



Fig. 19.1: King Christian V of Denmark–Norway receives his royal crown from the hand of God. The open bible on the altar quotes 1 Kgs 3:9: “Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart”, or, as the engraver has it, “an intelligent soul” [animum intelligentem]. Engraving, late seventeenth-century. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Billedsamling), Copenhagen.

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Chapter 19

“The Song from Jerusalem”: Thomas Kingo Frames the Absolute King and His Congregation

This chapter considers one of the most important media of Jerusalem-representation in the culture of Lutheran piety, namely the hymns. The influential Danish hymn writer Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) and his description of Jerusalem are seen from two perspectives: first, how Kingo’ through his poem “Hosianna”, framed the absolute king in Denmark–Norway as David, where the musician-king leads his people in song; and second, how Kingo wrote several penitential hymns for Lent, where the singer was led into a visual-acoustic experience of the suffering Christ in Jerusalem. Both these elements, the king and the culture of penitence, were cornerstones of the Lutheran culture of piety in seventeenth-century Denmark–Norway.

The role of the king and the culture of penitence was an important context for Kingo and his writings. In the historiography of Denmark–Norway, the seventeenth century has often been called the period of orthodoxy, and it marked a transition from Philippism, as the influence of Philipp Melanchthon’s disciples faded.¹ The first half of the century was marked by the long reign of Christian IV (1588–1658), who ruled by the motto *regna firmat pietas*, piety strengthens the reign. This motto points to his double interest: the strict authority-controlled intellectual life and uniformity on the one hand, and a public demand for pious literature and mystical experience on the other.²

¹ Bjørn Kornerup’s old account of this period has been superseded but never surpassed. Kornerup regarded the installation of Hans P. Resen as the Zealand bishop in 1615 as the beginning of the orthodox period, cf. Bjørn Kornerup et al., *Det lærde tidsrum: 1536–1670; Enevældens Første Aar: 1670–1700 / Urban Schrøder*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1959), 221. Jens Glebe-Møller’s treatment of the Theological Faculty of University of Copenhagen in this period is also very valuable, but is mostly concerned with the theoretical questions at the doctrinal level. Cf. Jens Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske fakultet 1597–1732,” in *Københavns universitet 1479–1979*, ed. Svend Ellehøj (Copenhagen: Gad, 1980).

² Carsten Bach-Nielsen, “1500–1800,” in *Kirkens Historie Bind 2*, eds. Carsten Bach-Nielsen and Per Ingeman (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2012), 259–67. Charlotte Appel also characterized the period 1600–1660 as “the orthodox battle for the correct faith [retroenhed]” on the one hand, and penitence and the true fear of God on the other hand. She claimed that the household order was of particular importance for the latter. Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001), 120–31.

In light of the perspectives of this book, we could say that the vision of Jerusalem was cultivated from two sides. From the top level of society, the king used his significant power in religious matters to secure what he considered to be the “pure gospel” (and hence the true worship as it was once performed in Jerusalem).³ Therefore, Christian IV would intervene and punish representatives for what he considered divergent doctrinal positions.⁴ From the bottom level, uniformity was secured by a strong interest in literacy to learn the catechism by heart.⁵

The royal intervention stretched far into the religious life of the Danish–Norwegian subjects. When Christian IV entered war against the German emperor in 1626, for example, the king demanded weekly prayer-days in addition to the services on Sundays.⁶ Up until 1626, such prayer-days had been held on a yearly basis. The content of the literature that was published, such as sermons, prayers, and pious admonitions had some common features: the people had sinned, but they could be saved by turning to God and the king.⁷ Since the king had fought for his country with his own life and fortune, God himself considered Christian IV to be like the king of Israel.⁸ However, the wrath of God was inevitable – only after being hit by God’s punishing hand would God annihilate Denmark’s enemies and save the “Jerusalem of the North.”⁹

On the other hand, the demand for pious literature was strong among the laity. Books on piety were among the most popular books. The writings of Johann Arndt (1555–1621), particularly his *Garden of Paradise*, appeared in numerous Danish editions.¹⁰ In the section “Thanksgiving for the Christian Church” [Tacksigelse for den H. Christelige Kircke / oc at Gud vilde hende opholde och beskærme], Arndt had underlined that the Church was the bride of Christ, “the lovely God’s city and the heavenly Jerusalem.”¹¹ Therefore, the reader was a “citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem,” and had the promise of leaving the church militant for

³ See also chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 17.

⁴ Kornerup et al., *Det lærde tidsrum*, 4, 229.

⁵ Charlotte Appel, Morten Fink-Jensen, and Ning de Coninck-Smith, *Da læreren holdt skole: tiden før 1780*, Dansk skolehistorie 1, vol. 1 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 97–100.

⁶ See also Chapter 7 (Nils Ekedahl), 119–45.

⁷ For an overview over the propaganda and censorship in this period, cf. Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, vol. 1: 423–29. See also Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850* (Oslo: Humanist Forlag, 2001); and Øystein Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge. Vilkårerne for offentlige ytringer 1536–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

⁸ Paul Douglas Lockhart, “Dansk propaganda under Kejserkrigen 1625–1629,” *Jyske Samlinger* 2 (1998), 231.

⁹ Lockhart, “Dansk propaganda under Kejserkrigen 1625–1629,” 240.

¹⁰ Christian Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1877), 306.

¹¹ “[. . .] hun er din kiere Søns Jesu Christi Brud [. . .] en skøn Guds stad; det himmelske Jerusalem [. . .]” Johann Arndt, *Paradis Urtegaard* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartorius, 1625), 347.

the church triumphant.¹² The key to entering bliss in the life hereafter was a life of penance, as Johann Arndt also forcefully underlined.

In many ways, this could be seen as a cultivation of Jerusalem within the individual believer. In his famous treatise *True Christianity*, Johann Arndt claimed that “Scripture describes the New Jerusalem, and it must be in me, and I myself must be it.”¹³ In order to bridge the disparity between the two locations, namely New Jerusalem and the believing self, Arndt added a footnote, which was included in a later edition: “The paradise of God is above us, in heaven, but if we want to come to the paradise, our heart has to become a paradise. The new Jerusalem is above in heaven, but if we want to enter it, our heart must first become a heavenly Jerusalem, a city of the living God.”¹⁴

On the other hand, penance had also – and perhaps primarily – a social aspect, and the king wanted to foster personal penitential piety. This was not merely done by *appealing* to piety – rather the king used *legal* means in order to secure a correct understanding in the hearts of his subjects. In Christian IV’s “rescript” of penance from 1629, the king demanded that there should be appointed “helpers” to the ecclesiastic ministers. The task of these helpers was to uncover “vices that are difficult to abrogate or prove,” such as negligence of keeping the Sunday holy, swearing, and frivolity.¹⁵ The idea of such a control was that sinners could be admonished to better their conduct, and piety could prosper not merely in the external realm, but also in the internal realm, in the hearts of the believers. If the admonishment failed, punishment could be used, from accusations in public to excommunication.¹⁶ At the end of the long prescript, the king underlined the reason for this and other prescripts: avoidance of God’s wrath [Guds fortørnelse].¹⁷

12 “[. . .] Oc at wi oc endelig kunde annammis / fra denne stridende Kircke / ind vdi den Triumpherende Kircke [. . .]” Arndt, *Paradis Urtegaard*, 349.

13 “Die Schrifft beschribet das neue Jerusalem / das mus in mir seyn / und ich mus es selbst seyn.” Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher von wahrem Christenthumb* [. . .] *Das Erste Buch* (Magdeburg: Johan Francken, 1610), 59.

14 “Das Paradies Gottes ist über uns im Himmel; aber wenn wir in das Paradies kommen wollen, muss zuvor in dem zeitlichen Leben unser Herz paradiesisch werden. Das neue Jerusalem ist droben im Himmel; aber wenn wir sollen dort hinein kommen, muss zuvor unser Herz ein himmlisch Jerusalem, eine Stadt des lebendigen Gottes werden.” Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (Schaffhausen: J. F. Schalch, 1857), 90.

15 Holger Frederik Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove . . . 1536–1683: D. 1* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1883), 146.

16 Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Mellom Bot og Felleskap,” in *Norsk Religionshistorie*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005), 224–27.

17 Holger Frederik Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelov* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1889), 168.

The king was not merely responsible for the protection of “the true religion”, but also for the people’s ecclesiastical well-being.¹⁸

Absolute rule was introduced in 1660, when the king acquired hereditary rights and dismissed the Privy Council.¹⁹ The king ruled the church “from the highest to the lowest,” as the new code, the famous *Lex Regia* (Kongeloven), stated. The subsequent anointment pulled the king into a divine – even Christological – sphere, as we will see later.²⁰ It was an important event of communication as well – the sermon of the anointment service by Bishop Hans Wandal (1624–75) was published in 1000 copies.²¹

Arguably, the poems and hymns of Kingo wove these two motives together. He praised the absolute king as the sun and staged the believers’ penitential religious culture in hymns to be sung in homes and in churches. Both themes had Jerusalem as important components: first, his panegyric descriptions of the absolute monarch in the image of the Israelite kings, such as David and Solomon; second, his hymns of *passiontide*, where Kingo depicted Christ’s suffering in Jerusalem.

Kingo, the King, and the Hymn Book

Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) was the main figure among the poets and hymn writers of orthodox absolutism. His legacy lasted long after his death, and he is arguably the most influential hymn writer in Denmark–Norway since the Reformation. Together with H. A. Brorson (the Pietist), and N. F. S. Grundtvig (the Romantic), Kingo forms the towering trinity of hymn writing in post-reformation Copenhagen until this day.²² The popularity of Kingo’s hymns are not only seen by the centrality he occupies in the Lutheran Churches in these countries today, but also in the fact that the official hymn book edited and published by Kingo (1699) proved difficult to replace with a more modern one. Although the rationalistic hymn book of 1798 excluded Kingo, some areas of Denmark still used Kingo’s hymn book until the 1960s.

In Norway, there was an even greater reception of Kingo. The first national hymn book of the Church of Norway, edited by Landstad (1869), contained no less

¹⁸ Bernt T. Oftestad, *Den norske statsreligionen: Fra øvrighetskirke til demokratisk statskirke* (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget, 1998), 66.

¹⁹ C. O. Bøggild Andersen, *Statsomvæltningen i 1660: Kritiske studier over kilder og tradition* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936).

²⁰ Oftestad, *Den norske statsreligionen*, 56–62.

²¹ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 519; see also Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 72–95 in this volume.

²² In the Danish tradition, B. S. Ingemann (1789–1862) is perhaps included. His influence is more confined to the national mainland, however, with one exception: the popular Christmas carol *Deilig er jorden*.

than 116 hymns written by Kingo, from a total of 634.²³ The current authorized hymn book in the Lutheran Church of Denmark (2005) has 791 hymns, and Kingo is responsible for 82 of them. In 1936 article, the Norwegian pastor and hymnologist P. E. Rynning remarked that one of the most striking aspects of Kingo’s hymns is that they are much easier to sing than the older ones. Their formal structure is more rounded and playful. In spite of the previous attempts by authors such as Hans Thommissøn and Hans Christensøn Sthen, Rynning claimed that Kingo was the creator of the original Danish hymn. Although the new form of hymn composition was already present in the work of Anders Arrebo (1587–1637), particularly his translation of the psalms of David, Rynning wrote that their compositional form is not yet “ripe” before Kingo.²⁴

Kingo and the Danish King

Before the new king, Christian V, was anointed on 7 June 1671, Thomas Kingo wrote a poem, *Hosianna*, to celebrate the occasion.²⁵ The poem reflected the new ideology of absolute rule, as laid down in the famous *Lex Regia* (published 1665) and theologically justified in Hans Wandal’s, *Jus Regium*, a six-volume work that appeared between 1663–72.²⁶

23 The number of Kingo’s hymns, however, decreased steeply thereafter. In the revised version of Landstad’s hymn book, by Gustav Jensen (1924), Kingo was only represented with 64 out of 886 hymns. In the official hymn book *Norsk Salmebok* (1985), he had 24 of a total of 866. In the most recent version of the hymnal (2013) for the Church of Norway, only 16 of a total of 899 came from Kingo’s hand.

24 In line with the national ideology in the 1930s, Kingo was seen as “the conscious Danish-national emancipation from the German hymn writing.” P. E. Rynning, “Thomas Kingo. Salmeskalden Kingo og Noreg,” *Kirke og Kultur* 42 (1935), 234.

25 Cf. Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 72–95 in this volume.

26 Paolo Borioni, “Suverænitetsbegrebet i Bog IV af H. Wandals Jus Regium” (PhD Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2003). A main point for Wandal was to reject the difficult critique of kingship as it appeared in 1 Sam 8. In his book, “A defence of the people of England,” John Milton had – on behalf of the Council of State – defended the Commonwealth against the monarchical theory of the French Protestant, Claudius Salmasius. The crucial point was the understanding of the Hebraic word for kingship, *mishpat*. Milton claimed that God, speaking through Samuel, “disapproved of it, blamed it, considered it a fault [. . .].” John Milton, *Political Writings*, ed. Martin Dzelzainis, trans. Claire Gruzelier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 85. Wandal attacked this interpretation, and claimed that it was only its *misuse* that was disapproved. Its proper use was divinely sanctioned. Cf. Joar Haga, “Gerhard (Un)Seen from Copenhagen? Danish Absolutism and the Relation between State and Church,” in *Konfession, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit. Der Jenaer Theologe Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) im Kontext seiner Zeit*, eds. Markus Friedrich, Sascha Salatowsky, and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017), 126. It should be underlined that the theocratic interpretation by Wandal was by no means undisputed. For a discussion of this, see Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen,

The title of the poem, *Hosianna*, is worth considering due to its status as the cry that met Jesus from the multitudes when he entered Jerusalem. As Christ, King Christian V enters the city to be crowned as the true king. On the title page, it was stressed that *finally* [omsider] Christian V let himself be anointed and blessed (see Fig. 19.1). The passive²⁷ description of the King's act was important as God was the active part in shaping the royal ideology: the anointing and blessing had been conducted "according to the manner and style God himself had introduced," the title page underlined.²⁸ The king had not received his office through a royal Charter with the Privy Council, but through his noble birth. Through Kingo's description as a prayer, this natural order was baptized and sanctified. His aim was to create a sanctuary "to lead the profane time through the gates and lift it up to sacred time," as Erik A. Nielsen has described it.²⁹

In a cosmic description, the king appeared as the "Nordic sun itself" on display. "His fair queen" is the moon, passive, receiving the light from her active man. The Danish nobility, who had faded from their former glory, should now enter their new role as stars, bowing to the great sun.³⁰ It was the start of a new hyperbolic style, where a true poet "can make flattery into art."³¹ One can hardly overestimate the impact of the sun as a central metaphor in the hymn writing of Kingo.

The allegorical use of the sun in *rex* and *regina* was heavily enacted in Early Modern Europe, perhaps most famously by Louis XIV in his identification with Apollo.³² Kingo's biographer in the nineteenth century reminded his readers that the almost parodic use of poetic devices such as the Alexandrine, should be interpreted in light [!] of

"Enevoldsarveregeringsakten og kongeloven. Forfatningsspørgsmålet i Danmark fra oktober 1660 til november 1665," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 93 (1993), 295–321.

27 In Danish: "Lod sig".

28 "[. . .] efter dend aff Gud selv indførde og Himmelbudne Maneer og Maade / Salve og Signe." Thomas Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1975), 2: 1.

29 "[. . .] er det digtets målsætning at føre tiden *ind* i helligdommen, at opløfte profan tid til sakral." Erik A. Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo: Barok, enevælde, kristendom*, Billed-Sprog, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2010), 156.

30 Richard Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid* (Copenhagen: Karl Schönbergs Forlag, 1887), 165.

31 F. J. Billeskov Jansen, "From the Reformation to the Baroque," in *A History of Danish Literature*, ed. Sven H. Rossel (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 109.

32 Jörn Sieglerschmidt, "Sonne und Mond," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 200–01. Philip Riley has underlined the strategic *moral* role of Louis XIV's identification with Apollo: "The symbol of Apollo, the god of divination – the intermediary between the divine and human realms – not only permitted the new Sun King to aspire to be the center of the European world but also accommodated his charge, as 'God's Most Christian King,' to represent the Son of God, Jesus Christ." Philip F. Riley, *A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-Century France* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2001), 25.

the fact that everything Kingo wrote coincided with the time of Louis XIV.³³ In this tradition there is a curative aspect of the king as the sun. Racine compared his French king to the sun and labelled his reign as the golden age, as he recovered from illness.³⁴ In his poem to the king, Kingo expanded on this notion, by comparing the king to his vision of Christ: the great light that redeems sinful man from the powers of darkness.³⁵ In Denmark, Willich Westhov published his *Emblemata* in 1640, where he included the radiating king and queen as sun and moon inside a wedding ring (Fig. 19.2).

This image did not stand alone, but was preceded by another important image in the royal ideology, namely that of David.³⁶ He appeared as the example of the king, kneeling while playing a harp, “offering pleasing hymns” from the Hebrew psalms while his mind was illuminated by God (See Fig. 19.3).

As the sun, the king represented reason and intellect in the earthly realm.³⁷ Kingo’s understanding of the order of creation was erected on chaos. Compared to his contemporary German hymn writer Paul Gerhardt (1607–76), Kingo had a very different view of the world. Gerhardt portrayed an experience of a world “in a pale sunlight” and the “goodness and grace of God was found everywhere.” Kingo, however, saw the world as a “great battle, where darkness followed light, the great sun followed the night, but always with the hope, that the light would prevail.”³⁸

For Kingo, the king reflected not merely a primordial order, but his office was a tool to keep the forces of chaos at a distance. As it was underlined in the introduction, God’s wrath could enter the kingdom at any time. Therefore, Kingo’s

33 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 126. Petersen added that the somehow pompous effect of his poetry to modern readers may have been intensified by Holberg, who let his comic figure Peder Paars sail into the world as he proclaimed an Alexandrine verse.

34 Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 22.

35 Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2: 233. Nielsen underlines the typological relation between Christ and the first day of creation: the separation of light and darkness prefigured the darkness-conquering work of Christ.

36 Cf. Chapter 6 (Sivert Angel), 97–117 in this volume.

37 The role of the sun was perhaps most evident in the work of seventeenth-century philosopher Robert Fludd. In his highly speculative work on metaphysics, Fludd used the sun to connect the micro-world of men with the macro-world of the heavens. Cf. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, Physica atque technica historia* (Frankfurt: Hieronymus Galler, 1619), 254.

38 “Paul Gerhardt er rolig og blød. Verden ligger mest for ham i Solglands, han ser Guds Godheds spor i alle Ting, Naaden er ham vis [. . .] Annerledes er Kingo, heftig ildfuld og bevæget; i ham bruser og gjærer det, han kjender og skildrer Synden i sine mangehaande Skikkelser, han kjender og sukker under Kampen med den. Og som han ser det personlige Kristenliv oftest som en Kamp, saa er det hele store Verdensliv ham ogsaa en vældig Kamp, hvor Lys vexler med Mørke, den gylne Sol med den skumle Nat, dog altid med Fortrøstningen, at Sejren bliver paa Lysets Side [. . .].” Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 151. For Gerhardt, see Christian Bunnars, “Nichts Schönres unter der Sonne als unter der Sonne zu sein . . . ’ Zum Sonnenmotiv bei Paul Gerhardt,” in “*Und was ich noch sagen wollte . . .*” *Festschrift für Wolfgang Kabus zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. Johannes Hartlapp and Andrea Cramer (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016) 96–97.

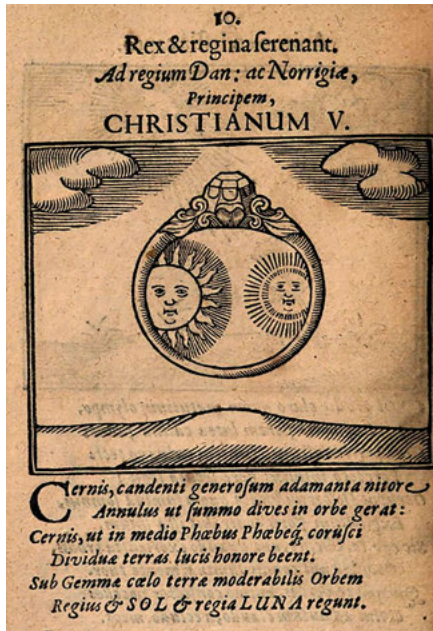


Fig. 19.2: King Christian V depicted as the sun, and his queen, Charlotte Amalie, as the moon. They are set within a ring, representing the “celestial gems” who rule over a manageable world. Woodcut from Willich Westhov, *Emblemata*, 1640, fol.9.



Fig. 19.3: According to Westhov, a good king should follow the example of the biblical King David: fall on his knees and contemplate the lights of God. Above all, the king should offer hymns. Woodcut from Willich Westhov, *Emblemata*, 1640, fol. 7.

understanding of a threatening chaos reflected a basic cultural assessment. The optimistic mood that had formed the first years of Reformation in Denmark–Norway gave way to a religiosity that can be characterized as *penitential*.³⁹ Already King Christian IV, who reigned until 1648, promoted the sorrow and grief of a particular deficiency: good deeds as the fruits of faith.⁴⁰

In addition to the focus on penitence, Kingo also utilized the *heating* aspect of the sun, as the king was giving warmth to the cold creatures of the North:

I hver en Straale glands er Krafftig virkning lagt.
Hand øser Lius og Lyst paa alle Stjerne-flokke,

³⁹ See also Chapter 12 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad) in this volume, 235–57.

⁴⁰ J. Oskar Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid. En kirkehistorisk Indledning til Kingo’s “Siunge-Koor”* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1931), 35–38.

Hand bukker offte sig til Jordens vaade Sokke,
Og stikke Qvegnings Krafft i hendes kolde Bryst [. . .]⁴¹

In every radiant beam, a powerful effect is placed,
He dispenses light and happiness on all the groups of stars,
He often bends over the cold swamps of the Earth,
And induces life-giving power in her cold breast.⁴²

The life-giving effect that the Nordic sun king had on the barren and cold land gave witness to the divine origin of his kingship: “Hence, the heavens have ordered your regiment.”⁴³ The metaphor of the sun corresponded with the strong erotic connotations that Kingo presented elsewhere, particularly in the poem where Kingo described the king’s entrance to the island of Funen. In a language worthy of hierogamy, the Island opened up for the king who brought about his life-giving seeds.⁴⁴

In *Hosianna*, Kingo included the blessing of Solomon as well. On the title page, the wish for the king’s fortune [Kongen skee Lykke!] was exactly how the people had responded to the anointing of Solomon by the priest Zadok, according to the contemporary Bible translation of Hans Svane (1647).⁴⁵

Kingo could state that King Christian V was received by the bishop of Zealand as David and Saul were received by the prophet Samuel, thereby constructing an analogy between Samuel and Bishop Wandal as divine instruments in installing kings. A peculiar feature is Kingo’s remark that the “Samuel” who anointed the king, Hans Wandal, was – just as the boy Samuel – nourished or “suckled” into the House of the Lord.⁴⁶ In addition, the ecclesiastical order of the Danish church was performing the same function as the priests of ancient Israel.

Her staar din Samuel, til Herrens Huus opammed,
Med Olien I Haand, hans Hierte det er krammed
Med mange hellig Suk, hans Læbers tale skiøn
Har HOSIANNA sit fra ald sin Ordens Bøn.

Here is your Samuel, suckled into the House of the Lord,
with oil in his hand, his heart is surrounded

41 Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:4.

42 Translation from Svend Erik Larsen, “Myth and Meaning of Foreign Lightscapes in Nordic Literatures 1: The Imaginary Elsewhere,” in *Nordic Literature: A Comparative History*, eds. Mark B. Sandberg, Steven P. Sondrup, Thomas A. DuBois, and Dan Ringgaard (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017), 299.

43 “Saa har og Himlen selv dit Regimente skikket.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:6.

44 “Bryd op dit rige Skiød! du grøde-fulde Dronning! Feed-bugget Fynske Jord, her træder frem din Konning!” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:126.

45 Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6A:199.

46 The commentary to the critical edition points to the relation between Bishop Wandal and Samuel as a matter of biographical coincidence: as Samuel was handed over to the temple, so was Wandal – the son of a bishop – designated for service in the church. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6A:203.

with holy sighs, his lips of beautiful oratory
 have their Hosanna from the whole of his order's prayer.⁴⁷

In addition to the mere performative aspects, the spatial imagination of “your Samuel” opened up the possibility for interpreting Copenhagen as Jerusalem as well. It was simply the place where the chosen king is anointed by God. Such a spatial charging was a politically important historical dimension of Wandal's office. The oil in the bishop's hand was used in the propaganda and legitimation for the absolute rule as the will of God. As the main representative of the ecclesiastical ministry, Wandal was framed as the final product of a development that aimed towards the anointing of the absolute king. Kingo's clever framing of the fruit of the church's long pondering in prayer, their “holy sighs” through the centuries, had now been finally answered. Being raised in God's house, the clergy was at last anointing the king. As the Aronitic service in the temple reached its summit with Samuel anointing the king, so also did the Lutheran church office. Read in this way, the poem was not only constructing a simple comparison between Samuel and Wandal, but it points to the teleological direction of religion itself, namely to baptize political power in the figure of a king.

The Lent and Easter Hymns of Kingo

Thomas Kingo did not merely lead the king into the temple to become anointed, but through his hymns, Kingo also lead the congregation into the city of Jerusalem to see the suffering and dying Christ. A royal decree was made concerning “preparation of a new hymn book” in 1683, since the public hymn book was a *royal* responsibility. This responsibility fit well with Kingo's framing of the king as David, the king who led his people in the art of praising the Lord.

In the decree, the king not only referred to a lack of songs to fit the texts of the liturgical year, but he also complained about the hymns in use.⁴⁸ They were “collected by clerks without erudition and had not been corrected by theologians.” Therefore, Kingo should collect the best and supply them with “some of his own hymns.”⁴⁹ The decree gave clear direction of how the hymn book should be organized,

⁴⁷ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:8 (My translation).

⁴⁸ Even though Thomissøn's *Salmebog* from 1569 was the official hymn book, there were different hymn books in circulation. Many of them were full of errors and suffered from poor printing quality, while many of the included German hymns were poorly translated. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6B:431.

⁴⁹ “[. . .] stor Urigtighed udi adskillige Sange, som derudi ere indførte, endeel formedelst u-lærde Bogførere, der allehaande udøgtige og ubeqvenne Sange sammensancker [. . .] endeelog fordi at saadanne Psalmebøger ey af Theologis ere giennemseet og rettede: da er Voris allernaadigste Villie og Befalning, at Du, det snariste muligt er, est betenckt paa en ret Psalmebog af de gamle sædvanlige

namely that each Sunday in the liturgical year “has its own songs.”⁵⁰ Despite the critics, there was a strong wish to preserve hymns that were in use.⁵¹

Six years later, Kingo published his work, the “Winter-part,” covering the Sundays from Advent to the first Sunday after Easter.⁵² His hymns for Lent and Easter represent some of the most central works in Danish Christian poetry,⁵³ and form a journey with Jesus in Jerusalem from his song after the Last Supper to his crucifixion.

Just like the meditations in the Middle Ages, the hymns represent stations where the singer can view the sufferings of Christ, or perhaps can rather be adopted into the drama. All the seventeen passion hymns can be seen as a work in its own right, a 210-stanza composition.⁵⁴ In the final and official edition of 1699, the commission of editors wanted to omit them, claiming that they were better suited for private piety than public liturgy. For Kingo, however, it was paramount that they were included. In the end, the commission struck a compromise, namely to place them together at the end of book.⁵⁵

In the preface to “the most merciful Lord and King,” Kingo reminded Christian V that he, as a regent preoccupied with the composition of a hymn book, was in fellowship with the most noble and God-fearing of kings. King David, Kingo stated, not only took the royal sceptre in his hand to rule his people, he also “took the harp in his hand in order to praise God.” And further: “He did not merely write hymns but sang them as well. Indeed, he makes it publicly known that he will not cease, but rather will glorify the Lord as long as he lived and sing his praises as long as he was here.”⁵⁶

By placing the king in a tradition of musicians, Kingo did not alter the ideology of the king, but instead underlined the liturgical aspect. Referring to the report of

og beste Kirkesange og Psalmer at sammenskrive og indrette, saa og dend med endell af dine egne forbedre [. . .].” Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove*, 548.

50 The former official hymn book, Hans Thomissøn’s collection from 1569, had its content partly organized according to the large liturgical events, and according to their catechetical and dogmatic content. Stig Wernø Holter, *Kom, tilbe med fryd* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991), 295–96. For example, between the hymns of Christmas and Easter, Thomissøn inserted a large section under the heading “The person of Christ,” cf. Hans Thomissøn, *Den ny danske Psalmbog* (Copenhagen: Laurentz Benedicht, 1592), 28r.

51 Ove Paulsen, “Salmer som gudstjenesteled i Kingos Vinterpart 1689 og ‘Kingos Salmebog’ 1699,” *Hymnologiske meddelelser* 29, no. 1 (2000), 61.

52 In one of the most spectacular events in the Danish history of literature, Kingo fell into disgrace and the king withdrew his authorization of Kingo’s work. Although there have been many attempts to explain the reason for this, they are mere speculations. Cf. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6B:431–46.

53 Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:401–02.

54 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 364.

55 Vigdis Berland Øystese, “Hør en lovsang, høye himler,” in *Nytt norsk salmeleksikon*, eds. David Scott Hammes, Inger Vederhus, and Stig Wernø Holter (Trondheim: Akademika Forlag, 2012), 143.

56 “David tog ey allene sit Kongl. Spir i Haanden til at love sin GUD: Hand ey allene skrev selv Psalmer, men hand og sang dem, ja hand giver offentlig tilkiende, at hand til sin Døde-Dag ey vilde lade det, men at hand vilde love HERren, saa længe hand vaar her.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 1–6, 4, 7.

2 Chr 20, Kingo underlined the military benefits of singing. The king of Judah, Josaphat, did not win the final battle against the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir due to sheer military force, Kingo pointed out. Rather, Kingo claimed that Josaphat had won because he had appointed singers unto the Lord. Josaphat's attack was not defined by the swords, but by the people's praise. It pleased God, Kingo wrote, to give victory to the praising tongue, not to the drawn sword.⁵⁷

Was Kingo's framing of the king in the light of a singing king of Israel an attempt to make a political statement? Could it be read as a critique of a more aggressive line of politics? Probably not, at least not in the short term. In 1674, Kingo pointed merely to a political goal for the king's reign, namely the wish for peace.⁵⁸ This could perhaps be read as a critique of the more aggressive line of foreign policy that Christian V pursued compared to his father, Frederick III. When the king of France, Louis XIV, had marched into the Netherlands two years earlier, the emperor and elector of Brandenburg urged the other European nations to join in an alliance against the French aggression. At first, Denmark followed a neutral line, but during the summer 1674, Christian V joined an offensive alliance with the enemies of France.⁵⁹ However, although there is hardly any evidence of Kingo as a political writer, one can still see certain political implications by Kingo in integrating the king into his interpretation of Jerusalem. Kingo's creative mind did not leave the king alone with his secular affairs. When the king was put in relation to an embodiment of political leadership, David of Israel, David was at first accentuated only as a good and just ruler. Interestingly, we can then observe a change in Kingo's use of the image of David – he was transformed into a God-pleasing singer in his *Vinterparten*.

In Kingo's universe of texts, one can observe a similar movement of melodies. In line with his "transformation" of the king, Kingo was eager to baptize secular melodies for religious use. His *contrafactum* demanded a more dramatic change than for the king, however, when Kingo sought to make "a song about Sodom" into "a song about Zion." He wanted to make the "pleasant and agreeable melodies" – that is secular and popular songs – "so much more heavenly" by using them for religious purposes.⁶⁰ Kingo exploited Luther's idea that the hymn itself created a service, outside the cultic order. The Christian place was not restricted to the church, as everyone could worship God "in their estate and calling" [kald og stand], as Kingo stated in a famous morning song. When Kingo wrote a hymn "for seafaring people," there was no requirement for performing it

⁵⁷ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:7.

⁵⁸ The element of military success against the enemies was particularly important and repeated many times. For example, for the sixteenth stanza of Kingo's *Dend Syvende Aften-Sang* [The seventh evensong], Kingo ended it by asking that the king "grow higher than his enemy" ["og høyt sin Fiende overgroe"]. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 3:393.

⁵⁹ Knud J. V. Jespersen, "1660–1700. Drømmen om revanche," in *Danmarks krigshistorie*, eds. Ole L. Frantzen and Knud J. V. Jespersen (Copenhagen: Gad, 2010).

⁶⁰ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 3:9.

in a congregation gathered in a church building. On the contrary, Kingo framed the hymn with the intention of men singing it at work. He visualized the ship as a church and the seamen as a congregation, sailing on their way to heavenly Jerusalem.⁶¹

There is, however, considerable flexibility in Kingo’s use of Jerusalem. It was not merely the seat of the psalm-king David and the praising congregation, but it was also the place where Christ met his destiny in passion and death cf. Fig. 19.4.

O ye Highest Heavens, Listen

The first hymn in Kingo’s “passion suite”⁶² opens with an appeal to the most fundamental of the senses of the Danish Lutheran of seventeenth-century Denmark, namely the ear. The first stanza summons the heavens, the angels, and the people on earth to listen.

HØrer til I høye Himle,
Hører til I Engle-Koor!
Hører O I Folk som vrimle
Og som Jordens Klod beboer!

Listen, o ye highest heavens,
listen, o ye angel choir!
Listen, o ye people abounding
who live on planet earth!⁶³

His cosmic exhortation has a direction. It is not intended to attune the soul to a particular mood, but rather leads the singer to the acoustic event in Jerusalem. It is a space filled with sound. Jesus himself is singing: “Jesus, oh, our Jesus is singing.” The effect of Kingo’s exhortation “listen!” is dependent on how he links Jesus’s voice to the cosmic harmony. Kingo took the idea of a static consonance of the heavenly bodies and used the singing of Jesus as a dramatic element, putting the whole of creation in motion.

Himlens heele Harmoni
Sættes nu i Melodi

The complete heaven’s harmony
is now given melody.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Th. Borup Jensen, “Hvad er en salme? Forsøg på en genrebestemmelse,” in *Salmen som lovsang og litteratur*, eds. Th. Borup Jensen and K. E. Bugge (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1972), 29–32.

⁶² Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:442.

⁶³ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:276. (My translation).

⁶⁴ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:276. (My translation).



Fig. 19.4: Reconstruction of Jerusalem and the Temple seen from the Mount of Olives, engraving from Jan van der Avelen, *Atlas Major* Bd. 60, tvl. 6, Amsterdam 1687. It is not known whether Kingo saw this particular reconstruction or not, but it is possible that the bishop of Odense knew of its existence. The Temple dominates the scene in a striking way.

For the singer of the hymn, his song is not merely connected to the pre-established harmony of the spheres, but is tied to – or included in the event – by hearing Christ sing. In his hymn for Good Friday, Kingo explicated the effect as a touch from Christ’s hand in his famous 15 verses. After a series of requests to the singer to contemplate the events on the cross, Kingo suddenly turns to the singer with the prayer: “write yourself, Jesus, on my heart.”⁶⁵ The objective inscription on the cross is understood as transported into the heart. Such a mystical awareness of the *inhabitation* of Christ is more prominent in these late passion hymns intended for congregations than in Kingo’s earlier production of pious hymns for the home. These changes of the “I” of the hymn were perhaps caused by a new interest in the theology of Johann Arndt, particularly his book *True Christianity*. Whereas the early Kingo could write about being “dressed” in Christ, with the meaning of “hiding” his sins in him, the

⁶⁵ “Skriv dig Jesu paa mit hierte.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:470.

later Kingo could simply use the metaphor of dressing up in Christ as “I wear my Christ.”⁶⁶

The song of Christ should not be reduced to a reflection of a stabilized order. Rather, Kingo’s use of the motive transforms or gives the static harmony a moving melody. Kingo was acutely aware of the importance of melodies to the hymns and was a competent musician himself. In his book *Musicus Danicus*, the contemporary Mathias Schacht regarded Kingo as one of the most gifted musicians of his generation.⁶⁷ The appeal to silence is part of the rhetorical *genus grande* and was intended to move the audience’s feelings. Thus, the exhortation “listen!” is linked with the motion of the passion narrative – emotion and motion are intertwined. At the same time, it was designed to capture the goodwill of the audience, a *captatio benevolentiae*, as it signalled the expected humility. Simply put, it was the correct feeling when encountering such a grave theme as Christ’s suffering.

According to the gospel of Matthew, chapter 26, the apostles of Christ sang hymns before going to the Mount of Olives, possibly referring to the Psalms 113–118 that were sung during Passover. Kingo’s interpretation of Jesus singing this “great Jewish Hallelujah” was filled with awe. Christ’s and the Apostles’ singing was in Kingo’s interpretation structured as an echo of the “Hallelujah” that sounded as the Israelites marched out of Egypt.

Even more importantly, perhaps, the music of the spheres is merely an echo of Christ’s singing, because as true God and true man, Christ takes in his mouth the voice that sounded on the first day of creation.⁶⁸

Levels of Christ’s Song

One can observe many levels of interpretation in Kingo’s account of Christ’s singing, also in light of a *quadriga*-perspective.⁶⁹ The possibility of a polyvalent production of meaning seems particularly fruitful for the concrete hymn of Kingo. Erik A. Nielsen has labelled the different levels of *quadriga* “conditions” or “states” [tilstander]⁷⁰ and, utilized on Kingo’s poetry of Christ’s singing, these conditions exist simultaneously.

⁶⁶ Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed*, LXXII. Andersen also mentions Kingo’s enthusiastic recommendation of Samuel Ild’s translation of *True Christianity* by Johann Arndt in 1682.

⁶⁷ A. C. L. Heiberg, *Thomas Kingo, Biskop i Fyen. En levnetsbeskrivelse* (Odense: den Hempelske Boghandel, 1852), 26–27, note 1.

⁶⁸ Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:459.

⁶⁹ The fourfold scriptural interpretation is at the core of our project, see Prelude (Kristin B. Aavitsland, Eivor Andersen Oftestad, and Ragnhild J. Zorgati), 3–5.

⁷⁰ Erik A. Nielsen, *Kristendommens retorik: Den kristne dignings billedformer*, Billed-Sprog, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2009), 232–33.

On a *literal* level, it refers to the fact that Jesus began his *via dolorosa* with song. Already in the second stanza, Kingo points to the death that should meet Jesus after he has set the passion in motion by his song. Closely connected is the *typology* of Christ's passion, prefigured by the exodus of Israel from Egypt's plagues. In the third stanza, the exodus and "happy days of Canaan" are merely referred to as the content of the Hallelujah, but in the fourth stanza it becomes clear that the whole world "should get their freedom." Whereas the first exodus was limited to the people of Israel, Jesus would win liberty for all the people and prisoners of the world.⁷¹ As Adam saw his death when he left paradise, Jesus was also looking to meet his death in Jerusalem – the difference, however, was the way in which they met it. Whereas Adam wept, the new Adam, Jesus, met his death with song:

Adam gik aff Paradiis,
Græd for HErrens Vredes Riis,
Du igien med Sang oplukker
Himlens Dør, og Slangen sukker.

Adam went out of Paradise
weeping because of the Lord's rod of wrath
By song you open again
the door of heaven, and the snake sighs.⁷²

There is also an *allegorical* element in Kingo's hymn, for beyond Jesus's song in Jerusalem, the whole universe – including the angels – is listening to the music. There are "sweet heavenly sounds" upon the tongue of Christ, linking the sound to his home in heaven. A special Lutheran feature can be seen in Kingo's use of the natures of Christ. In his use of the union of the natures, *unio personalis*, the *intimacy* of the divine and human nature was strongly underlined. When Kingo described some aspects of the human Jesus, one could claim that there is always an element of divine presence surrounding him. For example, when he characterized the singing Jesus as "a sweet singer of heaven," Kingo was not merely pointing to the earthly Jesus singing a heavenly song. Due to the union of Christ's natures, heaven was also present through his person, his divine nature. The one singing is no less than the incarnated creator.⁷³

An intriguing aspect of the singing Christ is to see it as allegory in its most precise sense of the term. Jerusalem is re-presented as the church, not by a far-flung ideal construction in the sky, but by the congregation singing *in* Christ. Such a mystical aspect would go too far if one sees the two subjects merged into one

⁷¹ Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:460

⁷² Kingo, *Samlæde Skrifter*, 4:278. (My translation).

⁷³ "Søde Himmel Sanger", Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:459.

“substance” – instead of a simple identity between Christ and his church, Kingo seems to have supposed a communication between them, analogous to the *communicatio idiomatum* (the exchange of properties) in Christ.⁷⁴

The hymn’s most significant level, however, was arguably its *moral* aspect. Whereas the first five stanzas are concentrated on Jesus and his singing, Kingo turned to the singing “I” in the sixth stanza. In the first three stanzas, Kingo had addressed the angels and the apostles in a second person plural perspective, commanding them to listen to Jesus. In the fourth and fifth stanza, Kingo allowed the singer to address Jesus directly in the second person. In the sixth stanza, Kingo extracted theological content and directed it to the first person singular. This shift is significant because it pointed to a change in the overall mode of the hymn. Up to this point, the singer had been in a mood of prayer and meditation, viewing the scene with piety. Now, the *exemplum* of Christ is turned into a content that “preaches” (forkynder) comfort to the “weak faith” of the singer. This passive element of listening was crucial to Kingo. For him, the song of Jesus provides not only an example of how the faithful should act, but also reaches the singer – who has now become a listener – in his heart *prior* to his own singing. In the conclusion of the stanza, the usefulness becomes clear. When the singer reaches the end of his life and beholds his death, the song will “cast out” [for-drive] death itself. The key to this version of *ars moriendi* is that the “I” of the singer remains in Christ:

At, naar Jeg min Død og Vee,
Skal for mine Øyne see,
Jeg i Dig skal trøstig blive,
Og i Sang min Død fordrive.

When I my death and sorrow,
behold for mine eyes,
I in you will find comfort,
and chase away my death in song.⁷⁵

The closeness – even intimacy – between the Christian and Christ is a significant feature of this literature. In the seventh stanza, where Kingo portrayed the “I” as an instrument, as a string on a violin, a passive ego was “tuned in” by Christ. The singer begs Christ to “tighten his weak heart” [stem da opp mit svage Hierte], but also his tongue, soul, and spirit. As Carsten Bach-Nielsen has pointed out, there is a peculiar use of the metaphor of the heart by Kingo that links him to the tradition of

⁷⁴ For this aspect as a central motif in the Lutheran tradition, cf. Johann Anselm Steiger, “Die communicatio idiomatum als Achse und Motor der Theologie Luthers: Die ‘Fröhliche Wechsel’ als hermeneutischer Schlüssel zu Abendmahlslehre, Anthropologie, Seelsorge, Naturtheologie, Rhetorik und Humor,” *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 3 (1996).

⁷⁵ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:278. (My translation).

emblems.⁷⁶ For Kingo, the heart is the very place where dead old texts become alive. Indeed, Kingo was interested in the idea of inhabitation, as Christ should have his residence in the human heart.⁷⁷ However, Jesus does not move in entirely, according to Kingo, because no total *unio cum Christo* (union with Christ) could take place, as the heart was full of sin.⁷⁸ Hence, there was a resistance to a transformation of the heart into a Jerusalem that could include Christ in the full sense. Drawing on the imagery of the prophet Ezekiel, the stony heart is not yet exchanged with a heart of flesh.⁷⁹ Therefore, the singer always retains the double identity of being a sinner and justified at the same time, but the song of Christ is providing comfort in the time of dying.

As a result, when Kingo ended his hymn on an *anagogical* note and the singer was promised he would “ascend singing into the kingdom of heaven,” it was nevertheless conditional and never fully realized during the singing. Kingo’s text admonished the soul that “your death” must become “the only tune it hums,” in order that “I can kill death, with your death on my lips.” Even in the final stanza, eternal bliss was not promised without qualification. After the last request to sing, Kingo reminded the singer not to forget “pious weeping,” due to “the apple Adam ate.” Only after having stated such a demand to recollect the sinful state of man was the fruit of Christ’s suffering and death a proper subject of the singing:

Siung min Siæl, og lad dig høre!
 Glem dog ey andægtig Graad!
 Jesu Aand dend dig skal røre,
 Siung om Eblet Adam aad!
 Siung saa om det JEsus leed,
 Om hans Kors, hans blood og sved,
 Siung og troe, saa skal du stige
 Siungendes I Himmerige.

Sing, my soul, and let it be heard!
 Do not forget pious weeping!
 The spirit of Jesus will touch you,
 sing about the apple Adam ate!
 Then sing about Jesus’s suffering,
 of his cross, his blood and sweat,
 sing and believe, and you will ascend
 singing into the heavenly kingdom.

⁷⁶ Carsten Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC: Studier udgivet i 300-året for salmedigterens død* (Copenhagen: Anis, 2003), 23.

⁷⁷ Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC*, 41.

⁷⁸ Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC*, 46.

⁷⁹ Ezek 36:26.

It is difficult to decide whether the admonition to have a particular pious attitude should be understood as a condition for the ascension, but it is easier to imagine the description of “the apple Adam ate” as an objective description of the human situation. As we will see, the evil that Jesus was exposed to during his passion was orchestrated by Kingo as the result of the sinful human beings. The contrasting technique between Adam and Christ seems to be used to create a state of thankfulness rather than a sacrifice.⁸⁰

One could ask how the singers placed themselves in relation to Adam and Christ. Perhaps a modern reader would infer that Adam is an *example* of the destiny of man, and Christ is an *example* of how one could be saved. However, it is more likely that Adam would be understood as a common place, a *locus communis*, for mankind.

Kingo’s great biographer of the nineteenth century, the Danish pastor Richard Petersen, pointed to Kingo’s *personal* lust for this world, which Kingo described in one of his morning songs. In line with the romantic ideals embedded in the bourgeois novel as a process of enlightenment, Petersen saw Kingo’s description as autobiographical, reflecting an early stage of a person’s development. Kingo had, according to Petersen, a particularly strong desire for worldly lust and glory.⁸¹

Petersen considered these lines:

Hafde du af Lykken fyldet
 Mig med Verdens Lyste-skaal,
 Og mit Levnet slæt forgyldet,
 Føert mig til mit eget Maal,
 Vaar jeg bleven Ynske-mæt,
 Og paa Lykkens Tinding sæt,
 Da, maa skee, du blev forgiet

If you from happiness had filled
 Me with the wordly cup of lust,
 If the life of mine were poorly gilded,
 And led me to my own purpose,
 If my desires were fully met,
 And I was placed on the summit of bliss,
 I would, perhaps, have forgotten thee.⁸²

80 Such an interpretation is not indisputable, however. As Laila Akslen has shown in her book about the contemporary Norwegian poet and hymn writer Dorothea Engelbretsdatter (1634–1716), the use of the motive of penance was seen as a prerequisite for God’s favour. Interpreting the story of the prodigal son, Engelbretsdatter underlined that he “became pleasing to the father / and acquired his favor by contrite crying and artful praying.” Laila Akslen, *Norsk Barokk: Dorothe Engelbretsdatter og Petter Dass i retorisk tradisjon*, Skriftserie 109 (Landslaget for Norskundervisning: Trykt Utg.) (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, forlag, 1997), 199–200.

81 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 66.

82 My translation. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 222. (My translation).

Although Petersen underlined the difficulty of stating whether Kingo had a “real” conversion or whether he merely experienced a “dawn” of faith in his youth, Petersen still had the idea that Kingo’s experiences were individually anchored. As a trained theologian in the older Lutheran tradition, however, Kingo would probably interpret his situation in terms of the Universal-singular Adam. By partaking in this personalized “humanity,” Kingo can let the “I” of the hymn transcend the isolated individual. It does not prevent Kingo from having perceived the described situation with his own eyes, but seen from a rhetorical perspective it is possible for the narrations experienced in Kingo’s hymns to be available for other individuals to partake.

The most striking “subsection” to which Kingo recurs many times, is to admonish the singer – often through a prayer to Christ – to remember the salvific sight of Christ in the times of uttermost despair and agony. In the sixth stanza of Jesus’s doxology, Kingo breaks out of the acoustic metaphors and introduces a vision of the singer’s own death:

At, naar Jeg min Død og Vee,
Skal for mine Øyne see,
Jeg i Dig skal trøstig blive,
Og i Sang min Død fordrive

When my death and agony,
Stand before my eyes to see,
I remain in thee, comforted,
And by song my death, expelled.⁸³

Jesus’s song in Jerusalem is transported into an envisioned future and is stored in the memory of the singer. It was intended to comfort the believer, not only at the time of listening and singing, but even at the hour of death.

Conclusion

In this article, two elements in Kingo’s poetic imagination involving Jerusalem have been emphasized: first, how Kingo portrayed the Danish absolute king as the righteous King David; and second, how Kingo used the song of Jerusalem to construct the intimacy between the suffering Christ and his congregation in the penitential hymn. In Kingo’s poem *Hosianna*, the image of the sun was used to portray the king’s curative and life-giving qualities. In addition, Kingo particularly emphasized the King’s priestly function as singing and leading the people in song. When the new hymn book was published, Kingo reminded the Danish king that David had

⁸³ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 278. (My translation).

not only ruled, but also praised the Lord through song. This aspect was partly fulfilled when the king – through Kingo’s penitential hymn – leads his people to Christ, singing after the last supper. In Kingo’s Jerusalem of song, all aspects of the *quadriga* seem to be at work, with a special emphasis on the moral aspect, *sensus tropologicus*. However, the morality of Kingo was more to admonish the believer to partake in the salvific song from Jerusalem. A peculiar aspect of Kingo’s hymn is the intimacy between the ego, the “I” of the hymn, and Christ. This oneness was supposed – at the very moment of death – to lead the believer to the eternal City.