Fig. 5.1: a. The imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, in use until the dissolution of the Empire in 1806. The crown has been altered and repaired several times, but its core dates from the tenth century. b. Detail of the imperial crown, showing the rear side of the front cross, which was probably added to the crown at the beginning of the eleventh century. Kaiserliche Schatzkammer/Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.

Arne Bugge Amundsen

Chapter 5

The Nordic Zion: The Coronation of Christian III, King of Denmark–Norway, in 1537

The focus of this chapter is the coronation and anointing of King Christian III (1503–59), King of Denmark–Norway, on 12 August 1537. This was the first coronation of a Lutheran sovereign, and much energy was put into designing the coronation ritual. This new Lutheran ritual was established in the field of tension between the old and new and between confessions in increasingly sharp conflicts. A coronation wishing to appear legitimate and credible could not depart too significantly from earlier coronation rituals. The historic background for the Christian coronation rituals is complex, but when interpreting them, the link between the Christian and Old Testament Kings is a key element: the theocratic kingdom of Israel, Zion, and Jerusalem thus had a central place in the symbolic universe created by these rituals. Thus, one important question is how this ritual connection manifested itself in practice, and whether changes in the rituals took place during the transition to Lutheran beliefs about the position of the King as an instrument in God's rule of the world.

Most of the individual elements in the early Lutheran coronations of kings had already been designed in the coronation rituals of the European Middle Ages. These rituals in turn contained traditional elements from the Roman period, and this historic connection was deliberate and important. A central link between European court rituals and the classic Roman period occurred with Charlemagne (742–814), who in 800 was crowned and anointed as the Emperor by Pope Leo III (d. 816). Many of the lines of connection – also in terms of the coronation regalia – came by way of the Byzantine or East Roman imperial court.¹ The connection between the Emperor and the Pope was intended to make it clear that there was ritual continuity in the coronation ritual harkening back to the classic Roman period, while the con-

¹ Cf. Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: Harper & Collins, 2005), 54. Janet L. Nelson, "The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

tent of the ritual made it clear that the Emperor was that foremost protector of the Church and Christianity, in understanding with and in a certain sense subservient to the Papal Chair.²

In this ritual tradition we find elements from ideas about the Christian theocratic kingdom. The King was crowned by God himself and his angels, the King becoming another person through the ritual and, not least, the anointing act brought him in close contact with the divine.³ The anointing ceremony conferred honour, courage, and knowledge, making it possible to assign supernatural powers to the King, such as the ability to heal.⁴ The coronation also had a central place in the belief in the historic continuity of power, as presented by the historian Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1895–1963) in his classic study of “The King’s Two Bodies.”⁵

Coronation Rituals and Royal Insignia

The central element among the so-called insignia with which the King was furnished⁶ by the coronation ritual was obviously *the Crown*, held to be a symbol of the King’s honour and holiness. The crown was usually made of gold and decorated with pearls, gemstones, and expensive fabrics. It would constitute a circlet around the head (*corona*), and this ring might also be furnished with standing lilies or rays, or alternatively be designed as a diadem decorated with standing crosses.⁷

The sceptre was also a key royal symbol. It was designed as a spire or spear, often made of gold, and crested by a lily or cross. During the coronation the King would hold the sceptre in his right hand. *The orb*, symbolizing the King’s rule over the known world, was often made of gold or was at the very least gilded, with a cross at its crest. During the ritual the King would hold the orb in his left hand. Additionally, *the sword* was a symbol of the King’s secular power, of his rule through law, and military defence.⁸

² A. G. Dickens, “Monarchy and Cultural Revivals: Courts in the Middle Ages,” in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400–1800*, ed. A. G. Dickens (London: Thames & London, 1977), 13–14. Strong, *Coronation*, 15, 17.

³ Strong, *Coronation*, 40, 54.

⁴ Strong, *Coronation*, 66.112ff. There is no trace of the latter in Scandinavian material.

⁵ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

⁶ See Jan Keupp, et al., “. . . die keyserlichen zeychen . . .”. *Die Reichsklenodien – Herrschaftszeichen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009) about the prototypical coronation insignia following the Holy Roman Empire.

⁷ Geir Thomas Risåsen, *Norges Riksregalier* (Trondheim: Nidaros Domkirkes Restaureringsarbeider/Forlaget Press, 2006), 13ff.

⁸ Strong, *Coronation*, 58. Frederik Münter, ed., *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning i Vor Føe Kirke i Kjøbenhavn den 12te August 1537, af*

As an expression of secular royal power being closely connected to the spiritual power of the Church and having its origins and rationale from the divine, the royal regalia of the realm in Scandinavia were kept in the cathedrals in Lund, Trondheim, and Uppsala.⁹

In Catholic times the link to the spiritual power of the church was also expressed through the fact that it was the *archbishop*, accompanied by several bishops and clerics, who performed the coronation. The royal regalia – crown, sceptre, orb, and sword – were placed on the high altar by important participants in the procession to the church where the coronation took place. The King was first anointed and then dressed in a special anointing tunic, a so-called dalmatic or deacon's vestment. Thereafter, the King would receive the regalia, be clothed in the coronation dress, swear the coronation oath, and present the sword in all four directions of the compass to symbolize that henceforth he would defend his realm. Finally, he would be led to his throne by the archbishop.¹⁰

Part of the ritual was also that the King would take communion as a priest and receive both bread and wine. There are many parallels to the Old Testament priest kings here, both in terms of theology and ritual.¹¹

Coronations in the Danish and Norwegian Middle Ages

This coronation tradition was also established in the Christian kingdoms in Scandinavia. A number of *Danish* coronations of kings are known, the first probably being the coronation of Svend Estridsen (c.1018–76). Since the establishment of the archbishopric in Lund in 1104, the archbishop there was the one to conduct the coronations in the city's cathedral, but this was not consistently the case, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the venue for Danish coronations kept changing.¹²

Starting in the late Middle Ages, the *Norwegian* coronations of kings took place in the churchyard outside the cathedral in Nidaros (now Trondheim), where a

Johannes Bugenhagen, collected by Frederik Münter, published by E. C. Werlauff (Copenhagen: Det kgl. Waisenhusets Bogtrykkeri, 1831), XVIIff.

⁹ How the ownership of the regalia was considered has also changed, cf. Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXff.

¹⁰ Anders Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning. En historisk Oversigt fra de ældste til de seneste Tider* (Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1906), 38–39 (after P. A. Munch's description).

¹¹ Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Christian d. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, *Studier i den Danske Reformationsskirke* 1 (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1987), 27.

¹² Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, Iff. Erich Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters* 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976).

special seat was made for the King to be acclaimed. This seat, or tribune, probably reflected the octagon in the cathedral, where the shrine of St. Olav was placed on the high altar. The octagon in the cathedral in turn reflected the octagon in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Norwegian kings were interred around the octagon. Thus, the link between the Saint King, St Olav, and the power and legitimacy of later kings was described physically and symbolically.¹³

The last medieval coronation of a king in Norway took place on 29 July 1514. The king was Christian II (1481–1559), and the link to the central saint of Norway, St Olav, was obvious. Christian chose the date from a number of previous coronations in Norway. The coronation was performed by the archbishop Erik Valkendorf (1465–1522), but took place in St Halvard's church in Oslo, not in Trondheim. Nonetheless, the archbishop had brought the coronation regalia from the cathedral in Trondheim for the ceremony.¹⁴ We can see that the link between the coronation ritual and the Catholic church organization was undeniably strong. For example, the last Catholic archbishop in Nidaros, Olav Engelbrektsson (c.1480–1538), brought "The crown, sword and broad axe of the realm of Norway" with him when he left Norway in April 1537, thus opening the way for the Lutheran rise to power.¹⁵

At the end of the medieval period both the Danish and the Norwegian coronation rituals had found their relatively permanent forms under the auspices of ritual provisions of the Catholic church, in this case *Pontificale Romanum*, the bishops' book of rituals. But there were many such books of rituals, even if there appears to have been an increase in standardization from the end of the fifteenth century. No medieval pontificals describing coronations in Scandinavia have been preserved,¹⁶ but the general pattern has probably been this: anointing and crowning were

¹³ Risåsen, *Norges riksgalier*, 20. See in general Trond Norén Isaksen, *Norges krone: kroninger, signinger og maktkamper fra sagatid til nåtid* (Oslo: Historie & Kultur, 2015). Øystein Ekroll, *The Octagonal Shrine Chapel of St Olav at Nidaros Cathedral: An Investigation of Its Fabric, Architecture and International Context* (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Historical Studies, 2015). Steinar Imsen, "Nidaros – Kroningsby og Metropol," in *Nidaros erkebispesete i seinmiddelalderen – et kultursentrum?*, eds. Øystein Ekroll and Erik Opsahl (Oslo: Novus, 2018).

¹⁴ Risåsen, *Norges riksgalier*, 26. Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 50, 55. The coronation venue obviously shifted between Oslo and Trondheim during this period: Christopher of Bavaria was crowned in Oslo 2 July 1442, while Carl Knutsson Bonde (20 November 1449), Christian I (2 August 1450) and Hans (20 July 1483) were crowned in Trondheim, Risåsen, *Norges riksgalier*, 27, 107. There were also plans to crown Fredrik I in Norway, either in Oslo or in Kongelv, but these plans never came to fruition: Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 51f.

¹⁵ Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 58. Risåsen, *Norges riksgalier*, 16. Isaksen, *Norges krone*, 172ff. Erich Hoffmann, "Coronation and Coronation Ordines in Medieval Scandinavia," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹⁶ Cf. Bengt Strömberg, "Pontificale," in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1981). That such have existed is obvious.

performed by the archbishop, and the regalia offered to the King during the ritual, after having been brought to the coronation church and being placed on the altar were – in addition to the King's Crown – the orb, sceptre, and sword. The King would also wear special coronation robes. In attendance during the coronation would also be other bishops, the foremost national aristocracy, and at times representatives of other royalty. The King would first swear his coronation oath in the presence of these, promising to be a just king who would maintain the state of the realm, support the church, and maintain the relationship between the social groups. Thereafter the archbishop would anoint the King, usually on his lower right arm and between the shoulders. After being anointed, the King would receive the regalia, sit on a raised seat by the altar, offer a gift to the archbishop, and receive communion. After this the King would knight deserving and prominent men.¹⁷

The Biblical References

Rituals and insignia in connection with the coronations of European emperors and kings during the medieval period had, as mentioned above, their ideals and references from classic Roman times. But the *theological* interpretation of rituals and insignia had their explicit references to the Bible. This particularly involved references to the Old Testament and the Old Testament kings in Israel. Some early examples of European coronation rituals indicate this interpretation structure. In four rituals from England from around 900, the following Bible references are front and centre¹⁸:

Ps 119:137 and 119:1: “Righteous art thou, O LORD, and upright are thy judgments.” “Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the LORD.” This text is a reference to a series of statements where the servant of God (the king) complies with, is supported by, and maintains divine laws and order.

Lev 26:6–9:

And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land. And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword. And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight: and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword. For I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you, and establish my covenant with you.

¹⁷ Münster, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, Vff.

¹⁸ Strong, *Coronation*, 25–26. Bible quotations from King James' version: *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments. Appointed to be Read in Churches* (Oxford: The University Press, s.a.).

This text is about the covenant the Lord makes with the Israelites and the superiority this covenant gives them in relation to all who might threaten the existence and welfare of these chosen ones.

Ps 86:2, which in its entirety is alleged to be spoken by King David who wants divine support and help: “Preserve my soul; for I am holy: O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee.” Ps 5:2, where King David wants help to stop liars and opponents: “Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray,” and finally Ps 21:1 and 3 “The king shall joy in thy strength, O LORD; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!” “For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.”

Matt 22:15–22:

Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. When they had heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

1 Kgs 1:45: “And Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard.” This text is from a long description of the anointing of King Solomon, who while riding was praised publicly with music, processions, and cheering, and thereafter placed on the king's throne.

This constellation of Biblical references provides normative evidence of all the essential elements of the ritual itself (procession, anointment, coronation, cheering, and music), and it places the Christian king in a kind of succession, as it were, from the hero kings of Israel (David, Solomon), who with support from the covenant with the Lord resided in Jerusalem, and ruled Israel with piety, wisdom, and military success. Moreover, the reference to Christ's parable about the “denarius of the tax” gives reasons why the subjects must willingly subjugate themselves to the king.

The Old Testament references also point to a broader connection which was important in the medieval coronation and anointment rituals, and to the thinking about the role of the king in God's rule of the world – these were kings with sacred status and sacred duties.¹⁹ The anointment was an important instrument for conferring this status on the kings. It was performed by the clergy on behalf of God as prophets and high priests had done it in Israel.²⁰ The anointment also provided legitimacy, expressing

¹⁹ Cf. Strong, *Coronation*, 35ff.

²⁰ Cf. 1 Sam 10:1, 16:13, 1 Kgs 1:34–35, 39, and 1 Chr 29:22–23.

God's choice of king, who was the "Lord's anointed" (cf. Ps 18:51). If the King subjected himself to the will of God, he would – along the same lines as the kings of Israel – enjoy special protection from and contact with the Lord. The people that the "Lord's anointed" had been assigned to rule were accordingly also subject to the Lord's special protection and blessing, again along equal lines with the Israelites. Anointment and coronation allowed the Lord's spirit to descend upon the King, enabling him to prophesize and achieve new qualities as a human being.²¹

The Christian theocratic kingdom became a new Israel, the king's residence became a new Jerusalem, his power and realm became God's realm, and his coronation and royal insignia were signs of this interpretative connection. A clear expression of this is the crown that followed the Holy Roman Empire from the 900s onwards (Fig. 5.1).²² It is octagonal and has a loop across the crest. On top of the loop sits a cross, all being of gold and decorated with gemstones. The rear of the cross has an engraved crucifix. The eight edges of the crown again points to the octagon in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Three of the edges feature images of Old Testament kings (David, Solomon, and Ezekias), while on the fourth is an image of Christ on his throne flanked by two angels. The inscriptions on the David and Solomon inscriptions tell about the just and pious king, the Ezekias inscription tells of the ailing king whose rule was extended by fifteen years with the Lord's help,²³ and the Christ plate has Christ stating that the kings rule through him.²⁴

These rituals, symbols, and interpretations have also dominated the Danish and Norwegian coronations of kings throughout the Christian medieval period.²⁵ Even if no Scandinavian coronation rituals have been preserved, the procedure and ideas behind them are quite well described by the exiled Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus (1490–1557). He most likely had access to such a ritual when he described how "the Nordic peoples" prayed for the blessing of their kings²⁶: the royal oath refers to God's angels, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Eric, the anointment oil was blessed with holy words, and the ritual refers to Abraham's faithfulness, the gentleness of Moses, David's humility, and Solomon's wisdom as ideals for the king's rule and exercise of power. Sovereignty was placed upon the shoulders of the king; together with the saviour of the world he would rule without end, and he was the image of the saviour. The king's duty was to protect the church and the inhabitants of the country, and through the ritual he received blessing by the Pope through the apostles and the

²¹ See Strong, *Coronation*, 9ff., with references to 1 Sam 10:6 and 26:11.

²² Keupp, ". . . die keyserlichen zeychen . . .," 24–35.

²³ Book of 2 Kgs 20:6.

²⁴ "Per me reges regnant."

²⁵ Erich Hoffmann has used the first coronation of a Protestant King, Christian III, which will be commented on later, as the point of departure for reconstructing the pre-reformation Danish coronations, Hoffmann, "Coronation and Coronation Ordines in Medieval Scandinavia," 132ff.

²⁶ Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken. Tredje Delen*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Gidlund, 1976), 99ff.

saints. Later he would gain honour together with Christ and all the other giants of the faith and the church. The crown was explained as a sign of the crown of honour of eternal glory, and it was furnished with the gemstones of virtue. In the ritual, the clergy passed on God's blessing to the king; they would then stand closer to the altar during the ceremony. For his part the king was the intermediate between the clergy and the people.

The Scandinavian coronation ritual from the late Middle Ages was given great historical emphasis. The ritual was based on the fundamental thinking about what constituted the society, the law, power, and adulation of God. It was this fundamental thinking which the Protestant movement challenged in sixteenth-century Europe, and this movement quite quickly came to dominate Scandinavia.

An important question then is what happened to this intricate interpretation system due to the Lutheran reformation in the two countries. An important concern for the reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) was to distinguish more clearly between the clerical and secular spheres. Sovereigns did not have their power through the mediation of the church, but due to a separate mandate from God. According to Luther, God ruled the world through the two so-called regiments (or governments), by the sword and the gospel. Hence, the sovereigns gained a clearer and more independent role in God's rule of the world, and this would then necessarily have consequences for the manner Lutheran sovereigns were legitimized and presented.

Breach of Ritual and Ritual Continuity

The brutal and radical introduction of Lutheranism in the kingdom of Denmark–Norway in the years 1536–37 was closely linked to a dynastic and religious conflict in the Oldenburg royal family. The victor in this violent and complicated conflict was Prince Christian (1503–59), the eldest son of King Fredrik I (1471–1533). Prince Christian had direct contact with the Lutheran ideologists in Wittenberg in Germany over many years, and as king he linked his power to the introduction of a Lutheran social order. He neutralized the Catholic church organization by arresting the bishops, and by quickly and comprehensively confiscating church properties, land, and valuable objects. He then decided that he wanted to be crowned.

An important aspect of this much debated takeover of power was that the new king should not appear as a usurper, as a person who had unlawfully acquired the power as king – in part by destroying the church organization and in part by introducing a new religion. The roots to this usurper label are found in the *realpolitik* of the time: King Christian's father, Fredrik I, had taken over the throne after his nephew, the Catholic Christian II (1481–1559), who was still alive and imprisoned.²⁷

²⁷ Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 28.

Theologically, Prince Christian was also a usurper because he had not secured his takeover of power through the Catholic church organization, but by dissolving it. In both cases this meant that Prince Christian had cut the ties to the traditional grounds based on the church and legitimation of the royal power. He was thus left as a military victor without the strength of history and tradition on his side, and instead needed to create his own history and tradition.

As part of the political project of the reformation Norway was no longer considered a separate realm, but as part of Denmark.²⁸ The background for this was equally simple as brutal – the political and church institutions in Norway resisted Christian's assumption of power, and Christian needed to conquer Norway to protect his power and carry out his church reformation. Therefore, no special coronation of the King could take place in Norway simply because the people would have the potential to generate political and religious resistance. Instead, the solution was that Christian and the future Danish Lutheran kings were "acclaimed" by loyal representatives of the Norwegian social groups. Trondheim, the main seat during the 500 years of the Catholic church in Norway, was in any case not a relevant location for royal rituals in the time to come. The so-called "acclamations of the King" in Norway took place from now on in Oslo/Christiania.²⁹

Coronation and Confession

The victorious Prince Christian thus secured control of Denmark–Norway and wanted to appear as a legitimate king of both realms and as a Lutheran sovereign. In the list of kings of Denmark–Norway he became the third Christian. His descendants would occupy the Danish(-Norwegian) throne until 1863.

The coronation of Christian III was prepared from the spring of 1537.³⁰ Part of the preparations consisted of confiscating large amounts of Catholic-mass attire that would be re-sewn as clothing and drapery for the participants.³¹ The coronation itself took place on 12 August 1537 in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady)

²⁸ Cf. Helge Kongsrud, *Den kongelige arveretten til Norge 1536–1661. Idé og politisk instrument* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981).

²⁹ The medieval town of Oslo was reconstructed after a ruinous fire in 1624 and was called Christiania after the contemporary King of Denmark–Norway, Christian IV (1577–1648).

³⁰ A detailed description in Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning* and Arthur G. Hassøe, "Kong Kristian III's og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537," in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1937).

³¹ Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen: Luthersk Reformator i Tyskland og Danmark*, *Kirkehistoriske Studier* 16 (Copenhagen: Anis, 2011), 109. Hassøe, "Kong Kristian III's og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537," 305–06.

Fig. 5.2: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Johannes Bugenhagen Pommeranus*, 1537. Oil on wood. The portrait dates from the year Bugenhagen went to Copenhagen to stay for two years at the court of King Christian III.

church in Copenhagen. This was also the King's birthday and the anniversary for the deposition of the Catholic bishops in Denmark.³²

The Church of Our Lady was not an obvious choice. The closest Catholic cathedral would have been in Roskilde, but the bishop in Roskilde, Joakim Rønnow (d. 1542) had been deposed and imprisoned and no new Lutheran superintendent had been appointed there. Thus, the traditional church organization was absent in August 1537, and no new one had yet been established. In other words, even if the new regime planned its restructuring of the state and society, there was still no available bishop or superintendent, and it was unclear where the church centre for the capital of Copenhagen and the central island of Zealand would actually be. Even if Roskilde remained a cathedral, it was the Church of Our Lady which became the main church for the royalty's ritual acts after the reformation. The proximity to the King, Copenhagen castle, and the university was an important

factor. Eventually Roskilde cathedral also gained the status as the church for royal interments.

In 1537, the use of the Church of Our Lady was not quite without precedence because royal rituals had taken place in this church earlier. In 1445, the Queen of Christopher of Bavaria (1416–48), Dorothea of Brandenburg (1430–95), had been crowned there. She was crowned for the second time in this church together with her new husband, Christian I of Oldenburg (1426–81) in 1449. From then on, the kings of Denmark were crowned in this church. In terms of the coronation venue, the continuity was clear.

The most important director of the new Lutheran coronation ritual was probably Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558, see Fig. 5.2), from Pomerania, often called “Doctor Pommeranus” to give him a sheen of learnedness and credibility under the new

³² Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXV.

political regime. Bugenhagen was a close associate of Martin Luther, from 1523 a vicar in Wittenberg and later also a professor at the city's university.

The fact that Bugenhagen was both an important figure in the design of the coronation ritual and was also the “church” representative who performed the ritual, rendered the link between the ritual in Copenhagen and the ideological centre in Wittenberg very close and obvious. The coronation of Christian III was the first Lutheran coronation in Europe, and it thus gained a typological function – here the new Lutheran monarchy was to be marked and staged.³³

The Coronation of Christian III

Early in the morning on 12 August 1537 Johann Bugenhagen gave the King and the Queen Holy Communion before the start of the coronation ceremony, addressing an admonition to them about the royal calling according to Lutheran views.³⁴ The royal couple were given both bread and wine, of course, but the rationale for this was no longer found in the King's status as a member of the clergy, but in the idea that all believers should have access to the two elements of the sacrament. In this context the communion thus constituted the royal couple as a prototype of a Lutheran household.

The coronation ritual itself started with the King and Queen and their respective retinues moving in a procession from Copenhagen castle to the Church of Our Lady (Fig. 5.3). Participating in the procession were representatives of Danish nobility and emissaries from abroad. The coronation regalia, which thenceforth were kept in Copenhagen castle and not in a cathedral,³⁵ were also carried in the procession to the church. The King would ride a horse, the Queen would be taken in a carriage, and rows of noblemen carried the coronation regalia. On arrival at the Church

33 A brief overview of the ritual can be found in J. Kragh Høst, *Historisk Efterretning om Kroninger og Salvinger i Danmark samt med dem forbunde Højtideligheder i ældre og nyere Tider* (København: J. H. Schubothe, 1815); Høst who deals in particular detail with the anointment and coronation of Christian IV, Fredrik IV, and Fredrik VI. It has been claimed that the coronation of the Swedish Gustav Vasa (1496–1560) in 1528 was the first Protestant coronation, but at this time Sweden had not adopted a clear stance on the confessional conflicts which were escalating in Europe, cf. Erich Hoffmann, “Die Krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537. Die erste protestantische Königskrönung in Europa,” in *Herrscherweihe und Königskrönung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Schriften Der mainzer Philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft 8 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983), 62; Malin Grundberg, *Ceremoniernas makt: Maktövertagning och genis i Vasatidens kungliga ceremonier* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2005), 69.

34 Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen*, 110; Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Krønning*, 316.

35 Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Krønning*, XXII.

Fig. 5.3: There are no contemporary representations of the coronation of King Christian III. However, several exist of the coronation of his son, King Frederik II (1534–88). This engraving shows the coronation procession to the Cathedral of Our Lady in Copenhagen. As King Frederik was still not married, he is crowned alone. In the background are festive tournaments arranged for the occasion. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen.

of Our Lady the procession would be received by Johannes Bugenhagen and twelve clerics.³⁶

The royal couple³⁷ were placed on chairs facing the high altar and the coronation regalia were placed on the altar as a sacrifice.³⁸ Bugenhagen then gave a speech about the ceremony and about his own calling to officiate it. This was an important part of the ceremony as there was no Catholic bishop in Roskilde/Copenhagen, and a new Lutheran superintendent had not yet been appointed. Bugenhagen's calling was to be understood as a representative of the new clergy, which did not make any claims on secular power, but would preach the gospel and interpret the new coronation ritual. This was also precisely what Bugenhagen did – he gave readings and interpretations

³⁶ Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXII.

³⁷ Queen Dorothea was also crowned, and she had her own coronation regalia.

³⁸ This motive is explicitly formulated in the accompanying speech, Hassøe, "Kong Kristian III's og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537," 328–29.

to explain or rationalize how the coronation ritual was true, right, willed by God, desirable, and new. Whether he appeared to be credible is another matter.

The Bible Interprets

The introductory reading was generally from the New Testament, focusing on two topics – the new King had his authority to rule from God himself, God rules the sword through the King, and the inauguration of the King was to be accompanied by prayer and reading the words of God. This was quite clearly an attempt to move the coronation of the King away from the direct connection to the Pope and the Catholic church organization. More specifically, the following quotations from the Bible were used:

Rom 13:1–5:

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

1 Pet 2:13–14: “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well.” And 1 Tim 4:4–5: “For everything created by God is good, and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving, for it is made holy by the word of God and prayer.”

The last Bible passage in Bugenhagen’s interpretation was that “all these royal ceremonies, which you will hear [. . .] will not only be a worldly thing, but also sacred to us.”³⁹ Then the Lord’s Prayer was read, the hymn *Veni sancte spiritus* was sung and thereafter the King was led to the altar to pray.

After the King had finished his prayer, Johann Bugenhagen admonished him to remember the poor, establish hospitals, and look after vicars and school teachers. Bugenhagen also expressed gratitude that peace had again been established. These were references to the duties of the King to rule, while also attaching importance to how he as a Lutheran king took over a responsibility which had earlier been an independent responsibility of the church. As a Lutheran sovereign, (the new) vicars and schools must be his concern.

³⁹ “alle diese Königliche Ceremonien, wie jr werdet hören (. . .) sollen sie nicht allein ein Weltlich ding, sondern vns auch heilig sein.” Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, 11.

The coronation ceremony was important for all the King's subjects, Bugenhagen continued, because the power of the King is from God ("von Gott ist"). All the elements of the coronation ritual could be deduced from the word of God. Thus it did not have its legitimacy in any tradition, whether from the church or otherwise.

The chancellor Johan Friis (1494–1570) then requested – in the Danish language and on behalf of the Privy Council – that Bugenhagen anoint the selected King of the realm and offer him the regalia. Bugenhagen gave a speech for the King, and after this read from the Book of Daniel 2:20–21 with clear reference to the somewhat uncertain status of Christian III's right to be King: "Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his: And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding." He then explained the duties of the new King in an introduction to the King's swearing of the oath, which was performed with a finger on the New Testament. An important perspective here was that Christ was the King's overlord to whom he would now swear fealty.

In the speech before she swore *her* oath, Queen Dorothea (1511–71) was compared to the prophetess Debora,⁴⁰ who spurred Israel and ensured victory over its enemies. Bugenhagen interpreted this to mean that the Queen must love and uphold the word of God, and support preachers and schools, particularly in Norway, where "many people for many years do not come to church,"⁴¹ and contribute to maintaining true fear of God, because "we should never be Turks."⁴² She was also compared to the pious Abigael, who deflected the wrath of King David, and Queen Esther, who interceded for her people.⁴³

Johann Bugenhagen then *anointed* both the King and the Queen with crosses between the hand and the elbow and between the shoulders. There followed a reading from 1 Kgs 19:15–16, where the following is said about the prophet Elijah:

And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria: And Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abelmeholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room.

⁴⁰ Judg 4.

⁴¹ "da viel Leut, in etlichen Jaren nie zur kirchen komen."

⁴² "wir solten je nicht Türcken sein."

⁴³ Münster, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, 14–15. 1 Sam 25 and Esther.

The forearms of the royal couple were anointed to strengthen them in their just and merciful exercise of power. The anointment between the shoulders had another reference, which was to indicate that the kingdom (“die Herrschaft Christi”) rested on their shoulders, with reference to Isa 9:6–7:

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.

Christ is of course the one who carries the whole world, the lost sheep (*das verloren Schaff*), on his shoulders, Bugenhagen explained. This the King cannot do, but he can rather carry the people (*das Volk*), and do so mercifully and with patience (*patientia*), because among the virtues of a king is what Solomon states in Prov 20:28: “Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne is upholden by mercy.”

Thereafter the epistle was read – most likely it was 1 Cor 15:1–10,⁴⁴ which deals with the belief in the resurrected Christ and the effect it has on the believer – “But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.” (1 Cor 15:10).

Then the King was given the *coronation sword*, which he presented to the four directions of the compass, as in a cross. From this point on Old Testament references framed and interpreted the coronation rituals. The coronation sword was compared to the sword of Gideon which was used against the hostile Midianites, according to Judg 7:19–20⁴⁵:

So Gideon, and the hundred men that were with him, came unto the outside of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch; and they had but newly set the watch: and they blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers that were in their hands. And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon.

And the King carried the sword as King David did, to promote divine justice and mercy (Ps 101:1): “I will sing of mercy and judgment: unto thee, O LORD, will I sing.”

⁴⁴ Hassøe, “Kong Kristian III’s og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537,” 339, note 1.

⁴⁵ None of the coronation regalia of Christian III has been preserved, with the exception of the coronation sword, see Jørgen Hein, *The Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009), 28ff.

The appeal to the King was that he should use the sword, the arrow, and the lance justly, as David did, and so by showing the people the flat of the sword he may say with David, and in accordance with Ps 44:4–9:

Thou art my King, O God: command deliverances for Jacob. Through thee will we push down our enemies: through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us. For I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me. But thou hast saved us from our enemies, and hast put them to shame that hated us. In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy name for ever. Selah.

While kneeling, the King received the *crown* from Johannes Bugenhagen, who expressed its importance in symbolizing the link between the King and his subjects. Bugenhagen placed the crown on the head of the King, while the members of the Privy Council who stood closest touched it with their hands. All Privy Counsellors in attendance pointed their arms towards the crown (See Fig. 5.4).

The King was then given the *orb* in his right hand, accompanied by a reading from Ps 110:2 (here 1–4):

The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The LORD shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. The LORD hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.

The importance of this was explained by two Old Testament prophets, Isaiah and Micah. First Isa 2:3:

And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

And then Mic 4:2–4:

And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken it.

Finally, the King was given the *orb* in his left hand. It had a cross at the crest, understood as a heavenly spear, which summarized everything the ritual was about: the realm was placed under the round royal heaven, and here the King would keep

Fig. 5.4: Louis de Chomond-Boudan, *The coronation of King Frederik II in the Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen, 13 August 1559*. Coloured engraving. Note the coronation sword and the sceptre on the altar. The Royal Danish Library (Det kongelige bibliotek), Copenhagen.

the peace with his neighbours and protect his subjects. The cross on the orb would also deter the Turks, for example, who were threatening the Christian rule.⁴⁶

This was described by reading from Ps 147:12–15:

Praise the LORD, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion. For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; he hath blessed thy children within thee. He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat. He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth: his word runneth very swiftly.

And from the prophet Isa 49:14–16:

But Zion said, The LORD hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.

Thereafter *Te Deum laudamus* (Ps 28:9) was sung.

After Johannes Bugenhagen had blessed the kneeling King, Christian III read the day's gospel text with his sword raised. As a crowned legitimate King and sovereign he carried the symbol of justice and mercy, emphasizing this by reading from the New Testament, more precisely Luke 18:9–14 about the Pharisee and the tax collector, which ends as follows: "I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Johannes Bugenhagen explained the importance of this, which was that the King's sword is not weakened but rather strengthened by the gospel.

Thereafter *Hallelujah* and *Credo* were sung, Bugenhagen read the concluding blessing, and then the hymn *Da pacem domine in diebus nostris* was sung. Bugenhagen again admonished the King to remember the poor, establish hospitals, and take care of vicars and school teachers.

Before the King and the Queen walked back to the castle in procession, and on to festivities, the King knighted a number of those present.

What was Wrong with the New Ritual?

Without knowing the details, there must have been extensive discussions about the design of the coronation ritual, and the discussions must have had several main directions.

⁴⁶ Frans Vormorsden, the first Lutheran superintendent in Lund (d.1551), explained that the orb was a sign that the King, nobility, and subjects must never give up the true Christian faith, Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXIX, note e.

Fig. 5.5: The seal of King Christian III representing the enthroned Lutheran sovereign as a legitimate, just, and pious king. After Bache, Niels, *Nordens Historie* (1885).

Catholics of course saw the coronation of Christian III as illegitimate and rebellious. In the first edition (1555) of his work on the history of the Nordic peoples, Olaus Magnus, the Swedish archbishop in exile, criticized the coronation ritual of Christian III, saying that the ritual departed from the pontifical norms, for example the oil used for the anointment had not been consecrated in the proper manner. In Olaus Magnus's opinion, the fundamental difference between the pontifical approach and Bugenhagen's ritual was that the coronation did not take place with links to the Pope and the apostolic succession. Thus, there was a breach with what had been the tradition in all Catholic countries since the introduction of Christianity.

Fig. 5.6: The “Gimsøy-daler,” 1546, a silver coin representing Christian III as king of Norway, with the Norwegian coat of arms on the reverse. Oslo University Museum of Cultural History.

In this way, tradition, history, and legitimacy vanished.⁴⁷ In Olaus Magnus’s mind, there was no operative clergy in Denmark that could perform the ritual in the correct manner. Torben Bille (d. 1553), archbishop in Lund, had been deposed in 1536, which was also the case with the bishop in Roskilde. Having Johann Bugenhagen, who had not been properly ordained as a priest, carry out the ritual was therefore in violation of the Catholic Church’s rules for legitimate and correct coronation and anointment of a Christian king. Bugenhagen’s “calling” to crown Christian III was another usurpation, according to the view from Rome.

The fact that there were also radical Lutherans who criticized that the coronation took place in the church and with the participation of clerics is given indirect confirmation through Bugenhagen’s comments during the ritual itself. This plays a minor role, since the coronation was actually carried out and Christian III maintained power until his much debated and deeply interpreted death on 1 January 1559.⁴⁸

Reflection on Zion

What then was the design of the coronation ritual of Christian III actually about? There are many possible answers to this question. The King wished to appear as the

⁴⁷ Magnus, *Historia om de Nordiska Folken*, 98f. Münzer, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXXII, note z.

⁴⁸ Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Kongelig død i historisk perspektiv”, *Norveg. Tidsskrift for folkelivsgranskning* 35 (1992).

ultimate Lutheran sovereign while also marking the justification and legality of his takeover of the royal crown of Denmark–Norway.⁴⁹ Of this, there is no doubt. By using competence taken straight from the Lutheran Wittenberg, the King protected his position ideologically and politically. Admittedly some contemporary rumours suggested that Martin Luther was indignant that Johannes Bugenhagen placed himself at the disposal of Christian, because it was against the two-regiment policy that a cleric performed the coronation ritual. Others alleged that it was Luther himself who would have preferred to crown the King, but that he was unable to do so and sent Bugenhagen in his stead.⁵⁰

In the final account these internal conflicts between the reformers in Wittenberg may be of less importance. If we instead consider the coronation of Christian III on 12 August 1537 in a perspective of ritual history, continuity appears to be the most obvious reason.⁵¹ The ritual which Bugenhagen performed in its structure and in most of its details built on the pre-reformed coronation ritual.⁵² What was new was that the ritual no longer assumed the position of the Pope and the apostolic succession, it did not invoke any saints, and it allowed a non-bishop outside the apostolic succession to perform the act. The King's clerical status was under-communicated by giving him the communion in private and together with the Queen.⁵³ The most important Lutheran contribution was probably the never-ending flow of words from Johannes Bugenhagen before, during, and after the ritual, where in the Lutheran manner he endeavoured to explain what the coronation was and was not. The coronation was no longer necessary from a church perspective, but it was right from that same perspective: all secular power came from God, but this needed confirmation by God's words and prayer. The duty of the new church was to admonish the King that he must take from what was good for the church and for the temporal and eternal well-being of his subjects. In such a perspective Christian's royal exercise of power was not minimized, but rather extended, since his power was directly legitimized by God himself. "The words of God" are the rationale for this.

For posterity, the coronation of Christian III is left standing in an ambivalent light. Ritually, continuity was clearer than a break with tradition. The coronation ritual was intended to be a break with tradition but should also give the impression

49 Hoffmann, "Die krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537," 65.

50 Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 29; Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen*, 117–18.

51 Grundberg, *Ceremoniernes makt*, analyses the Swedish royal rituals in a gender-related perspective, but she also emphasizes the dimensions of continuity.

52 Cf. Hoffmann, "Die Krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537," 65–66.

53 Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Krøning*, XXXI. Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 28. The common explanation has been that the private communion was carried out so that the seriousness of the holy meal would not be disturbed, and that there was no wish to use the communion as a confirmation of a state act. However, this is probably quite simple: the royal couple received a private communion as a Lutheran "Hausgemeinde" (house parish or church), as a confirmation of the Lutheran thesis of the universal priesthood.

that what took place was right and legitimate. To emphasize this legitimacy, quotations from the Bible were read for each stage of the ritual as comments and rationales for the expectation of what was occurring. Johann Bugenhagen called himself “ordinator,” thus replacing the ritual role of the archbishop in a conspicuous manner. Bugenhagen was in his physical person the Lutheran negation of the church tradition, but as the performer of the ritual he was also a presenter and guarantor of divine sanction of the coronation.

This divine sanction had a concrete and symbolic content. The Biblical references which were the most important were precisely those that referred to *the Old Testament priest king*. It was the Old Testament insignia that were carried forward, the Old Testament ideals of the God-controlled power, pioussness, and wisdom of the King which were expected to be satisfied, also by the Lutheran sovereign. The anointment gave the King the Holy Spirit and a special spiritual status,⁵⁴ also under a Lutheran ideological regime.

The reference for the theocratic Lutheran kingdom was still the Old Testament kings, their virtues, and their exercise of power. For Christian III, the coronation ritual became an expression that his Israel, his Zion, was his realm. It was this realm he must protect geographically, politically, and religiously. God had appointed the King, everybody owed him obedience, he must rule with mildness and justice, but also defend the realm with the sword of Gideon. In all of this the King could count on God’s direct support, and – as King David – rely on direct contact with God himself. The King’s realm was his Zion, his power base was his Jerusalem, and as defender of the Lutheran confession the Denmark–Norway realm would remain under Christian III, but also have great symbolic, moral, and political importance, because – as was proclaimed during the coronation – “for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem” (Mic 4:2). This was probably the hope and expectation of Christian, Bugenhagen, and Luther.⁵⁵

Hence, in the light of the coronation ritual on 12 August 1537, the Zion of Christian III became a delimited territory, but also a more borderless landscape characterized by the hope of a general reformation in Christian Europe.

The coronation ritual was part of the “representative public sphere” constituted by the royal court. The ritual regulated for instance the relationship between the social groups at the court and in the realm, and observing it made the boundaries and

⁵⁴ Lausten, *Christian d. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 30–31.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bjørn Kornerup, “Luthers spaadom om kirken i Norden” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1934), who refers to a statement by Martin Luther, quoted in a book of hymns published by Frans Vormordsen, the superintendent in Lund (1552), and which praises Christian III’s reformation and regime as ideal and an example to be followed. Thus, Luther’s statement was later developed into a prophecy about the special and historically important foothold of Lutheranism in “the Nordic countries.”

differences clear.⁵⁶ The ritual thus had both explicit and implicit meaning. On both levels the numerous ritual references to the Bible were important. On the implicit level these references made it clear that the social and cultural order was willed by God. On the explicit level the Bible references made it possible to identify Biblical personalities, places, events, and ideals prefiguring the coronation and the coronated king. As shown by Martin Berntson, the Swedish kings of the sixteenth century were consequently compared to and described in the model of Old Testament kings.⁵⁷ This is also the case with the coronation ritual of Christian III. But not only was he compared to and described in the model of these Biblical kings, he also became situated in a Biblical topography, the topography of Jerusalem, of Zion. The whole *Jerusalem code* had been embedded in the Christian coronation ceremonies since Carolingian time, and it had been appropriated by both royalty and church as both a confirmation of power and duties and an expression on continuity through time. Both symbolically and physically the coronation ritual made the king the ruler of Zion, of Jerusalem, with the authority but also with the expectations that followed such a position.

⁵⁶ Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, "State Ceremonial, Court Culture and Political Power in Early Modern Denmark, 1536–1746," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27, no. 2 (2010), 66–67. Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, "Hoffet til hverdag og fest," in *Danmark og Renæssancen 1500–1650*, eds. Carsten Bach-Nielsen and Charlotte Appel (København: Gad, 2006), 73ff.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 8 (Martin Berntson), 147–67.