Fig. 18.1: Fredrika Bremer photographed by C. J. Malmberg in 1862 upon return from her journey to Southern Europe and Palestine. By courtesy of Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier (The Årsta Association for Fredrika Bremer Studies).

Anna Bohlin

Chapter 18

Geography of the Soul – History of Humankind: The Jerusalem Code in Bremer and Almqvist

This chapter will investigate the incipient splitting of the Jerusalem code through the encompassing of new epistemological regimes and political demands. Three traditional topoi are studied in mid-nineteenth-century literature by the Swedes Fredrika Bremer and Carl Jonas Love Almqvist: Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the Holy Land as the landscape of the soul, and the heavenly city as a model for utopian societies. The recurrent use of allegory reflects the fact that Christian salvation history provided a meta-theory for scientific endeavours, even though the emphasis in the allegorical operations had shifted from heaven to earth, the human body, and a national home.

The geography of the Holy Land is designed to spread the Christian faith across the world. Or so the Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) claimed, and she meant this quite literally: the very topography was shaped to ensure that “the Gospel might find ways open into all lands, east, north, south, and west, and thus from little Palestine to the very ends of the earth.”¹ In Bremer’s account, Christian salvation history determined the shape of the earth’s crust. One of her contemporaries, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866), also featured the Palestinian landscape in one of his novels, albeit in an altogether different function, in a passage called “Själens Geografi” [“The Geography of the Soul”]. “In our spirit,” he writes, “Emotion is the kingdom of Judea; Thought, the kingdom of Israel. Emotion holds the focal point of our spirit, which is belief in Eternity . . . that is the capital, Jerusalem of our soul.”² In his account, the geography of the Holy Land serves to spatialize human capacities in a typological exegesis of Biblical history. Bremer and Almqvist’s

¹ Fredrika Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I–II, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Henry Colburn, publisher, 1862), I, 273–74.

² “Känslan är Juda rike i vår ande; Tanken är Israels rike. I Känslan ligger vår andes medelpunkt, som är tron på det eviga . . . det är hufvudstaden, är Jerusalem i vår själ.” C. J. L. Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 25: *Tre fruar i Småland*, ed. Lars Burman (Stockholm: Vitterhetssamfundet, 1998), 287. The novel *Tre fruar i Småland* [*The Three Wives of Småland*] (1842–43) was translated into German as *Drei Frauen in Smaland* (Stuttgart, 1844), but to my knowledge, there is no English translation. All translations from this volume are therefore my own.

different ways of making sense of the geography of Palestine may seem contrary to one another, but, in fact, they both form part of the same re-signification of the Jerusalem code.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the re-signification of the Jerusalem code in mid-nineteenth-century literature by Bremer and Almqvist, focusing on three traditional *topoi*: Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the Holy Land as the landscape of the soul, and the heavenly city as the model for utopian societies. As the epistemological regimes of modernity provided a new theoretical underpinning, these *topoi* were redefined. Originally, different aspects of the same storyworlds of Christian salvation history, pilgrimage, the landscape of the soul, and Utopia began to diverge; eventually constituting different fields of knowledge. The Jerusalem code was cracking. The examples by Bremer and Almqvist will allow for a study of some of the mechanisms of the splitting process. In particular, I will discuss the impact of the new academic discipline of comparative geography, represented by one of the German founders, Carl Ritter (1779–1859). Using Christian salvation history as a meta-theory for explaining the surface of the earth, Ritter's concept of geography relied on an allegorical interpretation. At the time, the allegorical notion of geography had a great influence, and an examination will clarify how the Jerusalem code simultaneously produced, and was re-signified, by new epistemic regimes. An earlier Swedish traveller to Palestine, the minister at the Swedish legation to Constantinople, Jacob Berggren (1790–1868), who spent two and a half months in the Holy Land in 1821, provides a point of reference for the displacement of the Jerusalem code. The problem addressed in the following chapter is thus: how was the Jerusalem code re-signified through the encompassing of new epistemological regimes and political demands in mid-nineteenth century Swedish literature?

First, I will analyse the allegorical geography in Bremer's travel book *Travels in the Holy Land* (1862) and discuss her critical method of reassigning significance to pilgrimage sites in contrast to Jacob Berggren's older epistemological framework. Second, the analysis will show how the Jerusalem code was not only redefined by, but also produced the prerequisites for new epistemologies, as Christian salvation history functioned as a meta-theory for the human sciences. Third, two novels by Almqvist will provide examples of the landscape of the soul in the process of transforming into the modern science of psychology, as the emphasis is displaced from heaven to the human body. Finally, the Jerusalem code activated in the construction of fictive societies that were informed by Utopian Socialism will be analysed.

Despite the fact that Almqvist repeatedly attacked Bremer in the press, they had many things in common.³ Rooted in Romanticism, they created the Swedish

3 Lars Burman, *Tre fruar och en mamsell: Om C.J.L. Almqvists tidiga 1840-talsromaner* (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 1998).

indigenous realistic novel – that is, Bremer created it and Almqvist followed.⁴ More importantly, with regard to the issue at hand, they were both Christian Liberals, influenced by Utopian Socialism, and committed to the idea of building God's kingdom on earth.⁵ Though their religious inclinations were unorthodox, they shared an ambivalent attitude towards the Revivalist movement. Bremer approved of the sentimentality and the idea of turning away from earthly pleasures, but abhorred intolerance and deemed Revivalists hopelessly stuck on the letter of the Bible.⁶ The Moravians, on the other hand, she considered to be “the most liberal of the Christian sects within the Lutheran church,” and she admired them for educating women and for letting the principle of love overrule eternal punishment.⁷ The long-standing influence of the Moravians – and even more so of the Swedish scientist and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) – on Almqvist's authorship will be highlighted in the analysis. Swedenborg's belief in rationality and his mysticism had an early impact on Bremer as well.⁸ Her ecumenicalism was extraordinary for her time.⁹ In fact, one of her main objectives for travelling around the world was to study different Christian denominations, including their organizations and spiritual life. In her travel book on Palestine, *Travels in the Holy Land* (1862), this task was expanded to include an understanding of the history of the human race. This scientific undertaking was of paramount importance for how the Jerusalem code was re-signified.

4 Birgitta Holm, *Fredrika Bremer och den borgerliga romanens födelse* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1981).

5 See Chapter 27 (Anna Bohlin), 540–49; Inger Hammar, “Kvinnokall och kvinnosak: Några nedslag i 1800-talets debatt om genus, medborgarskap och offentlighet,” in *Kvinnor på gränsen till medborgarskap: Genus, politik och offentlighet 1800–1950*, eds. by Christina Florin and Lars Kvarnström (Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 2001); Inger Hammar, “Fredrika Bremers Morgon-väckter: En provokation mot rådande genusordning,” in *Mig törstar! Studier i Fredrika Bremers spår*, eds. by Åsa Arping and Birgitta Ahlmo-Nilsson (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2001); Anders Burman, *Politik i sak: C.J.L. Almqvists samhällstänkande 1839–1851* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2005); Edvard Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen: Nils Ignell – Viktor Rydberg – Pontus Wikner* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1935).

6 Olle Bergquist, *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud: Studier i Fredrika Bremers religiositet och författarskap* (Skellefteå: Artos bokförlag, 1995), 53–4; Rodhe, *Den religiösa liberalismen*, 27.

7 Fredrika Bremer, letter to Caroline Frumerie 17.02.1863, in Fredrika Bremer, *Fredrika Bremers Brev IV*, eds. Klara Johanson and Ellen Kleman (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1920), 253. See also Bremer, *Fredrika Bremers Brev IV*, 220, 261–2; Bergquist, *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 72–5. Late in life, Bremer visited Herrnhut and the Swiss Moravian colony of Neu Dietendorff, and she also planned a stay in the Danish settlement named Christiansfeld. See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammershøy), 117–25.

8 On Swedenborg, see Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85. On Bremer's contact with Swedenborg's teachings, see Bergquist *Om “Frälsarens dyra blod” och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 50–5, 85–90.

9 Torsten Bohlin, “Fredrika Bremer och kyrkoläran,” *Årsbok för kristen humanism* 28 (1966).

Fig. 18.2: Fredrika Bremer's travel cutlery. Travelling in the Holy Land as a European lady in the mid-nineteenth century required equipment of different sorts; for example, bringing your own cutlery. The Bremer Collection at Årsta Castle, Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier (The Årsta Association for Fredrika Bremer Studies). Photo by Lina Stenqvist.

The Mount of Olives – the Navel of the World

Fredrika Bremer (Fig. 18.1) never intended to become a pilgrim. As a Protestant, she repeatedly claimed, "Whether it were exactly here or there is of little importance to the spiritual mind."¹⁰ Nevertheless, while travelling in southern Europe, she felt an overwhelming inner need to visit the Holy Land. She arrived in Jerusalem in January 1859 and stayed for five months. By 1859, Bremer's novels, translated into several languages, were famous all over the Western world, and she was already an experienced traveller. Ten years earlier, she had embarked on a two-year visit to America and Cuba, resulting in a travelogue, *Hemmen i den Nya Verlden* (1853–1854), published in an English translation even before all the three volumes were published in Swedish, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of*

¹⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 136.

America (1853).¹¹ The journey to southern Europe and Palestine, and back again through Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Germany would last nearly five years (1856–1861), and the travel book *Lifvet i gamla världen* [*Life in the Old World*] (1860–1862) would encompass three large volumes.¹² The second volume became the most popular and was translated into English under the title *Travels in the Holy Land* (published in two volumes), as well as into French, German, and Dutch.¹³ As it had been to so many pilgrims before her, Jerusalem was a disappointment to Bremer. Her chief complaint about the Ottoman rule of Palestine was that Islam did not encourage the construction of the kingdom of God on earth. In her view, Muslims spent their lives waiting for Paradise after life instead of making it real during life, which was why the whole region had turned into a barren wasteland.¹⁴ I will return to how the Celestial City of Revelation informed her nation-building project back in Sweden, but I will first examine her redefinition of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site.

One night late in March, Bremer and her friend stayed the night in the tower by the mosque at the top of the Mount of Olives, guarded by the sheik and his wife. Bremer wanted to see the sun rise over the Holy Land. This moment calls for an extensive quotation, as the description of the sunrise suggests an allegorical explanation of geography. The skies were cloudy, which enabled them to watch the sun without hurting their eyes:

All the more *symbolic and significant*, therefore, appeared to me this sunrise. And softly and mildly, but with ever brightening light, ascended the king of the day above the mountains, above the waters of the Dead Sea and the Valley of Jordan, which became visible below from this point as I had never seen it before – the wild, rocky desert of Judea. Jerusalem, with its beautiful temple-square and grey masses of houses, its verdant hills on the south and on the west, the dark olive-groves outside the Damascus gate on the north, *stood forth in bold relief from the shadows* in the glory of the morning sun. Ever wider and wider became the circumference of the scene which was lit up by the sunlight to our gaze, and *ever more extensive was the sphere occupied by our thought*, farther than our eyes could follow from the mountain of Palestine – this mountain, upon which “He will destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations” [Bremer referenced Isa 15:7] – to the lands of Europe and Africa, and beyond the

¹¹ Fredrika Bremer, *Hemmen i den Nya Verlden: En dagbok i bref, skrifna under tvenne års resor i Norra Amerika och på Cuba I–III* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1853–1854); Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co, 1853).

¹² Fredrika Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen: Dagboks-anteckningar under resor i Söder- och Österland I–III* (Stockholm & Uppsala: Adolf Bonnier, 1860–1862).

¹³ Carina Burman and Lars Burman, “Kommentarer och ordförklaringar,” in Fredrika Bremer, *Livet i gamla världen: Palestina* (Stockholm: Svenska Akademien & Bokförlaget Atlantis, 1995), 406.

¹⁴ Anna Bohlin, “Jerusalem in Every Soul: Temporalities of Faith in Fredrika Bremer’s and Harriet Martineau’s Travel Narratives of Palestine,” in *Time and Temporalities in European Travel Writing*, eds. Paula Henrikson and Christina Kullberg (London and New York: Routledge, 2021).

sea, to that *distant part of the world where all the people and all the fruits of the other world's quarters come together*; where, perhaps, the noblest fruits of the light may ripen . . .¹⁵

Protestant pilgrims usually preferred (and still prefer) to imagine Jesus, walking beside them in the landscape, rather than visiting Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches and shrines.¹⁶ In Charles Lock's study of British Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century, he calls the preference for the open landscape over monuments "aesthetic idolatry": the sublime nature provides the proper site for worship.¹⁷ The quotation above, however, is not merely an aestheticized landscape for experiencing the presence of Jesus. Nor is it just a pedagogical trick to vivify and memorialize the cartographic picture of the Holy Land. This representation of a sunrise is informed by the then brand-new scientific discipline of comparative geography and aims to be a contribution to understanding world history.

Bremer alerts the reader to pay attention to the "symbolic" significance, and the richly embellished description of the contrast between "the wild, rocky desert" and the "beautiful temple-square"; the even, "verdant" hills of Jerusalem, boldly standing out against the shadows, should therefore not go unnoticed.¹⁸ Neither should the imagery of power over territory. The sunlight widens "the circumference of the scene" and encourages the mind to move beyond what is perceptible to the eye to conquer the world: "ever more extensive was the sphere occupied by our thought."¹⁹ In her mind,

15 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 213–4, my italics. "Desto mera symbolisk och betydande synes mig denna soluppgång. Och sakta och mild, men med klarnande sken steg dagens kung öfver bergen, öfver Döda hafvets vatten och Jordans dal, som derunder blef åskådlig härifrån, som jag aldrig sett den förr. Judeas vilda bergsöken, Jerusalem med dess sköna tempelpplats och grå husmassor, dess grönskande kullar i söder och vester, de dunkla olivlundarne utom Damascus-porten i norr, framstodo i skarp relief ur skuggorna i morgonsolens glans. Allt vidare blef den krets, som solstrålarne upplyste för våra blickar, och än vidare följde dem våra tankar dit våra ögon ej längre kunde nå, från Palestinas berg – dessa berg, på hvilka bortläggas skulle svepeklädet, hvarmed allt folk besvept är [Bremer's ref.: Es.: kap. 25] – till Europas och Afrikas länder och bortom hafvet till den fjerran verldsdel, der alla verldsdelars folk och frukter komma tillsammans, der kanske ännu ljusets ädlaste frukter skola mogna. . . ." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 171.

16 Glenn Bowman, "Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Charles Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone: One Way to be a Pilgrim," in *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. Simon Coleman and John Elsner (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003); see also Chapter 20 (Birger Løvlie), 410–29, Chapter 21 (Magnus Bremmer), 430–45.

17 Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone". For an extended discussion on the importance of the aesthetic impression in Bremer's travel book on Palestine, see Anna Bohlin, "Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet," in *Fiktion och verklighet: Mångvetenskapliga möten*, eds. Anna Bohlin and Lena Gemzöe (Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2016).

18 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 213.

19 Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 214.

Bremer follows the sun even across the sea to America, “where all the people and all the fruits of the other world’s quarters come together.”²⁰ What might seem like a casual fantasy on the growing migration to America had, in fact, the utmost importance for Bremer: to her, this was God’s plan for humankind. She was not alone in this belief. It was supported by, among others, the German geographer Carl Ritter, and choosing the pivotal moment of the sunrise also echoed his scientific works.

Ritter argued that history lies *within* nature; history needs to be supplemented by geography just as geography needs history to be properly understood. Earth and Man constitute one, big organism guided by God, according to his ground-breaking work published in 19 volumes, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* (1817–1859).²¹ As opposed to earlier climate theories by Montesquieu and Herder, Ritter claimed that the interaction between topography and human culture encouraged people to move at certain times; different landscapes were beneficial to different stages of the progress of mankind.²² Culture moves and geography provided a Christian teleological explanation for migrations. The words used by Ritter for “western” and “eastern” countries were *Abend-* and *Morgenlande* [Evening- and Morning Land], common notions at the time. For Ritter, they contained a literal meaning: the course of the sun indicated the direction of human progress from East to West. Europe was the Occident in relation to the Asian Orient, and it was transforming into the new Orient in relation to America, which was becoming the new Occident. Then, in due course, America itself became the Orient as the initiative for cultural development crossed the Pacific Ocean – an evolutionary version of the medieval *translatio imperii*.²³ This was the scientific underpinning of Bremer’s view of the sunrise. The site, the Mount of Olives, was no less randomly picked; in the quotation above, she indicates its importance for revelation with a Bible quote from Isaiah.

²⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 214.

²¹ Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen der allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* [A Study of the Earth in its Relationships with Nature and the History of Man, or General Comparative Geography as Sound Foundations for the Study and Teaching of Physical and Historical Sciences], *Theil XV. Palästina und Syrien I* (Berlin: Reimer, 1850), 6–7.

²² Andreas Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859): Naturphilosophie und Geographie. Erkenntnistheoretische Überlegungen, Reform der Geographie und mögliche heutige Implikationen* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 53–8.

²³ Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859)*, 47–9. For a discussion on *translatio imperii* and *translatio templi*, see Chapter 3 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 1, 49–55. Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem, with an edition and translation of the Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae* (BAV Reg. Lat. 712), in *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2019), 11–9.

Bremer enthusiastically refers to Ritter as she explains the “peculiar position” of Palestine as an act of “Providence.” The divine plan is “evident,” she claims, in Palestine’s

separation, by means of the desert and the sea – by a coast containing no harbour – from the surrounding great cultivated nations . . . at the same time also by its relationship to them through its connexion with the three great divisions of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Thus sundered, thus isolated by nature as that country must be which is intended to serve as the fostering home of the elect son of Providence – . . . it must at the same time lie so near to the great cultivated nations, the great paths of diffusion, that when the time was come, the Gospel might find ways open into all lands, east, north, south, and west, and thus from little Palestine to the very ends of the earth.²⁴

Bremer explicitly relates the topographical peculiarities, ensuring the spread of the Gospel, to the Great Commission in the version provided in the Gospel of Mark. The landscape is prefigured by God’s plan, announced in the Gospels, just as the New Testament is prefigured by the Old; I have therefore called Bremer’s operation of attributing meaning to the landscape, backed up by Ritter, “allegorical geography.” “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature” (Mark 16:15) – the far-reaching view over the landscape, as Bremer notes, “in the central point, in short, of all the parts of the earth” proves the Mount of Olives to be the correct site for the utterance.²⁵ This was the reason for watching the sunrise from this spot. To a Protestant such as Bremer, in an era of expanding missionary work all over the world, the Great Commission granted Christianity superiority over all other religions: in her view, Christianity aspired at universality and might, therefore, unite humankind in one family of God. The sunrise indicated the progress of the entire human race to be God’s plan, inscribed in nature, transforming Orient to Occident as the sun shed light over the different parts of the planet. Redefined within a nineteenth-century framework of the Christian notion of evolution and Ritter’s allegorical concept of geography, the Mount of Olives is indeed the navel of the world.

²⁴ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 273–4. “Den försynens plan, som tydligt röjer sig i Palestinas egendomliga läge, så väl i dess afskildhet medelst öknen och hafvet, – vid en kust utan hamnar – ifrån de rundtom liggande, stora kultur-folken . . . såsom ock i dess förbindelse med dem genom dess sammanhang med de trenne verldsdelarne Asien, Afrika och Europa. Så afskildt, så genom naturen isoleradt måste det land ligga, som skall tjena till uppfostrande hem åt försynens utkorade son, det Israel . . . så nära måste det ock ligga de stora kultur-folken och vägarne, på det att, när tiden var kommen, evangelium måtte finna öppnade vägar till alla länder i öster, nord, söder och vester, och så ifrån det lilla Palestina ‘allt intill verldenes ändar.’” Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 217–8.

²⁵ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 123.

The Battle over the Holy Sepulchre

Exactly how allegorical geography displaced the Jerusalem code may be clarified by a comparison with the minister Jacob Berggren. Even though he was contemporary with Bremer, he relied on an older concept of geography and the earlier Protestant distinction between scientific research on the Holy Land on the one hand and pilgrimage on the other. Bremer's allegorical geography entailed a different approach. The great importance Bremer attributed to the Mount of Olives did not involve the legend claiming that the last footprint of Jesus was preserved in the rock. Like many of her Protestant contemporaries, she ridiculed most traditions and religious practices performed by Christians of other denominations.²⁶ In fact, she elaborated a critical method for reassigning significance to pilgrimage sites.

Starting with a report on non-Protestant pilgrims' rituals, she moves on to dismiss the location by presenting scientific evidence, often from modern Biblical archaeology. In the third and final step, a new and allegorical meaning is attributed to the site. The Via Dolorosa was obviously not the original route but had all the same a "dramatic interest" for Bremer, as "this long, narrow way, with its dark stations of suffering" reminds the pilgrim of the painful way of life deliberately chosen by Christ.²⁷ Whether Jesus truly recalled Lazarus from death is a matter of no consequence – what is important, however, is the fact that Jesus cried and showed God's compassion with human suffering. "Amongst these rocks," Bremer writes, "a circumstance occurred which revealed the heart and the power of our Lord."²⁸ She goes on: "For me, the tears of Jesus have sanctified the soil of Bethany."²⁹ The critical method ends up re-inscribing holiness as an emotional quality containing theological truth.

By the time Bremer visited Jerusalem in 1859, "Evangelical, thinking men," as she called them, had recently found what they perceived to be the true Calvary. Bremer was convinced that this was indeed the case, not by archaeological evidence or the authority of the learned men, but by the "affecting symbolism" of the place.³⁰ The site was separated from Jerusalem, but had a view on the Mount of Olives. Bremer

²⁶ Lock, "Bowing Down to Wood and Stone"; Ruth Hummel and Thomas Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred: English Protestant and Russian Orthodox Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995); Dan Landmark, "Pilgrimsresan berättad: Om svenska resenärer i det Heliga Landet," in *Svenska överord: En bok om gränslöshet och begränsningar*, ed. Raoul Granqvist (Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1999), 171.

²⁷ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 174. "Det dramatiska intresset för mig, ligger i karakteren af denna långa trånga väg med sina mörka smärtostationer . . ." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 139.

²⁸ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 136. "bland dessa klippor, i denna omgifning tilldrog sig ett uppträde, som uppenbarade Jesu hjerta och Jesu kraft." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 108.

²⁹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 137. "För mig hafva Jesu tårar helgat Bethaniens jord." Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 109. For an extended discussion on Bremer's critical method, see Bohlin, "Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet".

³⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* II, 57.

supposed that Jesus' most cherished memories were connected to the Mount of Olives, where he wandered with his disciples and enjoyed happy moments with the siblings in Bethany. In his utter suffering, his view would have been on the beauty of life. This was the significance of the place because to Bremer, this was the meaning of the Passion. She was concerned with reconfiguring historical events as the spiritual meaning of contemporary sights. However, whereas the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may indeed have served as an important site for worshipping the memory of the death of Christ, according to Bremer, the site could not convey any truth. Based on learned men's arguments and her own inspection of the surroundings from the balcony of her hotel, she claimed that the location was simply wrong.³¹

Nearly forty years earlier, the minister at the Swedish legation in Constantinople, Jacob Berggren, adopted the opposite approach on his visit to Palestine. He conducted a research trip to Syria, Egypt and Palestine, which resulted in a three-volume travel book, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* [*Travels in Europe and in the East*], (1826–1828).³² Berggren spoke several languages, including Arabic, and would later publish a study on the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. As an eyewitness, Josephus was Berggren's chief guide in Palestine, as the latter had no problem accepting the authority of ancient sources and faithfully reported on all kinds of religious traditions.

The one holy site that caused the most controversy and indignation in nineteenth-century travel books and geographical accounts was by far the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The proportions of the battle over the location of Golgatha and the Tomb would grow as the century proceeded. Berggren, for his part, expressed utter contempt for those who questioned the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and strongly suspected that the reason for disbelieving the tradition was pure vanity and taking pleasure in doubt.³³ He presented a three-fold argument in favour of the Church's correct location: the unanimous testimony of Josephus (the most reliable source), the Bible and the Church Fathers; a living tradition based on the claim that Jerusalem was never closed to Christians for a long period of time; and, finally, landmarks constituted by heathen Roman idols placed on sites of worship. The Roman

³¹ Bremer *Lifvet i gamla världen*, II:I, 89.

³² Jacob Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* I–III (Stockholm: Sam. Rumstedt, 1826–1829). I am indebted to Paula Henrikson for directing my attention to Berggren. Henrikson is currently working on a study on Berggren. On Berggren's travel to Palestine, see also Robert Murray, *Till Jorsala: Svenska färder under tusen år* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1969), 182–200.

³³ Jacob Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II (Stockholm: Sam. Rumstedt, 1826–1829), 477. Vilhelm [Wilhelm] Fredrik Palmblad's textbook *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning* [*Palestine. A geographical, archaeological and historical description*], (1823) was Berggren's main case in point, as Palmblad followed Edward Daniel Clarke in arguing that the Tomb of Christ must have been elsewhere. Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning* (Uppsala: Palmblad & co., 1823), 29–37. Murray notes: "Berggren, in many respects, was the last representative of old-time travellers to the Holy Land." Murray, *Till Jorsala*, 200. My translation.

idols would have made it easy for the empress Helena to find the right spot.³⁴ Tradition must be trusted. Berggren still retained this view several decades later, only the discussion had intensified and he had found a new antagonist.

At the same time Bremer published her travel book on Palestine, Berggren published a renewed defence of the location of the Holy Sepulchre in German, and his new chief adversary is clearly stated in the title: *Bibel und Josephus über Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab wider Robinson und neuere Sionspilger als Anhang zu Reisen im Morgenlande* (1862).³⁵ Robinson and Smith's *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1841) had a major impact on research on the Holy Land; for example, the book was enthusiastically referred to throughout Ritter's account of Palestine in *Die Erdkunde* as well as in a popular Swedish textbook, *Palaestina*, published by Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad.³⁶ Berggren, on the other hand, considered Robinson to show a serious lack of judgement, which was explained by his inability to properly pay attention when visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁷

On entering the Church for the first time, Berggren had an outburst of feeling; a rare moment in his travel book.³⁸ The gold, myrrh, and oil lamps – he was emotionally overwhelmed by everything that Bremer coldly dismissed as “a childish spectacle of a tasteless and false character.”³⁹ Bremer's feelings were, on the contrary, aroused by the olive trees in Gethsemane, possibly connected to the very trees at the time of Jesus, as olive trees regrow from the roots of older trees. She felt no inclination to bend the knee and kiss the stone known as the navel of the world in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but she did have a hard time restraining herself from kissing and embracing the old olive trees. The description amounted to an allegorical interpretation of the trees as representing Christ: the twisted trunks were grieving faces, offering shelter and bearing bitter fruits that, in the end, turn into life-giving oil.⁴⁰ Bremer's most emotional response to the Passion of Christ was not before the cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre but before the olive trees. Allegorical interpretation and organical material took precedence over written and oral tradition. Berggren, on

³⁴ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 377, 382, 474–5.

³⁵ Jacob Berggren, *Bibel und Josephus über Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab wider Robinson und neuere Sionspilger als Anhang zu Reisen im Morgenlande* (Lund: Verlag des Verfassers, 1862).

³⁶ On Robinson and Smith, see Chapter 16 (Rana Issa), 309–27. Palmblad stated in the preface to the third edition of *Palaestina*, issued in 1842, that Robinson and Smith's work had necessitated a comprehensive revision of the original text. Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archaeologisk och historisk beskrifning*, 3rd ed. (Uppsala: P.M. Lindhs Förlag, 1842), V.

³⁷ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 235, 244.

³⁸ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 498.

³⁹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 113.

⁴⁰ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* II:I, 96. For an extended discussion on Bremer's interpretation of the olive trees, see Bohlin, “Att kyssa olivträd: Fredrika Bremer som ambivalent pilgrim till det Heliga Landet”.

the other hand, disposed of Gethsemane in a few lines, noting that rosaries for the Catholics were manufactured from the olive-pips.⁴¹

The differences between Bremer's and Berggren's accounts are clearly an issue of epistemological regimes – of whether truth is found in ancient texts and traditions or in the findings of the modern sciences, such as archaeology and geography. Furthermore, Berggren's travel book shows an obsession with measuring: lengths, depths, and breadths are meticulously estimated concerning everything from distances between cities to details in buildings, seemingly for no other reason than measurement itself. His idea of scientific research was informed by what Michel Foucault labelled the *classical episteme*, characterized by taxonomic ordering, whereas, in Foucault's terms, the *modern episteme* structured Bremer's thought; featuring Man as simultaneously subject for and object of scientific knowledge.⁴² These opposing epistemologies are also reflected in their different concepts of geography. Whereas Bremer adhered to Ritter's new ideas of geography as the study of the surface of the earth, theorized as salvation history, Berggren's account was informed by the older concept of geography, focusing the state as the object of study.⁴³ Geography, as statistics on inhabitants, climate, industries, and political circumstances, forms the basis of the narrative, and the historical account keeps the perspective of the state throughout. Consequently, Berggren did not end his history, as Bremer did, with Jesus but quoted

41 Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 517. Yet another approach is represented by the Finnish Orientalist Georg August Wallin (1811–1852), who went to Egypt in the 1840s to examine Arabic dialects and the teachings of the Wahhabis and travelled in Palestine in the spring of 1847. As he had adopted Arabic dress and posed as a Muslim, he was able to regularly pray in the Al-Aqsa Mosque, otherwise closed to Christians at the time (unless granted a special permission by the Pasha, as Bremer was on her visit in 1859). Whether Wallin truly converted to Islam or not is unclear. He had completed a pilgrimage to Mecca, and in Jerusalem, he visited many Christian pilgrimage sites, including frequent visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In Jerusalem, he socialized with the German Consul as well as with Muslim Sheikhs. According to his travel notes and letters, his main issues with the Christian shrines were the typically Protestant complaints about the disturbing religious practices of non-Protestant Christians. On the Mount of Olives, on the other hand, he experienced religious emotions, and therefore deemed it a proper Christian place of worship. In his travel notes, there is no discussion of the correct locations of shrines, nor does the view from the Mount of Olives carry any allegorical significance. Obviously, Jerusalem as a site had no scientific value for Wallin, other than it being yet another place to study the Arabic dialects and characteristics of the people, whereas for Berggren and Bremer alike, the site was of paramount importance, although interpreted according to different conceptions of the Jerusalem code. Georg August Wallin, *Skrifter 4: Färderna till Mekka och Jerusalem 1845–1847* (Helsinki and Stockholm: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2017), 153–210, 326–90. I am grateful to Patricia Berg for suggesting Wallin to me.

42 See Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50; Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966).

43 Hanno Beck, *Carl Ritter. Genius der Geographie: Zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1979), 21–5; Schach, *Carl Ritter (1779–1859)*, 15–26.

at length, for example, the Arabic historian Omad-el Dîn on Saladin's victory in 1187.⁴⁴ In Bremer's understanding of God's plan for humankind, displayed as the surface of the earth, the Jewish nation had a vital importance indeed, but the state did not.

The classicist epistemological regime had implications for the Jerusalem code, especially in Protestant countries such as Sweden, where, on the one hand, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was prohibited after the Reformation and on the other, travels to Palestine for scientific purposes were encouraged.⁴⁵ Berggren basically upheld this distinction between research and faith, making sense of the Holy Land in keeping with his classicist approach to scientific knowledge. However, when religious feelings did overwhelm him, for example, upon seeing Jerusalem at a distance for the first time, he interestingly enough expressed his emotions in the words of the Catholic Torquato Tasso's poem on the Crusades.⁴⁶ In fact, Berggren repeatedly quotes from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), and the crusades are evoked throughout the narrative.⁴⁷ In Bremer's travel book, the crusades are not even mentioned. Collapsing faith and rationality, and following Ritter in applying Christian salvation history as a meta-theory, Bremer is an example of the new human sciences, which placed Man in a double position as both empirical object and transcendental subject.⁴⁸ This enterprise also encompassed relating the different kinds of inquiry regarding Man to each other. For Bremer and Almqvist, as for many of their contemporaries, the common meta-theory was Christian salvation history. The Jerusalem code was re-signified in accordance with new epistemological regimes but was also active in producing the very same epistemologies.

⁴⁴ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 329–32.

⁴⁵ See the introduction to this volume, Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50; and Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 2, 12–48.

⁴⁶ Berggren, *Resor i Europa och österländerne* II, 342. Still, on entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he sticks to a psalm by Johan Olof Wallin, later archbishop of the Swedish Church.

⁴⁷ Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* was translated into Swedish in 1798 by G. J. Adlerbeth, and became very popular. Almqvist still refers to the names of Tasso's protagonists as a marker of chivalric virtues in the novel *Syster och bror* as late as 1847, and clearly expects his readers to recognize the source without pointing it out. In *Lycksalighetens ö* (1824) by Per Daniel Amadeus [P.D.A.] Atterbom (1790–1855), *Gerusalemme liberata* has a vital function in the plot. Furthermore, the Romantic poets did use the crusades as a theme – for example in Atterbom's *Fågel Blå*, published in different versions from 1814 to 1858, enacted on Cyprus with the former King of Jerusalem as one of the characters, still engaged in war with the Muslims. The shift from other religious systems to Christianity was a central issue for Romantic poets and historians alike. Urban Josefsson, “*Det romantiska tidehvarvet*”: *De svenska romantikernas medeltidsuppfattning* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002), 155–80. For a discussion on the conception of the crusades in late nineteenth-century Scandinavian culture, see Chapter 28 (Torild Gjesvik), 550–77.

⁴⁸ “Car le seuil de notre modernité n'est pas situé au moment où on a voulu appliquer à l'étude de l'homme des méthodes objectives, mais bien le jour où s'est constitué un doublet empirico-transcendantal qu'on a appelé l'homme.” Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 330.

Geography – Mythology – Philology – History

In the middle of Bremer's travel narrative of Palestine, there is a section on the Old Testament history of the Jewish people – not unusual for a nineteenth-century travel book on the Holy Land – but in this case, an even larger section follows on the old peoples and religions of Asia. Bremer quotes several pages verbatim from Ritter's introduction to the exposition on Asia, providing a geographical underpinning of the philologists' conclusion that Sanskrit was the original language and that Asia therefore must be the original home of mankind. "Asia, and Central Asia alone, and no other country whatever, could be the great fostering home of the childhood of the human race," Ritter contends.⁴⁹ His introduction ends with a statement, starkly reminiscent of his background in Romanticist philosophy (which Bremer quotes): "There exists in every western country a memory of an eastern country, as of its childhood and first youth, as well as a yearning towards it as to a primeval home"⁵⁰ For Bremer, the quotations from Ritter formed a point of departure for her reflections on the progress of religions. Geography, world history, the history of religious myths – they were all part and parcel of the same inquiry into Man's relationship with God.

Bremer's purpose was to recognize ancient Asian peoples as her "brothers" and to appreciate the significance of different nations as limbs belonging to the same organism, namely, the great family of humanity. In Jerusalem, she studied not only the Old Testament afresh but also documents of several world religions in search of God's plan as world history. Quoting Zoroaster, Lao-Tseu, Confucius, the five Commandments of Buddhism and some of the other teachings of Buddhism as well as the Quran, she separated what she perceived to be superstition and morally deficient attitudes from the fruitful seeds that would eventually lead to Christianity. In this account, progress is instigated by God's voice, perceptible in the conscience, which she calls "that innermost sanctuary."⁵¹ Ultimately, this account of world history results in a welcoming attitude towards Western imperialistic interest in Palestine.⁵²

An even more ambitious attempt at giving an account of world history inspired by Ritter was made by Almqvist twenty years earlier in *Menniskoslägtets saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi* [*The Saga of Mankind, or General World History in Connection with Geography*] (1839–1841).⁵³ Almqvist's grand idea

⁴⁹ Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde* II (Berlin: Reimer, 1832), 84; Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 316.

⁵⁰ Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen der allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und des Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* II, 84; Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 317.

⁵¹ Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* I, 324.

⁵² For a discussion on imperialism in Bremer's travel narrative, see Bohlin, "Jerusalem in Every Soul".

⁵³ C. J. L. Almqvist, *Samlade Verk 19: Menniskoslägtets Saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi*, ed. Jon Viklund (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2002). Ritter's ideas were acknowledged in Sweden at an early stage. As early as 1819, the poet Atterbom wrote about the first two

was to present the geography of the entire world in relation to an analysis of political systems, backed up by the history of all religious myths. Out of the planned four parts, Almqvist managed to complete only the first on Asia.⁵⁴ The text was basically compiled from a few sources, among them Ritter's *Die Erdkunde*.⁵⁵ In the preface, Almqvist draws up the contours of the project completely in line with Ritter's argument. His own addition consists of etymological hypotheses to corroborate the idea that all ancient sagas and myths reflect common events in ancient human history—hypotheses that he willingly admits might not prove to be entirely true. For example, the phonetic likeness of mythological names connects the Indian Bali and the Syrian Bal to the Biblical Abel, the Ancient Greek Apollon, the Gallic Bellen and the Old Norse Baldr to a common original myth of a murder. Thus, the very sounds suggested a possible historical truth for Almqvist.⁵⁶ The response from the academic community was silence.⁵⁷ His second original contribution to the compilation consisted of a Swedenborgian allegorical interpretation of the Bible, which did not help to convince his fellow liberal publicists that *The Saga of Mankind* would further their cause.⁵⁸

Almqvist's authorship displays, in a conspicuous way, one aspect of how the cracking of the Jerusalem code was set in motion. Starting out as a true disciple of the Swedish eighteenth-century scientist and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and envisioning the New Jerusalem and a future theocracy, Almqvist ended up a journalist writing for the liberal press and a fierce promoter of societal reforms. In his youth, he was introduced to the Moravian Brethren in Stockholm by his grandfather and stayed in contact with people from a Moravian background; it has been suggested that women's prominent position among the Moravians inspired Almqvist's support of women's emancipation.⁵⁹ Almqvist's turn from stressing inner and moral reform to the demand of legal reforms and societal change happened in the late 1830s, at the same

parts of *Die Erdkunde* in a letter from Berlin to his friend and publisher W. F. Palmblad, who went on to publish a geography textbook on Palestine in 1823 in which he refers to Ritter on numerous occasions. Apparently, Palmblad's book was a success, as three editions of it were published over the next twenty years. P.D.A. Atterbom letter to W.F. Palmblad 19.06.1819, in P. D. A. Atterbom, *Minnen från Tyskland och Italien* II, ed. Bengt Lewan (Stockholm: Svenska Akademien and Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2002), 656; Palmblad, *Palaestina: Geographisk, archeologisk och historisk beskrifning*.

54 Jon Viklund, "Inledning," in C.J.L. Almqvist, *Menniskoslägtets Saga, eller Allmänna världshistorien förenad med geografi: Samlade Verk 19* (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2002), xix.

55 Almqvist used works by the mythologists Friedrich Creuzer and J.G. Rhode and the geographers Georg Hassel, Conrad Malte-Brun and Carl Ritter. Kurt Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet": *Samhällsanalys och historiespekulation: Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists författarskap åren kring 1840 I* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söners förlag, 1979), 132–6; Viklund, "Inledning," viii–ix.

56 Almqvist, Almqvist, *Samlade Verk 19*, 27–8.

57 Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet"; Viklund, "Inledning," xxiv.

58 Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet."

59 Burman, *Politik i sak*; Karin Westman Berg, *Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists kvinnouppfattning* (Göteborg: Akademiförlaget, 1962).

time he began to write as a journalist. This change of career was partly because his scandalous writings against the institution of marriage left him with no source of income other than the liberal press – he was dismissed from his position as headmaster for a school, failed to be appointed a professorship at the university and, though ordained in the Swedish church, failed to be assigned to a parish. Nevertheless, the turn from inner truth to legislation was obviously fuelled by a radicalization of the political landscape across Europe, not in the least by Utopian Socialism.⁶⁰

Swedenborg's influence continued throughout Almqvist's writing career, despite the political turn of his writings. In *Historiens idéer [The Ideas of History]* (1819), Almqvist (Fig. 18.4) faithfully followed Swedenborg in presuming five epochs of world history – or five “churches,” in Swedenborg's terminology.⁶¹ The purpose of the fifth church, the New Jerusalem, was to restore the innocence of the first church, the Adamitic church. Furthermore, the Moravian Brethren supposedly carried the tradition of the old, original Christianity, whose wisdom would be available to the new epoch. Almqvist claimed that the New Jerusalem began with Swedenborg himself, but also suggested the Romantic philosopher Friedrich von Schelling, the American War of Independence, and the French revolution to be earthly correspondences to the fifth church.⁶² In his theoretical writings of the 1840s, underpinning his Liberal politics, he still employed Swedenborgian allegorical Bible exegesis to make sense of history. Almqvist's account of the geography of the world in *The Saga of Mankind* starts with a paraphrasing of Genesis, and the political analysis is guided by Swedenborg's idea of Cain and Abel as a splitting moment in human history with repercussions in contemporary cultures. Societies are either characterized by “cainistic” violence, obedience, and stagnation (as in the case of China and, to some extent, Sweden) or by “abelistic” peacefulness, fantasy, and inner, poetic mobility (as in the case of the Hindus).⁶³ He adapted Swedenborg's five churches to Ritter's scheme of the progress of mankind; his object was now to fit together all kinds of religious myths, world history, and geography in the tradition of Romanticist natural philosophy.⁶⁴

The Christian teleological salvation history was still in place; the figure of the Jerusalem code remained, but the New Jerusalem had lost its name, relativized by

⁶⁰ It might seem somewhat ironic that Almqvist's *Det går an* (1839), the novel that upset the authorities and started an agitated debate on the institution of marriage, was based on a Moravian apprehension of love as *unio mystica* and Swedenborg's concept of the true marriage as a holy community of souls, irrelevant to ecclesiastical and state authorities. Westman Berg, *Studier i C.J.L. Almqvists kvinnouppfattning*; Burman, *Politik i sak*.

⁶¹ Emanuel Swedenborg, *Nya Jerusalems lära om den Heliga skrift samt Nya Jerusalems lära om tron. Levernes-lära för Nya Jerusalem*. trans. C. J. N. Manby (Stockholm: Swedenborgsbiblioteket, 2011); see Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85.

⁶² Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 31.

⁶³ Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 28–9. Aspelin shows that the Cain myth was used in different ways by several Romantic writers such as Böhme and Wergeland. Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 157–62.

⁶⁴ Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 21, 138–9.

Fig. 18.4: Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, painting attributed to Johan Gustaf Köhler, date unknown. The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm. Photo: Erik Cornelius, 2007.

Romantic philology in relation to other religious myths and by historical-critical interpretations of the Bible. The final vision of an earth-soul – a “universal unity” of humankind, “the spiritual life of our entire planet brought together as *one soul*” – was a perfect mix of Ritter’s conception of the Earth as an organism and Swedenborg’s idea of a *Homo maximus*, the physical covering of God at the end of times.⁶⁵ This was indeed a version of chiliasm, as Almqvist himself pointed out: humankind manifested as the soul of the earth, represented an evolutionistic redefinition of the Second Coming of Christ.⁶⁶

Not only was the Jerusalem code compatible with concepts that would become cornerstones of scientific developments up to the present day, such as evolu-

tion and the comparative study of religious myths and of languages. The Jerusalem code even furthered these ideas, as the Christian salvation history functioned as a meta-theory that allowed for the possibility of formulating the very concepts that would ultimately split the code. Traditional complex ideas pertaining to the Jerusalem code, such as chiliasm, the navel of the world, and *translatio imperii*, opened up for and were simultaneously redefined by the new epistemological regimes. However, the Jerusalem code continued to produce a moral meaning: the geography of the Holy Land as a metaphor for the soul.

⁶⁵ Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 9; “universal förening,” “hela vår planets andelofs bringande till en själ.” See also Aspelin, “*Det europeiska missnöjet*,” 24, 174.

⁶⁶ Almqvist, *Samlade Verk* 19, 174–5.

The Geography of the Soul

Almqvist was a keen traveller. Although he never went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, one of his characters did. In the novel *Baron Julius K** (1835), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has a very different significance for the title character than it did for Berggren or Bremer.⁶⁷ The correct location is of no consequence, and the baron is even less preoccupied with critical methods. The controversy over modern epistemologies does not concern Baron Julius K*, because at the Holy Sepulchre, he visits the tomb of his own heart.⁶⁸ Almqvist follows an old Protestant tradition in valuing the inner pilgrimage over the physical journey.⁶⁹ In the novel, Baron Julius K* does indeed admit to travelling to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, but his travel narrative is characterized as an inner journey, and he motivates this Catholic practice in the same way Bremer does in her travel book. As Protestants, they claim to undertake a pilgrimage for the “right” reasons – not as what they consider to be an empty custom, but out of an inner need.⁷⁰ The baron seeks atonement for sins against his beloved Cecilia, but even though he travels all over the Holy Land, he does not find absolution. Significantly, he identifies Cecilia with Christ; Cecilia is the one he is looking for in the Palestinian landscape, “but Cecilia was not there, she was among the living.”⁷¹ The beloved body has thus taken the place of Christ, and it is only from Cecilia’s body, mediated through the eyes of her son, that the baron will receive forgiveness. Earthly love has become the model for heavenly love, not vice versa.

The encounter between the baron and Cecilia’s son takes place in Sweden, on the mountain Omberg in the province of Östergötland, but for the baron, Omberg is a miniature model of Carmel:

Carmel, just like this [Omberg], is not a high nor a very peaked mountain, but a wide and broad plateau, some hundred feet above the mirror of the sea. On the top, there is a captivating view far away over the Mediterranean in the West, just like we may here look upon our small middle sea, Vättern. If the lake Tåkern would be located farther away from us, I would compare it to Tiberias Lake or Lake of Gennesaret.⁷²

⁶⁷ C. J. L. Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” in *Samlade Verk* 7, ed. Bertil Romberg (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 1998).

⁶⁸ Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 123.

⁶⁹ Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 11–2; see also Simon Coleman and Jon Elsner, *Pilgrimage Past and Present: Sacred Travel and Sacred Space in the World Religions* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 80–1.

⁷⁰ Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 122, 107–8; Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla världen*, I:II, 203.

⁷¹ “Men Cecilia var ej der, hon var hos de lefvande.” Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 110. My translation.

⁷² “Carmel är, liksom detta, icke heller ett högt eller så spetsigt berg, utan en vid och bred plateau, några hundra fot hög öfver hafvets spegel. Deruppe har man en intagande utsigt långt bort öfver Medelhafvet åt vester, liksom vi här skåda öfver vårt lilla medelhaf, Wettern. Vore Tåkern belägen

It is no coincidence that the Holy Land, defined by its geographic characteristics, is projected upon the national landscape.⁷³ This is the proper site for redemption, according to Almqvist's novel. The beloved body and the Swedish nature will provide love and forgiveness that transcend earthly conditions and turn the national home into a representation of the Holy Land. On this spot, the baron may die redeemed of his sins and enter heaven.

The Palestinian landscape as the landscape of the soul was further developed some years later in the novel *Tre fruar i Småland* [*The Three Wives of Småland*] (1842–1843). In the chapter “Själens Geografi” [“The Geography of the Soul”], Almqvist draws on the traditional allegorical genre of psychomachia; the most famous work in this genre is, of course, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–1684) – another example of the Protestant preference for inner pilgrimage – but the genre was named after Prudentius' *Psychomachia* in the late fourth century.⁷⁴ However, the landscape of the soul in Almqvist's nineteenth-century version is neither a battleground for Virtues and Vices, as it was for Prudentius, nor is the landscape the manifestation of obstacles on the soul's journey to salvation, as it is in Bunyan's Valley of the Shadow of Death and The Hill Difficulty (Fig. 18.5). “The Geography of the Soul” is a full-fledged typological exposition in a Swedenborgian manner of Biblical history – encompassing Old as well as New Testament history – where different regions in Palestine represent different capacities of the human mind.

In our spirit, Emotion is the kingdom of Judea; Thought, the kingdom of Israel. Emotion holds the focal point of our spirit, which is belief in Eternity, and enthusiasm for God, the highest and holiest of manias: that is the capital, Jerusalem of our soul.⁷⁵

Psychological properties, spatially located, are the landscape for this particular nineteenth-century storyworld of salvation history, engaged in Biblical history.

Initially, emotions and rational thoughts were united, as was the Jewish Kingdom, Almqvist's narrator explains, but “Reflexion” split the soul, and to regain the original unity of salvation, the soul had to succumb to an agonizing history, prefigured by the

längre ifrån oss, så skulle jag jemföra den med Tiberias sjö eller Gennesaret.” Almqvist, “Baron Julius K*: Ur fröken Eleonoras Reseminnen,” 107. My translation.

⁷³ For a discussion of Almqvist's novel as national cartography, see Anna Bohlin, “Den svenska 1840-talsromanen som nationell kartografi,” *Samlaren* 137 (2016). For a discussion on place in *Baron Julius K**, see also Roland Lysell, “Solens gyldne kula. Påboda och Omberg: Platsens transformationer hos Almqvist,” *Almqvistiana* 34 (2012).

⁷⁴ On Bunyan, see Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition*, 187–95. On Prudentius and the genre psychomachia, see for example Ulf Olsson, *Levande död: Studier i Strindbergs prosa* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 1996), 314–7.

⁷⁵ “Känslan är Juda rike i vår ande; Tanken är Israels rike. I Känslan ligger vår andes medelpunkt, som är tron på det eviga, är entusiasmen för Gud, den högsta och heligaste manie: det är hufvudstaden, är Jerusalem i vår själ.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 287.

Fig. 18.5: *The Pilgrim's Progress* or Christians journey from the City of Destruction in this evil World to the Celestial City in the World that is to Come, 1813. Published by J. Pitts, London. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum. In this early nineteenth-century version, the Celestial City is clearly a depiction of the earthly Jerusalem. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–1684) enjoyed a continuous popularity in Sweden throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was issued in several different Swedish translations.

Bible. In an exegesis resembling a Catechism, Biblical history is interpreted as the history of the individual soul; the occupation of Jerusalem and captivity of its children represent the destruction of the soul by worldly forces. Jesus's movements between Bethlehem, Galilee and Jerusalem are attributed a major significance:

God was born in man in the part of the spirit, which is Emotion; he appears first in the most humble and despised region of Emotion; he reveals himself in deep humility and heart-broken sorrow. This is the Bethlehem of our soul. . . . Thereafter, he wanders into the space of our modes of Thought – that is Galilee, in Israel. He purifies, enlightens and sanctifies our notions,

delivers us sound principles and transforms our ideas. Ultimately, he returns to the home of Emotion – to the kingdom of Judea – to perform his work in the highest sense.⁷⁶

Christian salvation history is represented as Jesus wandering through and doing work on the capacities of the mind.

This extraordinary exegesis is presented in the novel by one of the titular three wives of Småland, whose status as allegorical personifications is spelled out: Poetry is weak on earth, but carries a heavenly hope and is strengthened by her friend Religion, who is endowed with an impressively rational mind. Of equally vital importance is their third friend, Practical Life, without whom Poetry and Religion would perish.⁷⁷ The three wives represent the Kantian epistemological categories with a Romanticist accent. Thus, the human mind is allegorized twice: as a basic division between emotion and thought in a typological allegory and as personifications of different epistemological qualities.⁷⁸ Obviously, what Almqvist's allegory is trying to come to terms with is Man rather than God. Needless to say, the wife who exposes the geography of the soul is Religion, who, apart from her geographical knowledge, also shows a remarkable knowledge of phrenology, the modern science that locates mental properties spatially, as Religion does in her interpretation of the Bible.⁷⁹

The objective of Almqvist's typological Bible exegesis is the development of the human subject. Even though geography has a different function from the allegorical geography of Bremer's travel book and Almqvist's *The Saga of Mankind*, the novel is clearly an example of the same shift of epistemological regimes: the establishment of the ambiguous position of Man as both the object of knowledge and the knowing subject.⁸⁰ The landscape of the soul, for centuries an essential *topos* of the storyworld of salvation history, took one step towards the modern science of psychology that would ultimately leave the Holy Land behind.⁸¹ By the 1840s,

76 "Gud födes hos menniskan i den del af dess ande, som är Känslan; i den ringaste och mest föraktade region af Känslan uppstår han först; i den djupa ödmjukhet och förkrosselse, som sorgen skänker, uppenbarar han sig. Det är i vår själs Bethlehem. . . . Så vandrar han derefter ut i våra Tankesätts rymd – det är i Galileen, i Israel. Han renar, lyser och helgar våra begrepp, gifver oss fasta grundsattser och förvandlar våra föreställningar. Slutligen återgår han igen till Känslans hem – till Juda rike – och han verkar här i sin högsta mening." Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 288.

77 Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 435–6.

78 On the distinction between typological allegory, which Auerbach calls "figural realism" and personification allegory, see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Task (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 195–8.

79 For a discussion on phrenology as a popular reference among British Owenite feminists in the mid-nineteenth century, see Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 22.

80 Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 323.

81 Historian Rob Boddice dates the emergence of comparative psychology as a discipline to the middle of the nineteenth century and highlights Alexander Bain's *The Emotions and the Will* (1859) as a ground-breaking work, not in the least because Bain detaches the study of psychology from

however, the geography of the soul was still identified with the Biblical landscape in Almqvist's novel and was key to another *topos* in activating the Jerusalem code: the utopian society.

The Heavenly City in Sweden

The model society envisioned by Almqvist in *The Three Wives of Småland* was not very detailed. However, he did attempt an elaborate plan for a new set of principles for the entire society, concretized in proposals for new legislation. From the late 1830s, he worked on his treatise titled *Europeiska missnöjets grunder* [*The Reasons for the European Malcontent*] (1850), eventually published within a literary framework in 1850, but the plan remained unfinished.⁸² The colony of Mariendal in *The Three Wives of Småland*, on the other hand, was a prison camp, but its purpose was expanded to encompass all humans: we are all sinners.

Swedenborg taught that criminality is a sickness in the soul that needs to be cured rather than punished – an idea that Almqvist embraced wholeheartedly.⁸³ The peasants in the novel are guilty of stealing as a last resort to feed their families. In Almqvist's view, the guilt therefore lies with the legal system that has prevented them from earning a livelihood. The ideal community is built in a desolate place in the middle of the province of Småland, where the criminals clear the forest, farm the land and build their own neat houses, taking comfort from the Bible. It might seem odd, though it is completely in line with Almqvist's general idea, that the three wives entrust their children's education to the supervisor, Alexander Medenberg, and his wife, Maria, living next to the prison camp. Medenberg makes a point by mixing with "the other criminals, our equals."⁸⁴

Although the "plan for the improvement of the fallen" is attributed to the Medenberg, he is inspired by Religion, who teaches him about the Fourierist Gatti

the soul: "Human bodies and human minds were in and of the world and, as such, subject to the world's influence." Hence, there was no longer any "need to account for the soul." Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 19.

⁸² C. J. L. Almqvist, "Europeiska missnöjets grunder," in *Samlade Verk 14. Törnrosens bok*, ed. Bertil Romberg (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2005). Following Luther, Almqvist understood society as consisting of three parts: 1) life in the family (regulating the relationship between man and woman), 2) life in the congregation (regulating the relationship between God and man – the foundation that made everything else possible), and 3) life in the state (regulating the relationship between the people and the government and providing the necessary means to perform the other parts). Almqvist, "Europeiska missnöjets grunder," 52.

⁸³ Aspelin, "Det europeiska missnöjet", 32–3; Burman, *Politik i sak*, 39.

⁸⁴ Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 483.

de Gamond.⁸⁵ The phalanstery is “the greatest idea of the age to extinguish all spiritual and bodily distress from humankind,” she claims, and she identifies the phalanstery with the first Christian community.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the problem with Fourier’s plan is that it requires a morality that is not yet at hand. Religion stresses the necessity of the

renunciation of false ways of thinking, habits, abuse, and everything that keeps the spirit in untrue bonds. Thus the system is unrealizable without a previous opening, an intermediate form in civilization. . . . This is merely a question of putting in order the economy of the soul, as that of the bodily life, so that vice and crime are wiped out of the former, just as every timely need, every wretchedness and all misery will be wiped out from the latter.⁸⁷

Mariedal purports to be this intermediate step that will perfect the soul and free the body of material harm. In other words, the colony will establish the eternal Kingdom of God within the limits of time.

In the frame story, a discussion of the correct apprehension of Christianity is taking place, concluding that neither a purely earthly understanding nor a purely heavenly understanding will do: “It must be heaven and earth simultaneously, still in *such* a way, that the heavenly is completely in command.”⁸⁸ “Heaven and earth simultaneously” is a reminder of Swedenborg’s correspondences, and this doubly working ontological underpinning of world history sets the stage for “The Geography of the Soul”, where Religion states: “The spirit of man is the *promised land*. Whatever exists in an earthly way on the surface of our planet and in nature, is also present in the soul of every man in an unearthly way.”⁸⁹

Religion emphasizes that heaven and earth do not *signify* each other; they both exist as each other’s likeness. *The Three Wives of Småland* is basically a realistic novel, set in a contemporary society and localized to various places in the province of Småland with realistically described travel routes.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, an allegorical mode pervades the narrative in regard to the politically most pressing issue: societal reform. “The Geography of the Soul” is clearly a description of how to achieve

⁸⁵ Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 448. For a discussion on early nineteenth-century utopian socialism, feminism, and millenarianism, see Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*.

⁸⁶ “Jag anser tidehvarfvets största tanke, till utrotande af själens och kroppens nöd från människoslägtet, ligga förborgad i Phalanstören . . .” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 223–4.

⁸⁷ “Afsägande af falska tänkesätt, vanor, missbruk och allt detta, som lägger själen i osanna bojor. Systemet är således utförbart utan genom en förutgående inledning, en öfvergångsform i civilisationen. . . . Här är blott frågan om ordnandet af själens, likasom af det kroppsliga lifvets ekonomi, så, att laster och brott utrotas från det förras område, likasom timlig brist, hvarje uselhet och allt elände från den sednares.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 224.

⁸⁸ “Det skall vara himmel och jord på en gång, men så likväl, att det himmelska råder fullkomligt.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 490.

⁸⁹ “Menniskans ande är det förlofvade landet. Vad som finnes jordiskt ute på vår planets yta och i dess natur, det finnes öfverjordiskt i varje människas själ.” Almqvist, *Tre fruar i Småland*, 286.

⁹⁰ Bohlin, “Den svenska 1840-talsromanen som nationell kartografi.”

the morality necessary for the phalanstery to work, for the Kingdom of God to be realized on earth.

In Bremer's ideal society, the presence of the Jerusalem code is even more conspicuous. Bremer's *Syskonlif*, in English translation *Brothers and Sisters* (both issued in 1848), is the story of nine adult siblings who aim to become true citizens of the Kingdom of God.⁹¹ The intrigue centres on them determining how this goal will be achieved. In the end, they inaugurate a newly built society, which is also inspired by Utopian Socialism. Bremer studied Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Pierre Leroux, and Robert Owen, and she found "a seed of the future" but was discontented with what she deemed to be their too-loftily ideal man and their too impersonal God.⁹² During her journey to America, she visited the New American Phalanx and Lowell, a cooperative fabric establishment famous for progressive working and housing conditions for its female workers.⁹³ In *Brothers and Sisters*, Lowell is explicitly the model for the ideal society: the community will be "a Swedish Lowell," aiming "to elevate the work-people to the highest possible improvement, freedom and happiness," especially the young Swedish working women, "future mothers," and citizens.⁹⁴

It is unclear what the factory will produce, but the organization is meticulously planned. A great lecture hall will be built, but there will be no "Phalanstrian establishments" as the Swedes, according to Bremer, desire their own homes with a garden.⁹⁵ Therefore, two households, or four at most, will share the same building, with two rooms and a kitchen for each household. The eldest brother, Augustin, relies on the Bible to figure out a banking system, supervised by himself to ensure high morality, and plans to establish a peace court after the Norwegian model and inspired by the

91 Fredrika Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslivet* 8 (Stockholm: L.J. Hjerta, 1848). The novel was immediately published in an English translation, Fredrika Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Henry Colburn, publisher, 1848).

92 Eva Heggstad, *En bättre och lyckligare värld: Kvinnliga författares utopiska visioner 1850–1950* (Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2003), 35–9. The reception of the novel in the Swedish press was slightly condescending, describing the Socialism presented in the story as "a sweet mistake," whereas a British journal warned the public of Bremer's dangerous Communism. Carina Burman, *Bremer: En biografi* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2001), 255. Bremer's novels were very popular among British "Radical Unitarians" thanks to her translator, Mary Howitt. Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movements, 1831–51* (Basingstoke, London: St Martin Press; New York: Macmillan Press LTD, 1995), 42–3, 48–53, 60, 95–106, 181. On Owenite socialists and millenarianism, see Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*. The novel was also translated into Danish, *Søskendeliv*, in 1848 and into German, *Geschwisterleben*, in 1858.

93 On her way back from America, Bremer also met with Charles Kingsley, the leader of the British Christian Socialists and was very much taken by him. Burman, *Bremer. En biografi*, 314–6.

94 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters. A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 131, 140. Original quote: "lyfta arbetarna till möjligaste förädling, frihet och lycka." Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslivet* 8 II, 145, 152.

95 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 167.

ancient village communities in the Swedish province of Dalarna.⁹⁶ The community of property is thus fairly restricted; the ideal community turns out to be more of a Liberal than a Socialist utopia. The spiritual needs will be met not only with a library, lectures, and religious services, but also with music: the singing sister, Gerda, plans to organize the workers in different “choirs” after the Moravian example.⁹⁷ Augustin’s very name gives a hint of the tradition upon which the society is built – after all, Augustine is the author of *De civitate Dei*.

The name of the ideal society is not Jerusalem, but there can be no doubt about the original model:

I baptise the new town by the old Swedish name of *Birka*! . . . It was in that old Birka in this region, that Christianity was first preached. It is a grain of that seed which now is growing up in the old ground, with harvests for the seed-time. No! not for time merely, for eternity! Not for earth merely, but for Heaven.⁹⁸

The city that connects history with eternity and earth with heaven shows the Jerusalem code firmly in place. However, in the novel, the city is renamed after the Viking age town of Birka, where the presumed first Christian missionary to Svealand, Ansgar, formed a small Christian congregation in the middle of the ninth century that, surprisingly, survived for at least a few years. The Jerusalem code is thus transported into nationalist history. Furthermore, one of the sisters predicts that “a garden, which formerly lay in the land of Mesopotamia, called Paradise” will be removed “into the Association.”⁹⁹ Although this is a realistic novel and not an example of the genre allegory – it is explicitly set in Stockholm in the 1840s, dealing with contemporary problems with a keen eye to realistic details – there are allegorical features underpinning the narrative.¹⁰⁰ Most conspicuously, important moments in the story have biblical correspondences that are clearly pointed out; a superposition of the Bible on the realistic story is crucial to the whole idea of the novel. The Bible is the key to grasping the inner

⁹⁶ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 169–71.

⁹⁷ Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslivet* 8 II, 146–7; Bergquist, *Om "Frälsarens dyra blod" och tidningsläsning hos Gud*, 73.

⁹⁸ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 172. “Jag döper den nya staden med det gamla svenska namnet *Birka*! . . . Det var i det gamla Birka, i dessa trakter, som christendomen först predikades. Det är ett frö af dess säd, som nu växer upp på den gamla grunden, med skördar för den nya tiden. Nej! icke för tiden blott, för evigheten! Icke för jorden blott, utan för himmelen.” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslivet* 8 II, 173.

⁹⁹ Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life*, 257, “öfverflytta till samfundet en trädgård som förr låg i thet landet Mesopotamien och som kallades *Paradiset*,” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslivet* 8 II, 231. As Carina Burman has noted, this is indeed a Messianic task. Burman, *Bremer: En biografi*, 260.

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion on the distinctions between allegory as a genre, as a model for interpretation, and as a mode, see Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1979); Olsson, *Levande död: Studier i Strindbergs prosa*.

meaning of the society the novel intends to bring about and the code without which the Utopia will fail to contribute to progress.

The entire scheme is explained by a new sense of unity of humankind. The narrator even addresses the reader, imploring her/him to listen to the voice of Universe and feel “the spirit of Christianity” as a wind uniting the entire globe:

It is the song of union, of fraternization on earth, of a great brother-and-sister-life, in which all mankind shall recognise each other as children of the same father-house, born to divide with each other the same inheritance of goodness and joy.¹⁰¹

Obviously, the children of the same father run the risk of excluding people of other religious beliefs. This is indeed a major problem in *The Homes of the New World* (where the Indians are excluded) as well as in *Travels in the Holy Land* (where the Muslims must be converted). In *Brothers and Sisters*, however, Jews are invited into the national community on the grounds of their highly moral family standards, whereas the atheist Uno poses a greater threat, even though he believes in the holiness of duty to mankind. Atheism necessitates a long argument that concludes that different views are part of God’s plan and that Uno, even though he does not know it, is a member of God’s invisible, eternal church.¹⁰² The belief in God’s plan for mankind, which will ultimately result in the realization of God’s Kingdom on earth, uniting all nations in one Christian family, is the hallmark of Christian Liberalism and a belief Bremer shared with Almqvist. The storyworld of salvation history, in these cases, features material welfare, including plans for housing and a banking system. To make sense of the Celestial City, it must be imagined as a national community. Or put the other way around: progress is prefigured.

Splitting the Jerusalem Code

In *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, Walter Benjamin reflects on the concept of progress, understood as “progression through a homogenous, empty time,” as opposed to the study of history, which inevitably apprehends time as “filled by the presence of the now” – a “Messianic time.”¹⁰³ Benedict Anderson used Benjamin’s distinction to theorize the new temporality of the nineteenth-century national communities, by linking Benjamin’s term to Erich Auerbach’s discussion of the temporality structuring the

101 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 130. “Det är sången om förening, om förbrödring på jorden, om ett stort syskonlif, i hvilket alla menniskor erkänna hvarandra, såsom barn af samma fader, födda att med hvarandra dela samma arf af godt och glädje.” Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 II, 145.

102 Bremer, *Syskonlif: Nya teckningar ur hvardagslifvet* 8 I, 176–80.

103 Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 261.

writings of the Church Fathers.¹⁰⁴ Augustine, Auerbach writes, “introduces an entirely new and alien element into the antique conception of history”: prefiguration, a simultaneity of “something which has always been, and which will be fulfilled in the future.”¹⁰⁵ Auerbach’s main example of this allegorical operation is *Civitas Dei* and “the progress (*procursus*) of the City of God on earth.”¹⁰⁶ Anderson claims that this kind of Messianic time is exactly what is replaced in the nineteenth-century periodic press and the realistic novel, which, according to him, is characterized by Benjamin’s notion of progress. The “homogenous, empty” time will allow an entire nation to share the same moment, creating a sense of community, which is the hallmark of modern nationalism.¹⁰⁷

However, the realistic novels by Almqvist and Bremer show that at the heart of the Liberal, nationalist project of the construction of a new society, Messianic time paradoxically made sense of modernity precisely as progress. As Bremer puts it in the quotation above: “No! not for time merely, for eternity! Not for earth merely, but for Heaven.”¹⁰⁸ Biblical history was being interpreted as a prefiguration of the most pressing needs of their contemporary society that simultaneously contained eternity – that is, the Messianic time of Augustine was structuring the reform programme of two mid-nineteenth-century Swedish writers, whose contributions to the twentieth-century welfare state have often been stressed.

This apprehension of time, activated by the Jerusalem code, also entailed an allegorical mode in the midst of realistic fiction, arguing for political reforms. Even though Almqvist suggested that the simultaneity of heaven and earth did not give precedence to either, it is obvious that the point of departure for the allegorical operation shifted from the spiritual to the material. The heavenly city was redefined by these Christian Liberals as a material welfare project, inspired by Utopian Socialism and Liberalism and evoked to bring about legislative reforms. The landscape of the soul – the basic *topos* for the classical genre *psychomachia* – in Almqvist’s fiction, turned into an allegory of spatially located properties of the human mind, and a typological exegesis of the Bible explained the moral history of the subject. Furthermore, the human body of a beloved person acquired the position of Christ in the Holy Land, projected onto the national landscape. Thus, the beloved body and the nature of a national home functioned as preconditions for redemption in Almqvist’s fiction, transcending earthly conditions and representing the Holy Land. The landscape of the soul was still imagined within the storyworld of salvation history, but the focus changed from heaven to earth and from Christ to the human body, preparing for psychology as a separate field of knowledge.

104 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 23–4. See also Chapter 1 (Anna Bohlin and Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati), 12–50.

105 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 73–4.

106 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 74.

107 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 22–36.

108 Bremer, *Brothers and Sisters: A Tale of Domestic Life* III, 172.

The storyworld of salvation history was fundamentally changed in Bremer's and Almqvist's mid-nineteenth-century literature by modern sciences. Philology and a pre-Darwinist notion of evolution entailed new epistemological regimes, which redefined traditional *topoi*. The idea of *translatio imperii* may be recognized in Ritter's evolutionistic conception of human progress moving from East to West, transforming Occident to Orient. The Second Coming of Christ in Almqvist's evolutionist redefinition consisted of the human race eventually uniting in one earth-soul. The navel of the world, redefined in accordance with modern archaeology and evolutionist geography, was relocated by Bremer to the Mount of Olives. Bremer's allegorical conception of geography featured the Great Commission as the formulation of God's plan, prefiguring the landscape.

The battle over the location of the Holy Sepulchre made it clear how a different epistemological regime displaced the Jerusalem code: a classicist regime trusting ancient authorities and tradition and upholding the earlier Protestant distinction between pilgrimage and research travel was replaced by a modern, Romanticist regime encompassing salvation history with archaeology and a critical, historical interpretation of the Bible. The Jerusalem code was still essential to making sense of the Holy Land, understanding the human mind and arguing for political reforms, but new epistemological regimes re-signified the code, which eventually split the Jerusalem code into different fields of knowledge.

This article has dealt primarily with traits in Bremer's and Almqvist's works that current research tends to overlook, dismiss as embarrassing speculations, or explain away as Romantic irony when studying nineteenth-century writers that so obviously speak to our own ideas of the welfare state based on Liberal and Socialist ideas. However, the very ideas that we consider part of our modern-life orientation in the world were formulated within the framework of the Jerusalem code. Christian salvation history retained its status as an explanation of the world during a major part of the nineteenth century; it was not rapidly replaced by a secularized, rationalistic paradigm, as is often contended, but coexisted with and opened the way for modern science. Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site, the landscape of the soul and the Celestial City would split into different fields of scientific knowledge – archaeology, psychology, political science; at the same time, theological reflection on these *topoi* are still abundant but removed to a metaphorical plane. However, that process of dislocation occurred only slowly. As these examples show, the Jerusalem code was, for a long time, adapted to the epistemic regimes of modernity, providing a meta-theory for modern science.