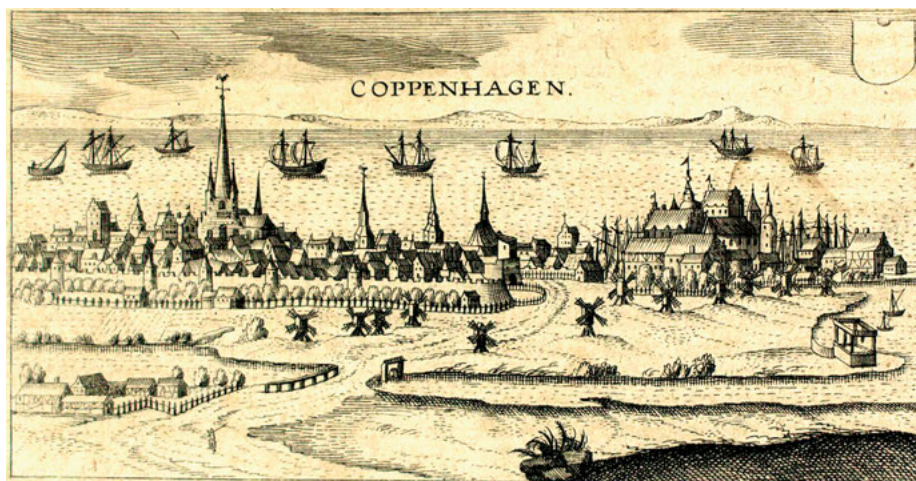


Fig. 1.3: View of Copenhagen, 1587. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Biblioteks billedsamling).

the Ottoman Sultan Selim entered the gates and the previous Mamluk city became part of the expanding Ottoman Empire (Fig. 1.1).⁶ At this point Rantzau and his company were in great danger and had to escape from the Turks. They managed to flee to Naples in Italy, and from there Rantzau later arrived in Rome where he was received at the Vatican by Pope Leo X. Rantzau was honoured by the permission to kiss the pope's foot, as was the ritual of reverence.

Rantzau fled from Jerusalem to Rome in 1517, and in this year, two events which both had immense implication on the significance of Jerusalem in Christian cultures took place – the Ottoman invasion in Jerusalem which prompted Rantzau's flight, and the beginning of the Lutheran reformation in Wittenberg. Both events impacted Rantzau's life.

A few years after his reverence for the pope, Rantzau rejected the holiness of both the pope and the city of Rome. Rantzau had by then experienced Martin Luther's message at the diet of Worms when he, as *hofmeister* appointed to the young Danish prince Christian III, escorted the prince to the German courts in 1521. Both Rantzau and Prince Christian III were excited by what they heard and became devoted Lutherans. From now on, it was neither Jerusalem nor Rome that was described as the Holy City, but Wittenberg, the city of the Lutheran reformers, as noted by Martin Schwarz Lausten in this volume.⁷ Thus, kissing the papal slipper in reverence they now regarded as nothing more than blasphemy. In 1536, Rantzau

⁶ The decisive battle between the Mamluks and the Ottoman Turks took place at Marj Dabiq, near Aleppo in Syria, in August 1516.

⁷ See Chapter 9 in this volume (Martin Schwarz Lausten), 170–77.

led Christian III's forces to victory in the so-called Count's Feud, and at the same time he participated in securing the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark–Norway.

Transformation of the Jerusalem Code

The short summary of Rantzau's life shows his journey from a devout Catholic to an eager Protestant. His personal path also encompasses a certain changed perception of representation of Jerusalem in his own time. He leaves the place where the feet of the Saviour had trodden, Jerusalem in the Levant, and goes to Rome where the papal church had for centuries claimed to be the true continuity of Jerusalem. He later travels to Worms and to Wittenberg, where Martin Luther rejects the traditional continuity of the Church and claims continuity through the true Word of God, and finally to Copenhagen which becomes yet another centre of the preaching of the true Word. The movement along this route presupposed a changed mediation of holiness. The tangible mediation of holiness at the Sepulchre of the Lord which people could seek and find in Palestine, and which was also physically transferred by relics, replicas, and representations all over the Christian world, was replaced by an aural mediation of Law and Gospel as it reached out from the true teachers in Wittenberg. This resulted in a transformation of the Jerusalem Code in the cultures that became defined by the Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century. The transformation of the code was most clearly expressed by Martin Luther himself in his 1525 sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem:

It is true that God himself has established the temple at Jerusalem, not because it consisted of beautiful stones and costly buildings, or because it was consecrated by bishops, as at present men employ such foolery and juggling tricks; but God himself had consecrated and sanctified it with his Word, when he said: This house is my house! for his Word was preached in it. Now, wherever God's Word is preached, there is God's own true house, there God most certainly dwells with his grace.⁸

According to the Lutherans, the continuity that secured the presence of God was not the true priesthood transferred from the Temple to the Church, neither the transfer of material holiness, relics, or representations. The presence of God, which the Temple of Jerusalem once had signified – or embodied – was, however, transferred by the true preaching of the Word of God, and the continuity of the Church consisted of the response to this preaching: the true worship of the congregation.

⁸ Luther 1525, translation according to: Martin Luther, *Sermons of Martin Luther: Vol. 4: Sermons on Gospel Texts for the 1st to 12th Sundays after Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983), 327.

This is one way to explain the transformation of the Jerusalem Code during the Reformation. The ensuing question is: What did this redefinition of the Jerusalem code mean to the Protestant cultures in Scandinavia?

Denmark–Norway: Royal Legitimation and Disciplination

The twist of the Jerusalem Code described a continuity that enabled a certain *legitimation* of the Protestant kingdoms⁹. The coronation and anointing of King Christian III (1503–1559) on 12 August 1537 was the first coronation of a Lutheran prince (see Arne Bugge Amundsen in Chapter 5). The new Danish Church Ordinance of 1537 was a royal attempt to establish the true Word of Christ, or rather, the Lutheran interpretation of the Word, as the basis of the new order in Denmark–Norway.¹⁰ With the new Church Ordinance, the King was the head of the Church, and his duty was, according to Christian III’s preface, to manifest and safeguard the pure evangelical teaching.

In his preface the king described how people previously had been led astray by the lies of the devil. But now, he says, we have the pure Gospel. We have the true faith and have become the children of God. In accordance with the Lutheran principle of how the two regiments ruled the society, it was the king’s duty to uphold the pure Gospel and to punish those who opposed the ordinance. The royal attempt at uniformity and discipline, which meant repentance and conversion to avoid the wrath of God, was characteristic throughout the period, and Denmark–Norway was highly praised by the reformers, not least by the German reformer and Martin Luther’s friend, Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), who described Denmark as a shelter for the true faith and the Protestant King Christian III as its eminent defender.¹¹

⁹ I focus on Denmark–Norway in this introduction. For Sweden see the chapters by Martin Berntson (Chapter 8), 147–67; Niels Ekedahl (Chapter 7), 119–45; and Otfried Czaika (Chapter 16), 298–313 in this volume.

¹⁰ See preface (*Kongens kundgjørelse*) by King Christian III in *Ordinatio Ecclesiastica 1537*, Terje Ellingsen and Helge Fæhn, *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39 “Den Rette Ordinants” etter Hans Wingaards førsteutgave fra 1542* (Oslo: Verbum, 1988), A–Aviii., cf. Terje Ellingsen, *Kirkeordinansen av 1537* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), 25–32.

¹¹ Melanchthon’s preface to Laetus 1560, cf. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, “A Safe Haven for the Church – on Melanchthon’s Influence on Historical Discourse in Sixteenth-Century Denmark,” in *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Rezeption in Skandinavien*, ed. Birgit Stolt (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998); See Philip Melanchthon, foreword to *Operum Lutheri Germanicorum*, vol. 12 (1559), cf: CR, vol. 9, no. 6794.

The University as a Tool in God's Hands

In the city of Copenhagen, the history of the Reformation was closely linked to the royal University as a central place for the new teaching of the Gospel. *Universitas Hafniensis* was first established by permission of Pope Sixtus IV in 1479, two years after the first university in Scandinavia, the University of Uppsala. In 1531, during the outbreak of the Reformation, it was closed to prevent the spread of Protestant teaching. When it was re-opened by King Christian III in 1537, the whole institution in general and the theological faculty in particular became a key factor in the attempt to reform Denmark–Norway. The new charter of the university, elaborated on the model of University of Wittenberg, was not merely intended to continue the tradition of scholarly training and supply the church with servants. It should rather be seen in light of the attempt “to stabilize the new and vulnerable Lutheran state and church regime.”¹² Sections of the foundational charter were written by Johann Bugenhagen who came from Wittenberg to Copenhagen and who had also constructed the new Church Ordinance of the Lutheran Church in Denmark–Norway.

Different laudatory descriptions express how the University could serve the Word of God and the presence of God in another way than the Church did. Its purpose was described as a place of God's dwelling, as an anticipation of the heavenly Jerusalem. According to Professor Hans Høine, who in a funeral sermon described the “Schola” in Copenhagen in 1554, the academic ideal society was instituted by the king as a place where Christ himself resided among the students.¹³ Christ had promised not only to communicate through his doctrines, but also to live himself among his disciples until the end of days in such a way that places like the University became God's gymnasiums.¹⁴ Høine inscribed the academic society at the end of time, the *vespera mundi*, where they expected Christ to return and transfer them from the earthly school to the heavenly school. In the heavenly school, he asserted, they could understand perfectly without books what they here learned by the works of books.¹⁵

Despite the praises expressed in the honouring sermons, the poor condition of the University after the Reformation was reflected in many complaints from bishops

¹² Morten Fink-Jensen, “Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and the Influence of Melanchthon in Reformation Denmark and Norway,” in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80 (2006): 443.

¹³ Hans Madsen Høine, *Oratio Funebris, Scripta in Memoriam Piissimi & Doctissimi Viri M. Christierni Morsiani, Qui Obiit Haffniæ Die 24 Aprilis, 1554. Et Recitata in Schola Haffniensi* (Wittenberg, 1554). For Morsing, see Leif Grane, ed., *Det teologiske fakultet, Københavns Universitet 1479–1979* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1980), 14. Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets historie fra 1537–1621*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Danske historiske Forening, 1868–69), 619–22.

¹⁴ Høine, *Oratio Funebris*, A4.

¹⁵ Høine, *Oratio Funebris*, A5v.

and professors alike. Funding for students was not easy to find. A large amount of the church property that was transferred to the king was used to pay war debt. In addition, King Christian III took no pride in Danish scholarship and regarded scholarly outcome of the homeland as inferior to his own German erudition.¹⁶ Therefore, Copenhagen University was more or less merely a seminar for educating pastors. A situation on par with Lutheran universities elsewhere came about more than thirty years later, when Christian III's successor Frederick II donated a large amount of money to the institution, which accordingly was praised by the Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616) as establishing the presence of God in the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway.¹⁷



Fig. 1.4: Predella (1575–1600) of the altarpiece in Tinglev Church, Denmark, inspired by Lucas Cranach's predella of the altarpiece in Marienkirche, Wittenberg (Sermon of Martin Luther).

The pastors educated at the university should secure the true worship. When the new fulcrum of the Jerusalem Code was established as the true preaching of the Gospel, the new centre moved to where this true preaching was conceived, namely to Wittenberg. It was transferred from Wittenberg to the theological faculties in the Protestant world by theological teaching, and as the Word was the media, it was transferred by the pastors' preaching to the remote churches of the realms. In this way, the radiance from Jerusalem could enlighten even the dark North. This is how Peder Palladius introduces the Reformation in Iceland, in his instruction to the pastors living there: Christ, the true sun, has let his radiance, the light of the true Gospel, reach Denmark so that they should not perish in the darkness of night – and now even to Iceland, because he also wants Iceland to be a true Christian country. Christ wants them to give up all delusion that stems

¹⁶ Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets historie fra 1537–1621*, 1: 144.

¹⁷ Anders Sørensen Vedel, *Den Danske krønike som Saxo Grammaticus screff, halffierde hundrede Aar forleden* (Copenhagen: Hans Støckelman oc Andream Gutteruitz, 1575), B.

from Rome, and return to the true salvific teaching which derives from Jerusalem and Zion.¹⁸

According to Lutheran theology the pastors thus established the continuity of the true teaching to the remote churches of the kingdom, and what is more, what they communicated was the eternal message from Eden. The Law was first preached in the prohibition of the eating from the famous tree in Paradise, and the Gospel was first preached when God consoled Eve after the transgression, and promised the birth of the Saviour. In this construction of continuity, the city of Jerusalem also played a certain role, as we will see below.

The First and Second Paradise

According to Martin Luther's lecture on Genesis (1535), the Word of God was an eternal message, preached to Man already on the seventh day of creation, in the Garden of Eden. This day, the first Sabbath, was henceforth designed from the beginning as a day of receiving the word of God, and to worship God, as Adam and Eve were meant to do. This worship was from the outset connected to the Temple:

We have heard how heaven and earth were created, the sea and everything in them; how Paradise was established by God to be a palace for man, the lord of creation; how in Paradise God founded for man a temple intended for divine worship, namely the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, in which he was to give evidence of his obedience to God.¹⁹

The obedience and the true worship was what was to be continued, both in this earthly life, as well as in the next.²⁰ Paradise was thus no certain time or place, but a state, Luther says. This state of paradise, "abounding in peace, in freedom from fear, and in all gifts which exist where there is no sin"²¹ is enjoyed in true worship, and will be restored in the afterlife.

What was Jerusalem in this new construction of continuity? Luther explains that Jerusalem has something to do with the Garden of Eden, the place for true preaching and where true worship was first established. In fact, Jerusalem was the second paradise in Luther's arrangement of the Christian storyworld. To

18 Peder Palladius, "Fortale og Efterskrift til En kort Katekismeudlæggelse" (1546), in *Peder Palladius' Danske Skrifter*, ed. by Lis Jacobsen (Copenhagen: H. H. Thieles Bogtykkeri), 1: 329–40, 331, 39.

19 Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, LW 1 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 231. See: WA 42,173.

20 Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 79–82. See: WA 42,59–62.

21 Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 89. See: WA 42,67.

understand this, it is necessary to look at the geographical approach to Eden in Luther's explanation.²²

According to medieval opinion Adam was created in the region of Damascus. Luther agrees with this, but states that the centre of Paradise was where Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Jericho were later located, that is the places where Christ had spent the greater part of his life. It is possible, he says, that Calvary, where Christ offered Himself for the sins of the world, was located where the tree of the knowledge of good and evil had been while Paradise was still in existence. Thus, so far as the place is concerned, death and destruction through Satan would be matched by life and salvation won through Christ. The fact that the present topography did not well agree with this was due to the devastation by the Great Flood, by which mountains, rivers, and fountainheads were changed. After the original sin and the Flood, the Garden no longer had any existence or trace of former existence. The Flood was the reason that it was impossible to identify the landscape of Eden according to the geographical descriptions in Genesis. With this statement Martin Luther presented a new approach to the old problem of pinpointing Eden on a map – Eden had been washed away. In the illustration of the Luther Bible from Wittenberg (Fig. 1.5), we see that Paradise is immense, and in a way it covers it all. Nevertheless it cannot be situated in relation to ordinary geography because the landscape depicted therein no longer exists. In contrast to medieval maps, and other contemporary maps, Luther could not place Paradise within mundane geography. Paradise had been lost because of sin.

Likewise, Jerusalem as the second Paradise had also been lost because of sin, Luther explains with reference to the prophet Daniel. The prophet employed an unusual expression, Luther says, when he predicted the destruction of Jerusalem in year AD 70 (Dan 9:26): "And its end will be in a flood," as if he, Luther proceeds, intended to say: "The first Paradise was ruined and laid waste by the Flood; the other Paradise, in which our redemption was achieved, will be laid waste by the flood of the Romans."²³

To describe the destruction of Jerusalem Luther also uses the likeness to the cosmic chaos before creation. In the explanation of the second verse of Genesis: "The earth was empty and void," he describes chaos, confusion and disorder, and adds: "this is how Jerusalem was later laid waste by the Romans, and Rome by the Goths, to such an extent that the traces of the very famous ancient cities cannot be pointed out." By these analogies the destructions are confirmed as part of a divine plan. The hourglass was empty both for Jerusalem, and for Rome.

Regarding Jerusalem, he sums up – in a way that resembles his critique of the Roman Catholic Church: "The nation of Israel was God's possession, and the Holy

²² The following refers to Luther's comments to Gen 4, 16. See: WA 42,228–29. Translation according to Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 310.

²³ Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 310. See: WA 42,228–29.



Fig. 1.5: Lucas Cranach the Younger, *The Creation: Adam and Eve in Paradise*. Woodcut from the second edition of Martin Luther's complete Bible, printed by Hans Lufft, Wittenberg, 1535.

City of Jerusalem was God’s dwelling place. But when the people had given up their fear of God and, relying on their gifts, were becoming proud, the nation was destroyed, and their city was laid waste by the heathen.”²⁴

Based on Luther’s explanations of the status of Jerusalem, it is clear that the *earthly* Jerusalem had no privileged place in early modern Protestant theology, other than being an intermediary and elapsed stage on the way to the heavenly Jerusalem. The *spiritual significance* of Jerusalem, on the other hand, and the Temple, as the place of true worship and the “paradise state,” could be transferred to Wittenberg, to Copenhagen, and, for that matter to Christiania (the new name of Oslo when it was rebuilt after a fire in 1628). As explained in a contribution later in this volume, the Norwegian theologian Christen Staffensen Bang described Christiania according to the topography of Jerusalem. In his description from 1651, he pointed to the Cathedral of Christiania as similar to the Temple because of the regular worship performed by the congregation.²⁵ Bang clearly states that it is true worship as a response to true preaching of the Gospel – in the cathedral and among the citizens – that constitutes the continuity with the Temple. But to describe the presence of God, through his Gospel, Bang refers to one of the main objects from the Temple – the golden lampstand. With evangelical preaching, God has chosen to erect his golden lampstand even in Christiania. The ever possible threat is that God may decide to remove his lampstand and with it his protection of the community.²⁶

The Fruitfulness of the North

The true Word of God was transferred to the North, along with natural signs that testified to this movement, that is the fruitfulness of the countries. This point brings us back to the Jerusalem Code and Eden.

According to Genesis, the earth had been cursed by God because of the sin of Adam. “[. . .] before sin all parts of the earth was amazingly fertile and productive. After sin the earth is not only barren in many places; but even the fertile areas are defaced by darnel, weeds, thorns, and thistle,” Luther explained in his Genesis Lecture.²⁷ According to this view, God still exacted punishment upon lands where the sins of humans were great, while fruitfulness followed the true Gospel and the paradise state. In

²⁴ Translation according to Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 244. See: WA 42,181–82.

²⁵ See Chapter 13 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 258–65.

²⁶ Christen Staphensøn Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis* (Christiania: Valentin Kuhn, 1651), 45. (“Derfaare er ded os fornøden/ ad wi høyt æstimere saadan vor HÆRRIS store Velgierning/ ad hand endocsaah hos os haffuer siin gyldene Liusestage/ som er sit hellige Ords Prædicken/ hos huilket oc udi huilcket Christus altid er nærværendis tilstæde. Men dersom hand flytter siin gyldene Liusestage/ ded er/ sit hellige Ord fra os/ saa vil ded gaa os ilde i haand.”)

²⁷ Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 205. See: WA 42,153.

his own time, Luther almost exclusively associated cursed and barren land with Jews, Turks, Catholics, and his opponents, the rebellious peasants who often experienced failed harvests. In contrast, Thüringen for example, was especially fruitful.²⁸

What then was the situation in the Holy Land? Paradise was lost, but God had indeed promised another land, fruitful and flowing with milk and honey, the land of Canaan. Nowadays, Luther could report, this land was barren: “Those who have seen the Promised Land in our time declare that it in no way resembles the favourable description which appears in Holy Scripture,” he said. He relied on eyewitnesses, those who had been there and had explored it preferred their own lands in Germany. Luther explains the change from fruitfulness to barrenness by the Jews’ refusal of Christ. Once the Jews rejected Christ, thereby losing God’s favour, their people were destroyed and their land became desolate and no longer supported or harboured them. Within the same logic it followed that the presence of the Jews, “the most detestable sinners of all,” would cause barrenness in every country they inhabited.²⁹

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Danish Lutheran reformer and the first superintendent/bishop of Sealand, Peder Palladius, wrote about the barren fields of Palestine and the fruitful fields of Europe, not least Germany, the land from which the Gospel had sprung forth anew. Abundance and fertility were the blessings of God and followed God’s pleasure with a people just as cursedness and barrenness followed sin and God’s wrath. In 1595 the Danish-Norwegian theologian Christen Linved described how the Holy Land, which had previously overflowed with milk and honey, was now unfertile and bitterly waste. The Nordic kingdoms, on the other hand – Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which had previously suffered penury and barrenness – had been blessed by all kinds of gifts: gold, silver, grain, all kinds of food, the most lovely sheep and cattle, fish, and other things.³⁰

A hundred years later, in the middle of the seventeenth century, there is no limit to the riches of Denmark–Norway. The Norwegian author Arent Berntsen from Bergen (1610–1680) published a huge description of all the riches of the twin-realm (Fig. 1.6).³¹ The reason for the abundance, not only of crops and fishes and cattle, but also of a number of minerals beneath the surface³² which were used to produce money, was that God has visited the kingdoms. The inhabitants of Denmark–Norway had as much reason as the inhabitants of Canaan, the Promised Land overflowing with milk and

28 Luther, *Lectures on Isaiah Chap. 40–60*, ed. Hilton C. Oswald, LW 17 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), 382. See: WA 31/2,557.

29 P. Stephenson and SP Bratton, “Martin Luther’s Understanding of Sin’s Impact on Nature and the Unlanding of the Jews,” *Ecotheology* 9 (2000): 92. For this reason, among others, Luther wants the Jews expelled from Germany, see Martin Luther, “On the Jews and Their Lies,” in *The Christian in Society IV*, ed. Franklin Sherman, LW 47 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 265.

30 Christen Lauritsen Linved, *Cronica Carionis* (Copenhagen: Laurents Benedict, 1595), a iii–a iiiv.

31 Arent Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1656).

32 Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, a iiiv.

honey, to praise the Lord because of his grace towards the people.³³ In accordance with the myth of the Reformation, the visitation of the Lord to the kingdoms is identified with the arrival of the shining Word of God through true and righteous preachers, and the replacement of darkness, lies, and superstition. Towards the end of his panegyrics of the righteous nations, Berntsen poses the rhetorical question of where does a people exist who are more confident and secure in their consciousness and knowledge of the pure salvific word of God taught according to the true meaning of the Scripture. He concludes with the words of Moses: “Where are a people that the Lord is closer to than to us?”³⁴

Berntsen not only transferred the fruitfulness of the Holy Land and Jerusalem to the North, but he also rewrote psalm 135, where Israel is speaking, into the new context:

Denmark and Norway/ praise the Lord
 Praise the Lord you evangelical Christians/
 You who loveth his servants/praise the Lord
 You who loveth the true faith/ praise the Lord:
 Praised be the Lord from Zion/ Halleluja.³⁵

The Jewish People and the Northern Nations: Continuity or Replacement?

Berntsen’s text actualizes a question that has been important to the Jerusalem project: how to understand the perception of the Scandinavian countries as counterparts to the Israelite people, the people of God. Central to this discussion is how to understand the continuity between the Jewish people and the northern nations. The authors of both Sweden and Denmark–Norway portrayed their kingdoms according to God’s chosen Kingdom of Israel. The sources reveal a strategy of social discipline. As the “true Israelites,” the people of the Protestant kingdoms, conceived of as the chosen people of God, were addressed with a religious and political language similar to that with which the Jews of the Old Testament had been addressed. The kings ruled the elect and modelled their rulership on ideal Old Testament kings, and they prescribed collective penitential rituals based on patterns from the Old Testament. Niels Ekedahl discusses this Israelite identification in his chapter in this volume, and

³³ Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, a iiiv.

³⁴ Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, b ii.

³⁵ “Danmark og Norge/lovpris Herren Lovpris Herren Dere Evangeliske kristne/ Dere som elsker hans tjenere/lovpris Herren Dere som elsker den sanne Tro/lovpris Herren Lovpris Herren fra Zion/ Halleluja.” Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, b ii.



Fig. 1.6: Title page of Arent Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis Fructbar Hærlighed* [The fruitful delights of Denmark and Norway], Copenhagen 1650–55.

points to the flexibility of the code. The aim of the authors is to build a confessional Lutheran identity, and not to claim an exclusive continuity of Israelite privileges.³⁶

Restructuring the Storyworld: Mediations of Holiness

When Arent Berntsen praised Denmark–Norway as a substitute for the Holy Land and Zion, it was based on an early modern understanding of representation. Since the christening of Scandinavia, the representation of the true Jerusalem had provided a moral authority and legitimated social, political, and religious institutions as well as architectural structures, as described in volume 1 of this series. In the sixteenth-century reformations, it was, as we have seen above, no longer the physical sacraments and representations that mattered in securing true continuity to the Temple and heavenly worship, but the proclamation and reception of the true Word of God. It is thus reasonable to suggest that a new paradigm of mediation of holiness, finally expressed by the Protestant reformers, caused the transformation of the Jerusalem Code in the sixteenth century. The fulcrum of the code changed when the cultural concept of representation changed.

To late medieval culture, it was a premise that holiness permeated nature, life, and society, radiating from a continued material presence of Christ, as expressed for example by Miri Rubin in her study *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*.³⁷ At the same time, the period saw a complex and paradoxical attitude towards materiality, as Caroline Walker Bynum has pointed to in her seminal study, *Christian Materiality*.³⁸ In her perspective, the Protestant rejection of holy matter can be analysed along with a multitude of responses to a crisis of confidence in material representation. According to Bynum this was caused by the diverse attitudes toward the material that had been present in the western Church since the twelfth century. The new responses cannot be analysed according to rejections of earlier “corruption” or “superstition”. Bynum claims, on the other hand, that an awareness of the radically paradoxical nature of late medieval religion frees us from the sterile debates of the past about whether the sixteenth century is a growth from or a break with earlier Christianity.³⁹ The Lutheran answer to the paradox of materiality was to point from the material to the spiritual, to the salvific word of God.

³⁶ See Chapter 7 in this volume (Niels Ekedahl), 119–45.

³⁷ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

³⁹ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 269–73.

A significant example of the shifting concept of representation can be the attitude to the relic of the Cross, which was a central object in late medieval culture, also in Scandinavia, as seen in Lena Liepe's contribution in volume 1 of this series.⁴⁰ The first book ever printed in Denmark was Guillaume Caoursin's description of the siege of the Turks at Rhodes in 1480, where this relic had a decisive function (Odense 1482).⁴¹ In Caoursin's account, a reliquary with the Cross miraculously led the Christians to defeat the enemies. The Latin text was rewritten and printed in Danish in 1508.⁴² Forty years later, however, it is possible to observe a transformed view on this material trace from Jerusalem when the Danish Lutheran reformer and first superintendent/bishop of Sealand, Peder Palladius, comments on the relic of the cross. His introduction to the Danish translation of the passion story of Christ is addressed to the noble woman Eline Gøye, and Palladius assures her that she in this text will find even more than the other *Eline*, the mother of Emperor Constantine, found in Jerusalem:

You will also find in this a precious pearl and more costly treasure (if you want to search for it) than Saint Eline, the mother of Emperor Constantine, allegedly should have found in Jerusalem/ if it could be true/ what is written about her/ and which the impious people of the pope held to be true/ how she should have sought and found the cross that Christ hung on/ in the way that they instituted an ungodly feast of it/ and fasted a three-day fast/ which they then called etc. But here you don't find wood or rod which is not worth searching for in that way/ but the crucified Jesus Christ/ who hung on the Cross/ died and poured his red blood/ with which he wiped out all our sins/ and rose to our Justice.⁴³

Palladius states that it is not the tree of the Cross, but the fact that Christ died for your sins and rose again, which creates salvation. This argument characterizes the rejection of relics, and the physical traces of Jerusalem changed their significance from objects of devotion to objects of curiosity and documentation.

40 Chapter 9, volume I (Lena Liepe), 166–87.

41 G. Caoursin, *Guillelmi Caoursin descriptio obsidionis urbis Rhodie per Johannem Snel in Ottonia impressa anno dni 1482* (Odense: Johannes Snel, 1482).

42 Gotfred af Ghemen, *Hær begynnnes then strijdh aff Rodijs* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1508).

43 "I finde ocsaa her udi en dyrbar perle oc kaasteligere liggendesæ (der som I ville ellers lede der effer) end Sanct Eline Keyser Constantini moder skulde haffue fundet i Jerusalem/ om det kunde findis sant at vere/ som er screffuet om hende/ Huilket dog det wgudelige Paffuens folck hulde saa vist at vere/ huorlunde hun skulde haffue søgt oc fundet det kaarss som Christus hengde paa/ at de stiftede en wgudelig fest der aff/ oc fastede en Træ afftens faste/ som de saa kaldede etc. Men her finde i icke Træ eller staack som er icke vært at lede effer i den maade/ men den kaarsfeste Jesum Christum/ som hengde paa kaarsset/ døde og udgaff sit rosens Blod/ huor met hand toede oss aff alle vore synder/ oc opstod til vor Retfærdighed." (The preface is dated 1556). Peder Palladius, *Vor Herris Jhesu Christi Pinis, Døds oc ærefulde Opstandelsis historie* (Copenhagen: Mads Vingaard, 1575), Aiiiv–Aiii.

The True Pilgrimages in Faith

With new premises of mediation of holiness, the earthly Jerusalem was no longer a necessary pilgrimage goal. In 1517, the same year that Johan Rantzau had bowed his head and knees before the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Martin Luther had rejected the special merits of pilgrimages and holy places. In the first of his 95 Theses on the power of indulgences, he proclaimed “When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, ‘Repent’ (Matt 4:17), he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance.” Those who made pilgrimages for the sake of indulgences, merited nothing at all:

Those people are to be justifiably ridiculed who neglect Christ and neighbor at home, in order to spend ten times as much money away from home without having any results and merit to show for it . . . Therefore he who would remain at home . . . would be doing far better – indeed, he would be doing the only right thing – than if he were to bring home all the indulgences of Jerusalem and Rome.⁴⁴

The representation of holiness was not guaranteed by material causes, and Luther thus claimed that God was “as little concerned with the grave in which our Lord lay [. . .], as with all the cows in Switzerland.”⁴⁵ The best pilgrimages could, on the other hand, be made through the Holy Scriptures: “Now we can behold and visit the true Promised Land, the true Jerusalem, yes, the true Paradise and kingdom of heaven, making our way, not through tombs and the physical places of the saints but rather through their hearts, thoughts, and spirits,”⁴⁶ and finally through faith:

In former times saints made many pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem and Compostella in order to make satisfaction for sins. Now, however, we can go on true pilgrimages in faith, namely, when we diligently read the psalms, prophets, gospel etc. Rather than walk about holy places we can thus pause at our thoughts, examine our heart, and visit the real promised land and paradise of eternal life.⁴⁷

44 LW 31 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1957), 198. See: *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum 1517* WA 1,229–38.

45 “Denn nach dem grab, do der herr ynn gelegen hatt, [. . .] fragt got gleych ßo vill, als nach allen kwen von schweytz.” Martin Luther, *Word and Sacrament II*, ed. Adel Ross Wentz, vol. 36, LW (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 228. WA 8,562.

46 In the preface to Luther’s 1530 commentary on Psalm 117, addressed to the nobleman Hans von Steinberg: “Nu aber, Gott gelobt, haben wir die Euangelia, Psalmen und ander heilige schrift, darinnen wir wallen muegen mit nutz und seligkeit und das rechte gelobte land, das rechte Jerusalem, Ja, das rechte Paradis und himelreich beschawen und besuchen und nicht durch greber und leibliche stete der heiligen, sondern durch jhre hertzen, gedancken und geist spacieren.” Martin Luther, *Selected Psalms III*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, vol. 14, LW (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 6. WA 31/1,226.

47 Table Talk no. 3588. Martin Luther, *Table Talk*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert, vol. 54, LW (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 238.

Medieval Latin Christianity had centred on Jerusalem, conceptually, devotionally, and often politically, as discussed in volume 1. Within a few years, however, the perception of Jerusalem in the Protestant world changed. What the medieval authors could refer to as the jewel in God's Diadem that had to be reconquered from the Muslims,⁴⁸ the early modern Protestant authors could describe as abandoned. While the Holy Land earlier was described as overflowing with milk and honey, it could now be described like the deserts in Norway and Iceland, a barren and waste land. There was, however, a certain resistance towards the consequences of this new paradigm. The Danish nobility still travelled to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, as seen in the chapter by Janus Møller Jensen in this book.⁴⁹ Pilgrimage was not prohibited in Denmark and Norway as it was in Sweden.⁵⁰ Møller Jensen argues that the travel accounts of Danish nobles of the sixteenth century do not differ substantially from those of their Catholic peers, and the sense of awe at being near the holiest places is genuinely expressed.

Restructuring Time

For medieval historians and, later, the Roman Catholic historians, the history of the Church was a relatively straightforward matter in the sense that it was the history of a divinely ordained institution. According to their view, the institution had a continuous history from its pre-existence as a shadow in the Jewish priesthood serving at the Temple of Jerusalem, and was transferred by several means to the Church of Rome. Protestant reformers could not adopt this view. They were therefore faced with the urgent task of offering another history of the (true) Church. Rather than a genealogical descendant of the visible church, they proposed a continuity of loyal stronghold of the Law and Gospel.

When the continuity of the true Church had to be defined anew according to the true preaching of Law and Gospel, history had to be reinterpreted and rewritten. Luther redefines not only the mediation – from physical to spiritual – but also the timeline in this transformation of the Jerusalem Code. What counts is no longer primarily the chronology of tradition, but the breakthrough of the Word and the time to come.

An early Danish example of this new model can be found in Jens Peerszøn's introduction to the translation of Urbanus Rhegius and Benedictus Gretzinger, *Ein trostliche disputation/ auff frag vn antwurt gestellet . . .* (1524), from 1531.⁵¹ At this

⁴⁸ Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), 78.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197–231.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197–231.

⁵¹ Jens Peerszøn, *En merkelig grundfest disputatz* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1952).

point the reformatory message was welcomed within some of the Danish cities. It was, however, several years before the Reformation was constitutionally introduced in 1537. The ecclesiological consequence of the Reformation paradigm was thus not yet institutionally established. Nevertheless, Peerszøn addresses the contemporary situation as an opportunity to embrace gratefully the pure word of God which once again – as during the first time of the apostles – has been revealed to the bewildered world. To describe the unique situation Peerszøn uses the history of the Israelites and the reforms at the Temple in Jerusalem as a model. Thus the history of decay, punishment, and reform in the Old Testament becomes a *topos* or mirror for the history of Christendom and the contemporary movement of reform. The analogous event that turns the history of the Israelites into a suitable mirror in this particular contemporary situation is the finding of the Book of Law in the Temple of Jerusalem during King Josiah's reign, referred in 2 Kings 22.⁵² The finding of the Law occurred before God punished his stubborn people, and in this way, according to Jens Peerszøn, God let his word once more spring forth and be proclaimed so that one could escape the wrath of God and no one could be without an excuse.

With the description of King Josiah's religious reform, based on the Law and the word of God, Peerszøn turns to the parallel history of Christendom. In the time of Christ and the apostles, the Church gathered on the Word of God, and was commanded by God to be nourished, sustained and governed by this Word. But as time went on, people forgot about God and his word and didn't even pay attention to sin. Hence, the prophecy of 2 Thess 2⁵³ came true, as God sent such a severe delusion and heresies that people believed the lie. This, says Peerszøn, has been the situation for some hundred years now. And now the world is unmistakably in front of the soon approaching penalty. Nevertheless, before this punishment, God has again let the true evangelical light, his word, shine through. Peerszøn referred to the reform established by King Josiah, and thus encouraged the Danish King Fredrik I to a similar act.

In the minds of early sixteenth-century Protestant theologians, the timeline of salvation history was dramatically tightening in their own time. The situation was described according to the apocalyptic end of time. The breakthrough of the World of God initiated the last phase of history, and in this phase, Martin Luther was the last prophet as described by the Danish reformer Nicolai Palladius. When he presented the death of Martin Luther (18 February 1546) to the Danish Church, he thus presented the story of the death of the holy Prophet of the end of times.⁵⁴ After referring to Luther's last confession, Palladius concluded that our father and true

⁵² Peerszøn, *En merkelig grundfest disputatz*, Aiv.

⁵³ 2 Thess 2:11.

⁵⁴ Niels Palladius, *En almindelig form, som bruges i Wittembergs kircke efter alle Predicken, til at formane folcket at bede for alle aandelig oc legomlig Nøttøffthgedt* (Wittenberg, 1546).

prophet, Dr Martin Luther without doubt was the angel in the Book of Revelation, chapter 14, he who proclaimed the eternal Gospel:

Then I saw another angel flying in midair, and he had the eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth – to every nation, tribe, language and people. He said in a loud voice, ‘Fear God and give him glory, because the hour of his judgment has come. Worship him who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water.’ (Rev 14:6–7)

According to the early Protestant’s chronology of the world, Martin Luther was announcing the end of times in the final universal drama of salvation. He was the last true prophet of the Word of God in a continuous fight between God and the gates of hell.

The condition for Palladius’s treatise was that there had been a *translatio* of the Gospel through time and space: from the Creation to his own time – which was the end of the world; and from Paradise to Wittenberg to his Danish congregations.

New Historiography

In light of what was considered to be the breakthrough of the Word of God, the history of Christian Scandinavia had to be written anew. In the 1570s the Danish historian and court preacher Anders Sørensen Vedel took the task of re-interpreting the past when he introduced the Danish translation of Saxo’s Danish Chronicle, *Gesta Danorum*, written in Latin around 1200.⁵⁵ At first Vedel’s description of the Christening of the Danes accords with descriptions written by medieval historians. The Danes had practiced horrible idolatry and lived in a long night and through times of darkness during the period of heathendom.⁵⁶ The heathens were stubborn and blinded. They loved the darkness, but God had pushed his way through – and “pulled us all into his Christian Church and society”.⁵⁷ The newly converted Danes were at first obedient to the Word, and kept it not only by mouth and heart, Vedel asserts, but also by deeds. They built churches and schools and sustained the preachers who proclaimed the Word. But this eagerness was soon followed by laziness, Vedel explains. When Vedel then describes the subsequent history, it is adjusted to the new fulcrum, the Word of God:

⁵⁵ Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*. See Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648): Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), 104–10.

⁵⁶ Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A):(iiv).

⁵⁷ The entire paragraph is: “Saa at Gud haffuer saa gaat som trengd sig self ind paa oss fattige hedninge/ oc draget oss udi hals oc haar/ ind udi sin Christne kirckis Menighed oc Samfund. Saa langt haffuer veret fra/ at wi self enten kunde uide eller giøre noget/ som oss nyttigt oc gaffnligt kunde vere/ til Sandheds oc Saligheds rette kundskaff.” Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A9):(iii).

In the way that both the preachers and the listeners/ have neglected to remain by the clear and written Word of God. They had reluctance against it/as Israel expressed disgust at the food/which God gave them from heaven, in the desert. They are fallen into a new Blindness and Delusion/ and have lent the poisoned Antichrist house and shelter by themselves. While they were sure/ according to their good reputation/ that they have improved/ they have aggravated/ and are punished by God/ that they believed in lie and forceful delusion/ because they did not want to remain faithful to the first confession of Truth.⁵⁸

The continuity of the true church was maintained by the secret few during the age of papacy, Vedel explains, as he compares the history with the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews. There were always a number of Danes who remained faithful despite their leaders. And finally, piety was restored by the adoption of Luther's teaching. In this way, with the words of Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "[t]he real significance of the religious development told by Saxo, from heathendom to Christianity, only becomes clear when we bear in mind how the following Catholic abuse was finally replaced by the Lutheran Reformation".⁵⁹ After generations of both severe delusion and scarce faith, God had, according to Vedel, in the last times of the world, let the bright light of his word shine through. God had provided both faithful preachers and a God-fearing authority, "which had opened the gates to His Son, the King of glory".⁶⁰ According to Vedel, the Danish Kingdom is praised more than all other kingdoms and realms in the entire world because of the pious King Christian III, who expelled the Antichrist from the realm, and prescribed a good order in both Church and schools.⁶¹ According to the idea of *translatio*, the presence of God in the Kingdom of Denmark is, however, described as a grace that can be withdrawn and moved to another place whenever God wills it. The history reminds us of God's mercy, and exhorts "those Lands and Kingdoms/ that have received the bright light of his blessed word/ to love it/ and behave according to it/ in the way that God gains no reason/ because of their ingratitude/ to wander from this place to another place".⁶²

58 "Saa at baade de som skulde predicke oc tilhøre/ haffue begge veret forsommelige til at bliffue ved det reene oc scrifftelige udtrycte Guds Ord. De haffue keddis der ued/ som Israel vemmedis offuer den Spise/ huilcken Gud gaff dennem ned aff himmelen udi Ørcken. De ere henfaldene udi ny Blindhed oc Vildfarelse/ oc haffue laant den forgiffelige Antichristen hus oc herbere hos sig. Der de meente / effter deris eget gode tycke/ at de forbedrede sig/ da haffue de foruerret sig/ oc ere strafede aff Gud/ at de trode Løgn oc krafftelig Vildfarelse/ efferdi de vilde icke bliffue ved den første Sandheds bekiendelse." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(iiiv).

59 Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," *Symbolae Osloenses* 73, no. 1 (1998): 166.

60 "hand haffver icke alleniste sent oss tro Lærere/ men giffuet oss ocsaa gudfryctig Øffrighed/ som haffue obnet Portene/ for hans Søn/ærens Koning." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(viv).

61 Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A):(viv).

62 "Oc at de Land oc Rige/ som haffue hans salige Ords klare lius/ skulle elske det/ oc skicke sig saaledis der effter/ at hand faar icke Aarsage/ for deris Utacknemmeligheds skyld/ at vandre fra dennem hen til en anden stæd." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(iiiv).

The Pedagogical Jerusalem Code: Chronicon Carionis

While Vedel wrote his Danish version of Saxo in a national-scale perspective as presented above, *Chronicon Carionis* was written in world-scale perspectives.⁶³ This historiography, written by Johannes Carion and Philip Melanchton in 1531–32, was soon presented to all the Danish university students.⁶⁴ The Danish translation of *Chronicon* appeared in 1554, translated by John Tursson, eighteen years before what later became the standard version, totally rewritten by Philip Melanchthon, appeared in 1572, a version that enjoyed immense popularity in the Protestant world. At the small university in Copenhagen, according to Skovgaard-Petersen, *Chronicon* was to be read at the evening meal at the university college, which had been founded by the king in 1569.⁶⁵

The *Chronicon* tells the history of the world from the Creation up to the sixteenth century. The storyline is the continuity of the true worship. The constructions of time are explained explicitly, and Jerusalem plays a certain role which will be commented on below.

In its construction of a Christian storyworld, the chronicle combines two medieval chronological schemes: The first is the *traditio domus Eliah* (the prophecies of Eliah) derived from Talmud.⁶⁶ It allots a fixed span of years to the world, six thousand altogether, divided into three periods of 2000 years: the period before the giving of the Law (up to Abraham); the period subject to the Law (from Abraham to Jesus); and the period of grace – the reign of Christ. As each period was calculated to two thousand years, it meant that the world in the sixteenth century was approaching its end. The last period was actually shortened because sin was increasing according to the text.

The other chronological scheme was the translation of the word empire, *the translatio imperii*.⁶⁷ It was based on the prophet Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the Book of Daniel. Four world Monarchies would succeed each other in the course of history. These were identified as the Assyrian, Persian, Greek or Macedonian, and the Roman Empire. The latter was still alive, represented by the German Habsburg

⁶³ Skovgaard-Petersen has shown how Vedel's account of the history of Denmark seems to be an adaption to national proportions of the worldscale perspective of Melanchthon's *Chronicon Carionis*. Vedel is influenced by Melanchton's *Chronicon Charionis*, cf. Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 164. See also Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*, 104–10.

⁶⁴ Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 158.

⁶⁵ Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 158.

⁶⁶ On Melanchthon's use of this Jewish tradition, see Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship between Universal History and Pedagogy*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 183 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 43–46.

⁶⁷ See also Chapter 3 in volume I (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55. On Melanchthon's use of *translatio imperii*, see Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists*, 216.

Empire. As is well known, this model was one of the most important historico-philosophical works of the Middle Ages.⁶⁸

In the *Chronicon* the purpose of the history is to learn how God maintains both regiments – the spiritual and secular, both established from the beginning of time – and how he punishes sin by transferring his grace, his mandate, from one political reign to another. The will of God, his recognition of virtue and punishment of sin, are thus determinants in the course of history. In this perspective, *translationes imperii* are caused by moral decline in the expiring empires.

When Danish Tursson translated and rewrote the *Chronicon*, the Roman Empire still reigned, through Emperor Charles V. The German nation had been more worthy than all other nations of the world, Tursson claimed. Nevertheless, the sky was about to darken. According to the model of history, the subsequent empires – until judgement day – had to be a continuation of the Roman one. The chronicle emphasized the prophecy, and the consequence was that Judgement Day would come when this Roman Empire was ruined and the emperor – or rather the prince-electors – no longer managed to protect religion and maintain peace and unity. The political and religious disagreements were a clear sign of the apocalypse – and the final change in history.⁶⁹

An important point in the *Chronicon* is: How to postpone the deserved punishment, the transfer of God's presence, and the apocalypse? This was the task of the ruler and what he had to practice through the disciplining of his citizens. And here is – finally – where Jerusalem becomes a model and the Jerusalem Code becomes a pedagogical tool.

68 This built on earlier interpretations, not least by Jerome (347/48–419/20) and Orisius (c.385–420), and had been systematically applied to the history of the world in the chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg (1100), cf. H. Thomas, “Translatio Imperii,” in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (1977–99). The French historian, Jean Bodin (1530–1596) later commented on the use of this tradition: “A long-established, but mistaken, idea about four empires, made famous by the prestige of great men, has sent its roots down so far that it seems difficult to eradicate. It has won over countless interpreters of the Bible; it includes among modern writers Martin Luther, Melanchton, Sleidan, Lucidus, Funck, and Panvinio – men well read in ancient history and things divine.” Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 37 (New York: Octagon, 1966), 291.

69 Johan Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion paa thet flittigste sammen dragen, huer mand nyttelig att læse oc er nu fordansket aff M. Joenn Tursson: Medt een skøn oc herlig Register som indholder alle fornemste handel oc Historier som seg fraa Verdens begyndelse ind til Carolum V begiffuit haffue* (Wittenberg: Jurgen Rhauues arffuinger, 1554), 13, 124v; 269–70.

The “Demo” of God

To teach how to maintain the grace of God, the author of *Chronicon* uses sacred history as an analogy, just as we saw in the texts by Peerszøn and Vedel above. Sacred history tells how a particular governance was constituted among the people of Israel. It consisted of both priestly office and secular regiment, and according to *Chronicon* it was established as the oldest “people” and oldest “nation” on earth.⁷⁰ As such, the people of Israel were the “demo” of God: a people where the just worship existed (until the death of Christ, when it was transferred to the gentiles) and from whom the Son of God was to be born, while the other nations all worshipped false Gods.⁷¹

The dynamics of the history was the constant struggle to maintain the right worship. There were three important actors in these dynamics who all played important roles in the storyworld of the Jerusalem code: the king – whose duty was to protect the right worship; the prophets, whose duty was to warn the kings and lead the ruler back on track; and the foreign nations, not least the empire, which God used to punish his people.

On this premise, the *Chronicon* lists all the Old Testament kings and their affairs: how they destroyed false worship, or how they interfered with and built altars to foreign Gods and misused religion – and how God consequently rewarded them or punished them by using other nations to attack Jerusalem or by letting the king lose wars.

Achas and Ezechias are examples of a bad king and a good king:

Achas ruled 16 years and ordained false worship. He erected chapels and altars all over the country [. . .], and it was pure and simple disbelief and abuse of the true worship. For this reason God arranged that the entire kingdom because of him was attacked and tormented.⁷²

Ezechias ruled for 29 years. He was pious and he destroyed the false worship and ordained reward and a tenth to the priests. Such are proper princely good deeds. For this reason God gave him a remarkable victory against his enemy: at the time when the King of Assyria besieged Jerusalem, and he cried to God for help, God let his angel beat the Assyrians and save Jerualem.⁷³

⁷⁰ Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 40v.

⁷¹ Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 30.

⁷² “Achas regerede 16. Aar/ oc anrichtede falsk Guds dyrckelse/ hand lod opbygge Capel oc Altere alle vegne I landet/ [. . .] oc vor doch idel vantro oc misbrug emod den rette Guds tieniste/ herfore haffuer Gud tilstedt/ att thet ganske kongeriige bleff med hannom offuerfallet oc suarligen plaget.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35.

⁷³ “Ezechias regerede 29. Aar/ oc vor from oc haffuer ødelagt then falske Guds dyrckelse/ oc beskickedede presterne theris underholning oc tiende/ Sodan ere the rette førstelige gode gierninger. Herfore haffuer Gud giffuet hannom merckelige seyer emod hans fiende. Fordi att den tiid at then

Another example of a good king is King Josias, who initiated reform at the Temple. The author of the *Chronicon* interprets this according to the program of the Protestant Reformation, and recognizes the analogy in his own time:

Josias ruled for 31 years, and again the king destroyed the false worship, the chapels and the idolatry, and he burned the bones of the false prophets. During this kingship they rediscovered the books of Moses, which had been lost for a long time. Yes, this is a remarkable example which we should recognize, of how people regarded idolatry and human ideas and doctrines as good in this period. And the Holy Scripture had a bad reputation in the same period, in the way that they had lost the books and didn't know where they could be. Over time God revealed them. This history is doubtless a figure and a comment about this last time in the holy church, where the Word of God again should be revealed and the Holy Scripture again be well known.⁷⁴

The examples from the sacred history showed how God brought up his people. He punished and rewarded them according to their worship and fear of God. The history of Jerusalem was an example of the circle of true worship, rejection, repentance, and once again true worship, and then later of disbelief in God and disagreement among the citizens which consequently led to the final penalty when God destroyed the city through the Romans. The pedagogical example of Jerusalem according to this history was referred to repeatedly in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁷⁵ The important pedagogical point was to learn that when God did not spare his own people, and the Kingdom of Judea, which He himself had ordained, then He would neither spare other nations or kingdoms, but be harsh and awful, and punish sin everywhere.⁷⁶

This is the Jerusalem Code as it was presented by the Protestant universal history in Denmark in 1554 – the purpose was to motivate the king to fear of God and to just ruling, and to ensure that sin would not increase. The increase of sin would mean the shortening of time, and the coming of the apocalypse.

Koning aff Assyria haffde belagt Hierusalem/ Tha paa kallede hand Gud om hielp/ oc Gud lod tha Engelen slaa the Assyrier oc frelse Jerusalem.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35.

74 “Josias rgerede [sic] 31. Aar/ oc haffuer atter ødelagt then falske Guds dyrckelse oc nederslaget Capel oc affguderii oc lod forbrende the falske propheterss been. Wti thenne koninges tiid haffuer mand igen fundet the bøger Moisi/ huilcke tha vore borte oc forlorne i long tiid/ Ja sandeligen dette er ocsaa ett mectigt exempel som oss bør vel att mercke/ huorledes all wgudelighedt oc menniskens paafund oc lerdom/ haffuer tha so møgit fonget offuer honden / oc vor tha aller mest anseet hoss alle mand/ Oc then hellige skriffth vor saa ringe achtet paa same tiid/ oc aldelis forsmadt/ saa att mand haffde tha forlorett bøkerne oc viste ei huor the vore/ men Gud haffuer thennom att ligeuel om siher igen skicket. Thenne historia er for uthan tuil en figur oc bemerckelse om thenne siiste tiid i then hellige Kircke/ huor som Guds ord skulle clarligere obenbaris emod enden/ oc then hellige skrifftht bliffuue bedre bekendt.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 36v–37.

75 See Chapter 12 in this volume (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 235–57.

76 This moral is stated in several different versions in the Danish literature of the time. Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35v–36.

The Temple of Jerusalem

The duty of the rulers was to maintain the true worship. In the Old Testament, the place for this worship was first and foremost the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence, the destiny of the Temple became a mirror and a pedagogical tool in the disciplinatio of piety of the early Protestant government. The temple was also the place for reform, for cleansing and for destruction, different acts that were used to describe actual situations.

As explained above, both Peerszøn's description of the reformatory movement, as well as *Chronicon Carionis* pointed to the *topos* of King Josiah as a particular figure. He had cleansed the Temple to restore the cult and thus establishing the reform of the Israelites. Accordingly, he was a suitable model for the secular rulers who embraced the various concepts of religious reform in early modern Europe. The *topos* of King Josiah was used most intensely by the Calvinists, but also by Anglicans and Lutherans, and Luther himself had employed the text of 2 Kings 22 in his funeral sermon for Elector Friedrich the Wise in 1525.⁷⁷ The cleansing of the Temple was also regarded according to the act of Jesus when he overthrew the Temple. At the establishment of the Reformation, the first Danish superintendent, Peder Palladius, saw himself continuing Jesus's cleansing. In his instruction to the pastors and congregations in Sjælland around 1540, Palladius instructed his parishioners to preserve the high altar and abolish all side-altars, as Palladius regarded the side-altars as "cabins and shops" like those overthrown by Jesus in the Temple.⁷⁸

Another possible fate than cleansing and reform, was the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem. According to theological interpretation this was God's punishment when his people refused to listen and receive his Word, Jesus. The history of the destruction of Jerusalem, performed by the Romans in AD 70, gained renewed importance in the Early Modern period as explained by Beatrice Groves in her chapter in this volume.⁷⁹

Throughout the Middle Ages, the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple had first and foremost been regarded as a sign of God which marked the end of the Old Covenant and the beginning of the New. While the Temple was rebuilt after the first destruction by King Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC, it was never again rebuilt after the Romans' plundered it in AD 70. According to medieval interpreters, this second destruction followed the translation of grace from the Jewish nation to

⁷⁷ On this topic, see Graeme Murdock, "The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 4 (1998), 1043–59; Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 218ff.; Sivert Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 92–94. See also Chapter 6 in this volume (Sivert Angel), 97–117.

⁷⁸ Kåre Støylen, *Peder Palladius Visitasbok* (Oslo: Tanum, 1945), 33.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3 in this volume (Beatrice Groves), 54–61.



Fig. 1.7: Panel commemorating the rebuilding of Kvernes Church, Norway, 1633, evoking the building of the Temple of Solomon.

the Christians. Since then the Jewish Temple had been an abomination to God. The victory of the Romans confirmed that it was the Christians, and no longer the Jews, who were God's Chosen People. With the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the earthly Jerusalem lost its religious significance (later restored by pilgrimages and the crusades) and Christian discourse concentrated on the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In the early Protestant texts, however, the destruction of Jerusalem was not primarily understood according to the chronology of the triumphant Church replacing the defeated synagogue. With their new premises, the reformers redefined the storyline and thus distributed the roles of the *storyworld* anew. What was at stake was not the fate or continuity of a people, but a true religious practice based on the Word of God, which meant the distinction between Law and Gospel. In this perspective, the destruction was understood as a response to a certain continuous human status before God. This was in line with the premises of the new Protestant historiography based on the true worship, as demonstrated above. According to these premises, Jews and Christians shared the same miserable status before God and deserved the same punishment. The main sin was not in crucifying Christ, but in despising his preaching, a sin which continuously performed by Jews and Christians alike. Hence, the Protestant interpretations could refer to the destruction of Jerusalem as the final transfer of holiness from the Jewish religion to the Christian Church as a comforting fact, but the siege of Jerusalem played a lesser role as a transition between stages in the history of salvation.

According to this redefined storyline, the Catholics were already acting as Jews, with their outward religion based on the Law,⁸⁰ and the Protestants were also always in danger of falling into the same miserable sins. Hence, the destruction of Jerusalem was no singular moment, but first of all a warning example and a call to continuous conversion in the sixteenth century as well. As a warning example it was a reminder that the grace of God could also be removed from the chosen people of the Protestant north. The sources examined in Chapter 12 later in this volume (“Who can approach our Jerusalem without crying?” The Destruction of Jerusalem in Danish Sources,

80 The Catholic Church had perverted the Temple and the priesthood into the doctrine of monks and works, Luther explained, and referred to the Roman practice of indulgences, “so that with such offerings one merited the grace of God.” The peak of this perversion was the office of the pope, the “great rat king at Rome with his Judas purse, which is the great money gulch that in the name of Christ and the church has appropriated to itself all the possessions of the world”. This practice exclaims Luther, is a “much more infamous and barefaced perversion of the temple of God into a house of merchandise, than was perpetrated by the Jews at Jerusalem,” “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” (Wittenberg, 1525). Translation according to Martin Luther, *Sermons of Martin Luther: vol. 4: Sermons on Gospel Texts for the 1st to 12th Sundays after Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983), 332–33.

1515–1729”) suggest that the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in the year AD 70, was a primary model and a mirror by which the inhabitants and preachers of early modern Denmark–Norway interpreted their own times and the lives of the citizens.

The Earthly Jerusalem: From Centre to Periphery

Alongside new theological interpretations of the earthly Jerusalem, several geopolitical and religious incidents influenced the early modern perception of Jerusalem. Within a period of two hundred years, the Ottoman Turks had conquered an area extending from the borders of India to the African shores of the Atlantic Ocean. After the conquest of 1517, Palestine remained under Ottoman rule for four hundred years. As Colin Morris has emphasized, any successful military action of the European powers at Jerusalem was regarded as a sheer implausibility and “[t]he recovery of Jerusalem increasingly belonged to the world of prophecy.”⁸¹

From a geopolitical perspective, Jerusalem played a more peripheral role during the Ottoman rule than under the previous Mamluk rule when the city had been centrally placed in an empire stretching from the full line of the Levantine seaboard and encompassing Egypt and Western Arabia. When the Ottomans took over the city in the sixteenth century, Palestine became a province of a large empire whose centre of gravity lay in Anatolia and the Balkans. On the larger scale, it was the period of drawing new geographical maps. Columbus’s discovery of the New World in 1492 relativized Jerusalem’s central position at the junction between Africa, Europe, and Asia – the known continents. The long-term effect, both because of altered geography, as well as restricted availability, gave Jerusalem a different place in geographical imagination.

Over time the new political situation in the Levant contributed decisively to changing the status of Jerusalem. The Ottoman siege caused severe problems for all Christian pilgrims, not only for the Danish Johan Rantzau as described at the beginning of this chapter, and thus affected the religious practice. The new regime made the earthly city less available to western Christians and an immediate consequence of the siege was the decline in pilgrimage. In 1519 there were 190 pilgrims gathered from different nationalities who set out from Venice. Only a couple of years later, in 1522, there were about forty.

⁸¹ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 378.

Jerusalem in the Eyes of the Christians

Even though the pilgrimages were strongly restricted by the new regime, the pilgrims' gaze towards Jerusalem nevertheless had the same focus as it had had for centuries: "In western eyes, Ottoman Jerusalem did not exist."⁸²

In the western Pilgrimage accounts from early modern Europe, it was the biblical Jerusalem and the Christian Jerusalem that was described, as can be seen in, for example, the travel description by the Dane Otto Skram from 1661.⁸³ His intention was to see with his own eyes the holy places from the story of Christ and other biblical histories. He did not go to Jerusalem to see what was there, but to imagine what had been there.

Otto Skram's description of the city is a detailed reckoning of the sites which are shown to him and the other pilgrims by their Franciscan guides, from the first sight from the roof of the monastery of St Saviour⁸⁴ – probably bathed in what must have been experienced as a magical sunset – to their departure from Jerusalem and finally from the Holy Land by passing over Jordan on a bridge allegedly built by the Patriarch Jacob. The description of the Ottoman city itself is brief:

What concerns the city, it is situated in Length on three small hills. Forty years ago the Turkish emperor built a wall around the city because of the Arabians, as those from Arabia often came from the Mountains, robbed the City and kidnapped the Turks, the Turks thus have to do with them all the time, because those Arabians really don't want to be subject to the Turkish emperor. In the City is quite a strong Castle, inhabited entirely by Turks, and it is said that this Castle, in the times of Titus and Vespasian, when the City was ruined, was the only one to remain. The City is quite large, but few People are in it and mostly poor People, and because they don't engage in any trade, many places in the City are desolated. Above the Streets in the City there are several Archs, because, as it is said, in old Times when the City was still small, and there were a great many people there, they had houses built over the Streets, so almost all Streets have been covered by arches. There are Six Gates to the City, four large and two small.⁸⁵

82 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Yusuf Natsheh Sylvia Auld (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 73.

83 For manuscripts, see Møller Jensen in Chapter 11 in this volume, 208, n. 40. Skram's travel account is partially published by Glarbo, "Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede," 21–32.

84 The monastery of St Saviour was where the pilgrims used to stay.

85 "Hvad staden i sig selff belanger, daa ligger den i Lengden paa tre Smaabierge. For 40 år siden har den tyrchische Keyser bygged en Muur omkring Staden for de Arabier Schyld, thi de aff Arabia komme tit fra Biergene, udplyndrede Staden och bortførde Tyrcherne, saa Tyrcherne har endnu alle Dage tit med dem at gjøre, thi de Arabier vill gandsche inted vere den tyrchische Keyser underdanig. I Staden er en temlig fast Castel, som er med lutter Tyrcher besat, och siges dette Castel i Titi Vespasiani Tider, daa Staden bleff forstyrred, allene at vere bestanden. Staden er temlig stoer, men faa Folch ere der udi och mesten Deel fattig Folch, thi de bruger gandsche ingen Handell, saa der

The descriptions of the city of Jerusalem by western pilgrims confirm the non-importance of the Storyworld of the others, and the importance of the Christian Storyworld.⁸⁶ In this world, the local Turks, Arabs, and Jews had only one role to fulfil, “that of a *massa perditionis*”.⁸⁷ Their function was to “illustrate the divine justice which inflicted utter desolation upon those who strayed from the path of the true believer.”⁸⁸

With respect to the Ottoman administration, the pilgrims rarely noted that it policed the country, provided security, and dispensed justice. In Skram’s description, the Turks are present as a constant obstacle. At the entrance to the city and to the important sites, the pilgrims have to pay money to the Turkish guards.⁸⁹ The obstacles did not, however, concern payment only, as Skram’s description often returns to various difficulties caused by the Turks. One example is connected to the tomb of Lazarus in Bethany – the tomb had twenty-three steps, which the monks themselves had chopped, Skram explains, because the Turks had built a construction at the very entrance.⁹⁰ Another difficulty is connected to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem:

The Church in itself had earlier been a very beautiful Church. The Walls as well as the Floor had been of sheer Marble, which those Turks have torn down and transported away. In the Church there are 48 red Marble pillars, each one similar to the other. There had also been beautiful pictures in this Church, at which the Turks and Moors, when they arrive there, shoot arrows and spoil them.⁹¹

One of these damaged columns was the one with the picture of the Norwegian patron saint Olaf on it, which can still be seen with arrow holes from this period.

At the Holy Sepulchre, the Ottoman administration was an obstacle to the maintenance of the building:

The Door, through which one enters the Tomb, is very mean, inside and outside it is sheer Marble, but the decay is strong, because one does not dare to improve it, the Christians gave

staar mange Steder øde i Staden. Offver Gaderne i Staden ere mange Hvelninger, thi, som der siges, i gammel Tid daa Staden var endnu liden, och der var gandsche meged Folch der inde, har de hafft Huse bygt offver Gaderne, saa Gaderne fast alle har vere offverhvelted. Sex Porte ere der till Staden, fire store och tu smaa.” Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 30–31.

86 See *Prelude* in this volume, 8.

87 Knauf, “Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes,” 74.

88 Knauf, “Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes,” 74.

89 For example Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 22–23.

90 Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 23.

91 “Kirchen i sig self har tilforn vered en meged schön Kirche. Murerne saa vell som och Gulled har vered aff lutter Marmor, som de Tyrcher har nedbrudet och bortfurt. I Kirchen ere 48 røde Marmorstøtter, en som den anden. Skøne Billeder har der och vered i den Kirche, till hvilche de Tyrcher och Morer, nar de der hen komme, schyder med dere Buer och dennem forderffver.” Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 27.

the Turks a lot of Money, in the way that he should allow them to repair something on it, but he surely does not want this. Yes, in the entire City neither Christian nor Jew dares to build anything because of the Turk, nor even whitewash a wall.⁹²

Otto Skram, as well as other contemporary pilgrims, both Protestants and Catholics, described the brutality of the Turks. This not only affected the monks and other Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, but also the safety of the pilgrims who were prevented from visiting the holy places. This brutal side of Ottoman Jerusalem resulted in consequences for Christian Europe as they needed to seek other means, both physically and metaphorically, to reach what was perceived as an important goal of man: the true Jerusalem.

An Epilogue: Searching for the True Jerusalem

When the earthly city was far less accessible, there were several ways to reach Jerusalem other than travelling to the physical city in Palestine, as has been explained above. For the perspective of this introduction, it is relevant to compare Martin Luther and his finding of the true Jerusalem in true worship with another influential man and his approach – Luther’s contemporary, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). Their differing destinies mirror two different religious responses to the challenges of early modern Europe.

After his religious conversion in 1522, Ignatius’s desire was to go to Jerusalem as a penitent pilgrim, and to remain in the Holy City for the rest of his life. He went to Jerusalem in 1523 but was not allowed to stay – the militancy of the Ottoman Turks made it too difficult, and the Franciscan Provincial in Jerusalem refused his desire. After yet another attempt in 1537, he was persuaded to put himself, together with his brethren, at the disposition of Pope Paul III in Rome. This had been their second choice if it became apparent that a physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem was impossible. His desire was here realized in another way: “Italy is a good and true Jerusalem,” Pope Paul III told Ignatius and his companions.⁹³

It is far-fetched to say that the lacking of accessibility to Jerusalem prompted the Protestant Reformation, but it surely laid some important premises concerning where to search for the true Jerusalem. Also the Jesuits, established in the first half of the sixteenth century, embody a response to the difficulty in accessing Jerusalem. The Jesuits’ response was more direct: “His original notion of a chivalrous pilgrimage to

⁹² Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 29.

⁹³ John C. Olin, “The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola,” *Church History* 48, no. 4 (1979): 387–97.



Fig. 1.8: The Raising of Lazarus and the New Jerusalem. Detail of epitaph, c.1695, Ringkøbing Church, Denmark.

the East had evolved into a religious order”, John C. Olin states.⁹⁴ Olin identifies St Ignatius’s vision of Jerusalem as the determining *raison d’être* of the new order. This vision was not the geographical pilgrimage goal, Jerusalem, but rather the place where Christ gathered his disciples and gave them their mission. This place could thus be transferred to Rome. The establishment of the Jesuit order could therefore be interpreted as a significant historical path derived from the Ottoman regulation of Jerusalem. Compared to Ignatius of Loyola, Martin Luther evolves another response and another paradigm. The inculturation of this Lutheran paradigm in the early modern Scandinavian kingdoms is the main focus of this volume.

The Outline of the Book

This book explores the transformation of the Jerusalem Code after the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Scandinavia through four main themes. These are legitimation of political authorities, the perception of holiness and sacred space, the interpretation of Jerusalem in Salvation history, and finally the interiorization of the Jerusalem Code. These themes largely correspond to the four parts of the book.

Chapters come in two forms: as brief, explicatory comments on key concepts or short presentations of source material offering illustrative cases for such concepts, or as more comprehensive research papers. Together, the chapters present textual, visual, and material sources from the twin realms of Denmark–Norway, and Sweden, and cover a time span from the establishment of the Reformation at the beginning of the sixteenth century up to the middle of the eighteenth century. There is, however,

⁹⁴ Olin, “The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola,” 392.

an emphasis on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a majority of the chapters centre on Denmark–Norway.

Following this introduction are three shorter introductory texts. In Chapter 2, Volker Leppin briefly presents the transformation of a key concept in the Jerusalem Code, namely the People of God. The Reformation theologians continued – and transformed – the common medieval conviction that Christians (the Protestants) had succeeded and replaced Israel as the people of God. In Chapter 3, Beatrice Groves presents a fundamental change of perspective in respect to early modern Protestant interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. The implied audience was no longer expected to identify with the victorious Romans but with the suffering Jews, and the narrative of the destruction changed from romance to tragedy. In the final short introductory chapter, Thomas Kaufman comments on the role of the Jews in the Lutheran conception. When the dominant view was that the church had inherited the election of ancient Israel, this led to particular views on the role of the Jews in the history extending towards the anticipated Judgement Day.

The main theme in Part I (Chapters 5–8) is the legitimization of political power by means of what we have described as the Jerusalem Code. Two articles consider Denmark–Norway, and two articles comment on Sweden. Arne Bugge Amundsen analyses the first coronation of a Lutheran sovereign, King Christian III (1503–1559), king of Denmark–Norway, in 1537. Sivert Angel investigates the rhetorical use of Jerusalem in the funeral orations for the same king. Both authors discuss the relevance of the Jerusalem Code as political legitimization strategy at the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway. Martin Berntson analyses the legitimization strategy of the Vasa-regime that seized royal power in the Kingdom of Sweden during the early sixteenth century. Through the construed connection to the Old Testament kings and leaders, the Jerusalem Code was transformed and adjusted to early modern Lutheran political culture. Niels Ekedahl continues the story through the seventeenth and eighteenth century, when the perception of Sweden as a counterpart to the Israelite people in the Old Testament played an important part in the construction of Swedish nationhood.

Part II (Chapters 9–11) considers transformed perspectives on holiness and the Holy City of Jerusalem. Martin Schwarz Lausten introduces this part with his short chapter on how the Danish kings, Christian II and Christian III, perceived Wittenberg, rather than Jerusalem or Rome, as the Holy City from which authority sprang. From quite another angle, Erling Sandmo investigates the transformation of sacred geography when he discusses cartography of the early modern period. He argues that while Jerusalem, with the new geography and cartography, lost its importance as the axis of the world map, maps of the Holy Land remained connected to sacred geography. Janus Møller Jensen investigates some of the motives of the Danish nobles who visited Jerusalem after the Reformation, despite the city's loss of significance. Through his analysis of travel accounts, crusade literature, knightly orders, and expressions of national crusading ideology, he demonstrates how several elements of the medieval

crusade continued as part of royal and national ideology, as well as part of the ideals and religious life of Protestant knighthood.

Part III (Chapters 12–16) investigates the rhetorical use of the destruction of Jerusalem in Protestant preaching in Denmark–Norway, as well as the transformation and use of the motive of the two rival cities, Jerusalem and Babel, in Lutheran propaganda. Eivor Andersen Oftestad investigates nine Danish sermons written for the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, from 1515 to 1762. Through this survey of sermons with a span of almost two hundred years, she demonstrates how the preachers adapted their warning message to new historical situations. Andersen Oftestad also presents, in a short chapter, Christen Staffensen Bang’s description of Christiania (Oslo) from 1651, written according to a model of the city of Jerusalem. The ever threatening catastrophe, a new fire in the city, is the backdrop that recalls Jerusalem as a moral example. Arne Bugge Amundsen continues the discussion of Christiania as an off-print of Jerusalem. In his chapter he discusses an inner ambivalence of the Jerusalem Code as he compares Bang and his description with another theologian, Niels Svendsen Chronich, who argued that the true Jerusalem was to be found in the hearts of the believers and their conventicles. The two last chapters in Part III turn to the image of the antagonistic city, Babel, and to the Antichrist, as rhetorical tools. Marius Timmann Mjaaland presents an important frame of the Lutheran Reformation, with a broader discussion of Rome as the New Jerusalem or the New Babel. Otfried Czaika demonstrates with his study of a Swedish collection of songs about the Antichrist, how the same discussion was implemented in Sweden.

The last part, Part IV (Chapters 17–22), is entitled *Heavenly Jerusalem: Between Promise and Reality*. This part presents different forms in which the heavenly Jerusalem was represented in Early Modern Denmark–Norway. Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen investigates the transformation of the visual arts and Church interiors when the already existing medieval images were to be inserted into a new evangelical frame. Eystein M. Andersen explores the Baroque city plan of Trondheim in central Norway from 1681, and how the urban prophesy of the Heavenly Jerusalem was integrated. This contribution presents what can be conceived of as Catholic influence in the confessional Denmark–Norway. In his case-study of the influential Danish hymn writer, Thomas Kingo, Joar Haga investigates one of the most important aspects of Jerusalem-representation in Lutheran culture of piety in seventeenth-century Denmark–Norway. While Haga focuses on the culture of piety which involved and informed the people, Beate Schmidt focuses on elite culture in her chapter on the Wolffenbüttel composer and court master Michael Praetorius and his vision of a New Jerusalem of sound. Schmidt presents the cultural exchange between German courts and Denmark at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The last contribution in this publication is Joar Haga’s chapter on the New Jerusalem in Trankebar. Haga widens the perspective to the Danish colonies, as well as to the new missionary endeavour. This chapter introduces the pietistic movement and new hopes for a concrete realization of the Kingdom of God, perspectives that came to flourish in the following period. This chapter thus

creates a bridge to be followed to volume III of this publication. At last, as part of this bridge to volume III, Walter Sparr presents the German theologian Johan Valentin Andrea's utopian vision of a Christian society, the *Christianopolis* of 1619. This was the first Protestant model of a perfect Christian society, and influenced the effort of to realize the heavenly Jerusalem, not least in the Scandinavian countries in the time to come.