Arne Bugge Amundsen

Chapter 7

The New Zion in Norway in the 1740s

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arne Bugge Amundsen, Professor of Cultural History, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo, Norway

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

The New Zion in Drammen

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 42f.

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

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

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

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

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

A Paradise Lost

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

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

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

¹¹ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 146–150.

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

¹³ Sørensen, *Zioniterne* 138.

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

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

But the Paradise was lost.

A Fertile Soil?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 15ff.

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

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

The Authorities' Reactions

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

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

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

²⁰ Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 68ff.

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

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

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

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

Messengers of a New Order?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, further questions should be asked.

Religion as Poetry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33 Sørensen, *Zioniterne*, 8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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