

University of Southampton Research Repository

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis and, where applicable, any accompanying data are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis and the accompanying data cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content of the thesis and accompanying research data (where applicable) must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder/s.

When referring to this thesis and any accompanying data, full bibliographic details must be given, e.g.

Thesis: Author (Year of Submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University Faculty or School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Data: Author (Year) Title. URI [dataset]

University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of History

**Between Marginality and Multiplicity:
Mapping Jewish Public Home-Making in Modern Stockholm**

By

Maja Hultman

ORCID ID 0000-0001-6634-7777

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2019

University of Southampton

Abstract

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of History

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Between Marginality and Multiplicity:

Mapping Jewish Public Home-Making in Modern Stockholm

by

Maja Hultman

This thesis explores the construction, contestation and maintenance of the Jewish population's multiplicity of religious buildings, as well as the performance of diverse bodily movements in between them, aiming to evaluate communal and individual strategies for making Stockholm a Jewish home between their emancipation in 1870 and the Second World War. Although being a small community and residing in a relatively stable societal setting, the Jewish community in the Swedish capital still expressed an interest in religious institutions and traditions, such as synagogues, ritual baths, the keeping of *kashrut*, and religious schools. The first chapter shows the communal, individual and non-Jewish commitment to the construction of different synagogues and the practice of religious customs at elite funerals. The impact of inner-communal socio-economic hierarchy on spatial sacred multiplicity is explored in the second chapter, while the third chapter investigates the collective adoption of individual spatial strategies for the dual performance of Jewishness and the Swedish national identity.

Spatial and performance theories suggest the existence of individual agency in the modern urban setting, and when approached with an interdisciplinary methodology, this study finds that the Stockholm's Jewish community religious landscape demanded non-Jewish cooperation and inner-communal dependence. Individuals and smaller groups in the margins strategically approached these relational spaces to try to impact the outlook of Jewish sacred places. The result was multiple material and bodily versions of Jewishness in the public, largely non-Jewish milieu. The Jewish population's urban fragmentation needed traditional institutions to promote the continuation of Jewish rituals and social cohesion. The streetscape of Stockholm between 1870 and 1939 was, therefore, a stage for Jewish religious performances, the spatial arena negotiated and contested in individual ways to collectively communicate, emphasise and convince the non-Jewish society of their belonging to the Swedish nation as religio-cultural Jews and national Swedes.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
Table of Tables	v
Table of Figures	vii
Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
Chapter 1 Introduction: The Emergence of Jewish Multiplicity	17
1.1 An Introductory Scene: Jewish Interest in Spatial Visibility	17
1.2 Individuality and Multiplicity in the Modern City	23
1.3 Jewish Individuality and Multiplicity in the Modern City	28
1.4 Jewish Individuality and Multiplicity in Modern Stockholm	33
1.5 Setting the Scene: Mapping Jewish Multiplicity.....	45
1.6 Walking through Jewish Stockholm: Three Tours	70
Chapter 2 Changing the City: Construction and Uses of Sacred Places	73
2.1 Building Biographies and the ‘Frontier:’ Methodologies for Jewish/non-Jewish Negotiations in the Public Sphere	73
2.2 The Construction of the Reform Synagogue: The Negotiation of Public Jewishness	79
2.2.1 Visibility: Jewish Public Belonging in Stockholm	79
2.2.2 Religious Orientation: Inner-Communal Differences Made Public	87
2.2.3 The Inauguration: Public Presentation of the Jewish Vision	96
2.3 The Construction of the Orthodox Synagogue: Non-Jewish Role for Jewish Multiplicity	102
2.3.1 The Pietist Orphanage: Jewish-Christian Co-Existence	103
2.3.2 The Cinema: From a Modern Temple to a Sacred Temple.....	110
2.4 Jewish Elite Funerals: The Performance of Public Sacredness	118
2.4.1 The Synagogue: A Sacred Home for Public Performances	123
2.4.2 The Streetscape: A Public Space for Sacred Practices.....	129

2.4.3	The Cemetery: A Temporary Space for Public Performances.....	134
2.5	Conclusion: The Public Role of Sacred Places.....	142
Chapter 3	Contested Sacred Homes in the City: Inner-Communal Hierarchy.....	145
3.1	Social Capital: Methodology for Inner-Communal Spatial Struggles.....	145
3.2	Synagogues and <i>Minyanim</i> : Sacred Visions and Socio-Economic Limits of Multiplicity.....	150
3.2.1	<i>Adat Jisrael</i> : A Sacred Vision with Economic Limits.....	150
3.2.2	<i>Minyanim</i> : The Limits of Sacred Multiplicity	156
3.2.3	The Community Hall: The Effects of Hierarchy on Sacred Multiplicity	161
3.3	The <i>Mikveh</i> : The Struggle for Sacred Traditions.....	166
3.4	The Religious Afternoon Schools: Spaces of Power Struggles.....	172
3.4.1	The Religious Afternoon Schools: Spatial Multiplicity for the Jewish Community	172
3.4.2	The <i>Talmud Torah</i> : The Success of Traditional Education	179
3.4.3	The <i>Melamed</i> : The Failure of Traditional Education	189
3.5	Conclusion: The Significance of Socio-Economic Interconnectedness	194
Chapter 4	Individual Homes in the City: Swedish-Jewish Performances.....	199
4.1	Interdisciplinary Methodologies for Individual Spaces	199
4.2	The Private Home: The Female Role in the Construction of Public Spaces	207
4.2.1	The Jewish <i>Bourgeois</i> Home: Meeting Places for Jews and non-Jews	208
4.2.2	Innovative Sacred Rituals: Beyond the Private Home	215
4.2.3	The Jewish Working-Class Home: An Enforced Public Role.....	217
4.3	The Urban Home: Jewish Walks of Multiplicity in the Public Arena.....	220
4.3.1	Public Jewishness: Different Walks to Sacred Places	220
4.3.2	The <i>Kosher</i> Shop: Personalised Public Rituals	226
4.3.3	Urban Belonging: Homely Spaces of Entertainment	231
4.4	The National Home: The Performance of Swedish-Jewish Compatibility	243
4.4.1	The Summer House: Jewish Homes in the Rural Landscape	244

4.4.2 The Diasporic Home: Spaces of Jewishness	249
4.5 Conclusion: Individuality Promoting Traditional Places	261
Chapter 5 Conclusion: From Multiplicity to Marginality.....	263
5.1 Ending the Walk of Jewish Stockholm.....	263
5.2 A Concluding Scene: The Last Addition to Stockholm's Sacred Multiplicity	266
Appendix A Map 1870.....	269
Appendix B Map 1909.....	270
Appendix C Map 1935.....	271
Appendix D Occupation Table 1	272
Appendix E Occupation Table 2	274
Appendix F Taxation Table	275
Appendix G National Table 1.....	277
Appendix H National Table 2.....	279
Appendix I Funeral Overview.....	280
Appendix J Letter Overview 1	283
Appendix K Letter Overview 2	284
Bibliography	285

Table of Tables

Table 1. Occupational distribution, 1870-1935, in percentages.	53
Table 2. Occupational distribution 1870-1935, men and women combined, in percentages.	54
Table 3. The Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.	59
Table 4. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.	60
Table 5. The distribution of national origin, 1870-1939, in percentages.	64
Table 6. The distribution of national origin among the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.	65
Table 7. The distribution of performed songs during Swedish-Jewish elite funerals,	126
Table 8. <i>Adat Jisrael's</i> revenue, 1936.	151
Table 9. Gifts to <i>Adat Jisrael</i> , 1923-1939, in <i>kronor</i>	151
Table 10. <i>Adat Jisrael's</i> funds for the construction of a new synagogue, 1936, in <i>kronor</i>	153
Table 11. A comparison between spokespeople for traditional communities.	164
Table 12. <i>Talmud Torah's</i> cash flow, 1926-1932, in <i>kronor</i>	186
Table 13. Jewish women's occupation patterns in Stockholm, 1870-1935, in percentages.	218
Table 14. Occupational distribution among employed Jewish women in Stockholm, 1870-1935, in percentages.	219
Table 15. Irene Strauss' most commonly bought items, 1905-1928.	237
Table 16. Irene Strauss' most visited shops, 1905-1928.	239
Table 17. Distribution of items bought by Irene Strauss, 1905-1928.	241
Table 18. Arrival and departure stamps in Jacob Ettlinger's passports, 1914-1933.	253
Table 19. Arrival and departure stamps in Jeannette Ettlinger's passport, 1922-1923.	256
Table 20. Jacob and Jeannette Ettlinger's yearly trips, 1914-1933.	256

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Stockholm's urban districts.....	35
Figure 2. Jewish sacred places in Stockholm, 1870-1939.	41
Figure 3. Parish districts in Stockholm, 1925.	50
Figure 4. Occupational distribution of the Jewish population, 1935.	56
Figure 5. Occupational distribution of <i>Adat Jisrael</i> 's members, 1935.	56
Figure 6. Occupational distribution of <i>mikveh</i> supporters, 1922.	57
Figure 7. Occupational distribution of <i>Talmud Torah</i> supporters, 1925.....	58
Figure 8. Occupational distribution of Jacob Marcus' supporters, 1933.	59
Figure 9. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1935.....	61
Figure 10. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members in <i>Adat Jisrael</i> , 1935.....	62
Figure 11. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members among Jacob Marcus' supporters, 1933.....	63
Figure 12. The distribution of national origin in the Jewish population, 1935.	67
Figure 13. The distribution of national origin in <i>Adat Jisrael</i> , 1935.	67
Figure 14. The distribution of national origin of <i>mikveh</i> supporters, 1922.	68
Figure 15. The distribution of national origin of <i>Talmud Torah</i> supporters, 1925.	68
Figure 16. The building plan proposed for the Wahrendorff synagogue, 1861.....	80
Figure 17. The position of the Wahrendorff synagogue, 1885.	81
Figure 18. Locations considered for the new synagogue, 1864.....	83
Figure 19. The Square of Gustav Adolph during a cortege, 1893-1897.	84
Figure 20. The architectural design of the eastern and western façades of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.....	89

Table of Figures

Figure 21. The architectural design of the ground floor and upper floor of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.	90
Figure 22. The architectural design of the southern and northern façades of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.	91
Figure 23. Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's drawing of a <i>mikveh</i> in the Wahrendorff synagogue's cellar, 1869.	93
Figure 24. <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> , 1900-1909.	104
Figure 25. Murbeck's orphanage, 1847.	105
Figure 26. Plans of second and first floors of <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 17, 1859.	106
Figure 27. A vestibule in Murbeck's orphanage, 1900-1930.	107
Figure 28. The architectural design for the façade, first floor and ground floor of <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, 1820.	111
Figure 29. <i>Östermalmsbiografen</i> , 1905-1920.	113
Figure 30. The architectural design of <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, ground floor, 1911.	114
Figure 31. The architectural design of <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, first floor, 1911.	115
Figure 32. The architectural design of <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, 1917.	116
Figure 33. <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, 2016.	117
Figure 34. The interior of <i>Adat Jisrael</i> on <i>Sankt Paulsgatan</i> 13, 2016.	117
Figure 35. Axel Eliasson's funeral in the Wahrendorff Synagogue, January 27, 1932.	125
Figure 36. Isaak Hirsch's funeral on September 9, 1917.	131
Figure 37. Stone tablet on Jewish hearse in Stockholm.	132
Figure 38. <i>Magen David</i> on Jewish hearse in Stockholm.	132
Figure 39. Axel Eliasson's funeral procession at the cemetery, January 28, 1932.	135
Figure 40. Louis Fraenckel's funeral service at the cemetery chapel, August 24, 1911.	136
Figure 41. <i>Bondegatan</i> 4, 2016.	157

Figure 42. <i>Havregatan 7</i> , 2016.	158
Figure 43. The <i>mikveh</i> at <i>Badstugatan 4</i> , 1925.	167
Figure 44. The distribution of parents asked about their children's attendance at the religious afternoon school, 1912.....	176
Figure 45. The distribution of <i>Talmud Torah</i> supporters, 1925.....	180
Figure 46. Parents supporting Jacob Marcus, 1933.....	193
Figure 47. Individual relationships between domestic homes and sacred places.....	221
Figure 48. Places visited by Jacob Ettlinger, the 1930s.....	223
Figure 49. <i>Humlegården</i> , 1908.	224
Figure 50. Christmas advertisement for Carl Larsson's butchery, 1920.	227
Figure 51. Christmas advertisement for Carl Larsson's butchery, 1927.	228
Figure 52. <i>Regeringsgatan 40</i> , 1880-1920.....	229
Figure 53. The amusement park <i>Gröna Lund</i> , 1946.....	234
Figure 54. <i>Hamngatan</i> (Port Street), 1915-1920.	236
Figure 55. Irene Strauss' shopping activities, in years.	238
Figure 56. Irene Strauss' shopping activities, in items.....	239
Figure 57. Irene Strauss' shopping practices, in <i>kronor</i>	242

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name:	Maja Hultman
-------------	--------------

Title of thesis:	Between Marginality and Multiplicity: Mapping Jewish Public Home-Making in Modern Stockholm
------------------	---

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature:		Date:	October 25, 2019
------------	--	-------	------------------

Acknowledgements

This study was generously supported by scholarships from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, *Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse*, and *Gertrude och Ivar Philipsons stiftelse*, the Vice-Chancellor's Award in History and the Brumfit-Mitchell Post-Graduate Award from the University of Southampton, as well as a doctoral fellowship at *Leibniz Institut für Europäische Geschichte* in Mainz.

The pursuit for primary material has been significantly aided by Mikaela Nybohm at the Swedish State Archive, Frida Granat and Petra Nygård at the Stockholm City Museum Archive, Dr. Pontus Rudberg, Eva Meyersohn, and Samuel Branting at *Stockholmskällan*. The family of late Fritz Hollander graciously allowed me to research parts of the Hollander Companies archive. Dr. Lars M Andersson, Dr. Carl Henrik Carlsson, Duncan Hornby, Professor Yulia Egorova, and Dr. Alessandro Grazi gave me invaluable feedback on parts of my work.

Introducing me to Jewish urban studies back in 2008, my supervisor Professor Joachim Schlör has been a monumental source for inspiration and support ever since. My late supervisor Professor Andrea Reiter and her husband Emeritus Professor William Drabkin warmly welcomed me into their home during my visits to Southampton. I have also had the privilege to share this academic journey with Jennifer Ruggier. Thank you for challenging and supporting me since our first year as history undergraduates!

And, thank you, my wonderful family. To my parents Jörgen and Sofie, and my sister Emmie and brother-in-law Alexander for your endless support. And to Jakob – for everything.

Abbreviations

RLS	Royal Library of Sweden
SCA	Stockholm's City Archive
SCMA	Stockholm City Museum Archive
SSA	Swedish State Archive

Chapter 1 Introduction: The Emergence of Jewish Multiplicity

1.1 An Introductory Scene: Jewish Interest in Spatial Visibility

It is 1863, and spring has not yet arrived in Stockholm. Two domestic maids, both called Maria, have prepared and transformed the nine rooms big apartment on *Drottninggatan* (Queen Street) 11 from the main residence of book publisher Adolf Bonnier and his wife Sofi into a setting for mannequins and auctions.¹ Four busy days are ahead. Jewish inhabitants residing in the Swedish capital, a group of approximately 900 people,² have been invited to this building, located on the biggest urban promenade street in Sweden.

52 years old Sofi Bonnier is one of the distinguished cotton factory and sugar mill owner Isaac David Hirsch's nine children. Moving to Sweden at the beginning of the 19th century, the Hirsch family originates from Strelitz in Mecklenburg. They are known for their looks, temper and immense wealth, establishing calico and silk industries in Stockholm's suburbs.³ Despite sitting on the board of the Mosaic Congregation – the name for the organised legal Jewish community – many family members do not celebrate Jewish Holy Days or keep *kashrut*, the religious diet rules that, for example, prohibit the mixture of milk and meat, and command a set of rules (*shechita*) for the slaughter of animals. The Hirsches have even been described as 'as Swedish as any Dalecarlian.'⁴ Sofi Bonnier is, furthermore, described by contemporary Jewish actor Ludvig Josephson as 'a lady of great distinction and beauty.'⁵ Her second husband Adolf Bonnier comes from a book publishing family in Copenhagen and apart from creating Stockholm's most popular

¹ 'Bonnier, Adolf' (1860), Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; 'Tigern 1' (1852), NS037-BN-1852-303, Older Building Approvals, SCA. There are variations of the spelling of Sofi's name in the sources: Sofie and Sofia also occur.

² Ingvar Svanberg, and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 1992), 237.

³ Anders Johnson, *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch: Grosshandlare – Byggherre – Donator, 1843-1917* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2017), 20–82.

⁴ Per Wästberg, 'Släkten Hirsch i Stockholm – några porträtt,' in *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998), 166. My own translation from Swedish. The Dalecarlian lives in the county of *Dalarna* in the middle of Sweden and became a symbol for the Swedish national identity in the 19th century.

⁵ 'Hirsch, släkt,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 19 (1971-1973): 86, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=13605>>; Johnson, *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch*, 20–32, my translation from Swedish; Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

bookshop at the time, Adolf Bonnier is also the publisher of famous authors, such as bard Carl Michael Bellman.⁶ He enthusiastically helps his customers in the crammed, disorganised and dusty bookshop.⁷ The couple's only child Isidor is on the morning of this busy, expectant Thursday walking to *Stockholm Lyceum* to study together with the future literary giant August Strindberg.

Back in the apartment on *Drottninggatan*, 10 o'clock is getting closer. Sofi Bonnier's sister-in-law, Paulina Hirsch, is the 36 years old daughter of Lesser Meyerson. He is a prominent textile manufacturer, banker and the current head of the Mosaic Congregation.⁸ Paulina Hirsch's children Ernst, Elisa, Ivan, Otto and Betty have been left with the three maids at their home on the street overlooking the central royal park *Kungsträdgården* (The King's Garden).⁹ The family of Paulina and her husband Abraham Hirsch, Adolf Bonnier's best friend, is one of the most culturally distinguished in the Hirsch-family, and thus in all of the Jewish community, and they often invite people for dinners at their home.¹⁰ Together with Rosalie Rubenson, the 27 years old unmarried sister of Adolf Bonnier's sister-in-law, descendant from a rabbinic family from Posen and now economically independent, Sofi and Paulina have planned a philanthropic auction to improve the future of Jewish sacred places in Stockholm.¹¹

This intertwined trio has for weeks asked Jewish women in Stockholm to donate needlework, handiwork and items. Many have obliged. Altogether, 203 objects have been donated; clothing for children, dolls, bed sheets, vases, cloths, etuis for pens and sewing materials, rugs, portfolios, crocheted laces, bolsters for window seating and sofas, slippers, stools, lamp decorations and collars. Rosalie Rubenson provides an etui for matches, two bins, one shawl for children and a cigar casing, while Paulina Hirsch contributes a bolstered wicker chair, nightwear and gaiters for children. Even Sofi Bonnier's husband and son provide donations: a Hebrew bible in Hebrew and

⁶ H. Schuck, 'Adolf Bonnier,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 5 (1925): 427, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=17953>>; Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁷ Carl Olof Josephson, 'Några judiska bokhandlare och bokförläggare i gårdagens Stockholm,' in *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare (Stockholm: Hilleförlaget, 1998), 146.

⁸ Jewish communities in Sweden at this time called themselves 'Mosaic Congregations,' rather than Jewish Congregations, to stress the religious aspect of their community. See: Lars Dencik, *Judendom i Sverige: en sociologisk belysning* (Uppsala: Universitetsstryckeriet, 2006), 20–23.

⁹ The family is recorded to live in a building in *Old City* in 1860, but have transferred to the location on *Kungsträdgården* in 1870. In 1860, employers are also recorded to live in the *Old City*, suggesting that the building was a facility used for the music shop Paulina Hirsch's husband Abraham Hirsch ran, see 'Hirsch, Abraham' (1870), Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

¹⁰ Johnson, *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch*, 30.

¹¹ Her brother Albert Rubenson is a violinist, music composer and music critic, educated in Leipzig and Copenhagen. He is economically independent, suggesting that Rosalie is as well, see: Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Rubenson, släkt,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 30 (1998-2000): 606, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6966>>.

Swedish, as well as an aquarium. The objects are gathered, listed and prepared for auction, and the list of donations has been printed in a leaflet titled 'GIFTS.'¹²

People start trickling through the double doors of *Drottninggatan 11*'s pastel coloured plastered façade right before 10 o'clock, stepping into the green and white checked marble-floored entrance. The large, rectangular windows in the spiralling staircase capture the windy, sleety, grey and freezing-degree temperature of the Swedish spring outside.¹³ The Bonnier family lives two floors up, and their apartment is often full of guests. For example, local friends and Jews visiting Stockholm come dressed up for *seder* celebrations, the first feast during the *Pesach* (Passover) festivities celebrating the Jewish people's liberation from slavery in ancient Egypt. Adolf Bonnier performs the ritual, only disrupted by the younger men jokingly letting the poodle Pombo drink raisin wine.¹⁴ Today, each person entering the Bonnier apartment buys a copy of the leaflet for 50 öre.¹⁵ The noise of conversation and anticipation increases as close to a hundred people gather. On this Thursday and the coming Friday and Sunday, the objects will be displayed for the crowd. On March 23, 1863, they will be auctioned to the highest bidder, the sum of their payments to be bequeathed to the Mosaic Congregation towards the construction of a purpose-built synagogue.

At the auction, planned and executed by these three wealthy women, about 80 people bid on the many objects, 13 people bidding on more than five items each.¹⁶ The main bulk of the crowd attending the philanthropic auction on *Drottninggatan 11* have a geographical origin with a closeness or semi-closeness to the Baltic Sea. They are mostly self-employed within retailing and trade, but also bankers, diplomats and dealers in antiques. They live close to the city centre, either north of *Kungsträdgården* or in *Old Town*. They bid generously: book publisher Isaac Marcus and Stockholm's famous restaurant owner Wilhelm Davidson buy the most items (10 and nine respectively), while a prayer book donated by Fanny Lamm, wife to doctor Axel Lamm,

¹² Appendix B in Protocol 21, March 30, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/32, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

¹³ 'Tigern,' *Building Inventory: City, part II* (1976), SCA; weather forecast from *Stockholms Dagblad* (March 20, 1863), RLS.

¹⁴ Josephson, 'Några judiska bokhandlare,' 148.

¹⁵ Calculated to approximately £2,50 in today's currency (2019). See: Rodney Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <www.historicalstatistics.org>; Rodney Edvinsson, and Johan Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008,' *Review of Income and Wealth* 57, 2 (2011): 270-292.

¹⁶ Appendix B in Protocol 21, March 30, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/32, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

Chapter 1

another board member of the Mosaic Congregation, receives the highest price, 130 *riksdaler*.¹⁷

The gavel is sold last, for 30 *riksdaler*.¹⁸

And so, it is Monday, March 23, 1863, just after lunchtime. The auction is over. Together, this group of *bourgeois* Jews donates 8,000 *riksdaler* towards the construction of a new synagogue.¹⁹

As head of the Mosaic Congregation, Lesser Meyerson describes the event as ‘such a beautiful result [of the] honourable invitation’ executed and planned by Sofi Bonnier, Rosalie Rubenson and his daughter Paulina Hirsch. He continues:

it could not have been accomplished if not everyone included, deeply and devoutly whole-heartedly had [agreed] to the truth, that the great purpose of the Church is to be a power of unity for all members of the congregation.²⁰

Lesser Meyerson reads a wider understanding about the Jewish population into the actions of support portrayed by the about 100 people attending the auction. The community is described by its leader as homogeneous and free from tension, with all members aiming towards the same goal: a location in Stockholm that provides a bigger home for Judaism while delivering a tangible physical Jewish presence in a predominantly non-Jewish urban world. But the story of the Jewish process of making Stockholm their home between their legal emancipation in 1870 and the beginning of the Second World War by constructing sacred and secular spaces reveals a far more diverse population, with individual agencies shaping the physical outlook of the Jewish community.

¹⁷ Calculated to approximately £690 in today’s currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, ‘A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.’ I used ‘riksdaler, riksmünt.’

¹⁸ The sum is roughly £150 in today’s currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, ‘A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008,’ Appendix B, Protocol 21, March 30, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/32, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; ‘Lamm, släkt,’ *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 22 (1977-9): 199, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10954>>.

¹⁹ Calculated to approximately £42,000 in today’s currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, ‘A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.’

²⁰ Appendix D in Protocol 21, March 30, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/32, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My own translation from Swedish. Note the use of the word ‘Church,’ which in the Swedish context was explicitly linked to the sacred buildings of Christianity.

The translations of unpublished, archival material in this thesis have been made as closely to the sources as possible, but some changes have been made to Swedish idioms and sentence structure to prepare the texts for English readers.

During the end of the 19th century and the first four decades of the 20th century, Stockholm's Jewish population desired and planned, constructed and preserved, contested and obstructed physical places linked to their multiple expressions of the Jewish religion and culture. The auction that raised money for a new synagogue in 1863 is only one example of how the community's individuals aimed to manifest their desires for sacred and secular spaces that corresponded to individual or communal ideals of Jewishness. Synagogues, *minyanim* – the plural form of *minyan*, which is the quorum of at least ten men needed for the practice of religious rituals in the synagogue, the *mikveh* – the ritual bath, religious afternoon schools, *kosher* shops, summer houses and residential homes were all part of this physical construction of the Jewish presence in Stockholm. They created, in Simon Bronner's words, an 'at-homeness,' allowing Jews to end a state of exile from their former homeland and enter a permanent position of stability and belonging in the society in which they resided.²¹ Sarah Wobick-Segev similarly writes that the modern, urban Jewish community holds a 'story of how a religious and ethnic community sought to establish spiritual and physical homes alongside their primarily Christian neighbours.'²²

In the Stockholmian setting, the increasingly diversified population made themselves at home in the public arena as Jews *and* Swedes. This was expressed through the Jewish community's settlement pattern of residential homes, non-Jewish involvement in the construction of synagogues and the performances at funerals, inner-communal desires for different synagogues, *minyanim* and religious afternoon schools, and individualised urban movements. Growing from 900 inhabitants to 7,000 individuals,²³ Stockholm's small Jewry from 1870 until 1939 was consciously interested in staying Jewish, and expressed this through a strong emphasis on the existence and shape of sacred multiplicity – understood in this study as the existence of various physical constructions and bodily performances of socially separated ideals and interpretations of religious Jewishness.

The Jewish process of constructing spatial 'at-homeness' in modern cities have been examined by other Jewish scholars. Natan Meir examines inner-communal divisions and strategies for communal cohesion in Kiev's multi-ethnic, multi-social and multi-religious setting at the turn of the 20th century, arguing that such a unity could not be reached.²⁴ Devin Naar writes about

²¹ Simon J. Bronner, 'Introduction: The Dualities of House and Home in Jewish Culture,' in *Jews at Home: The Domestication of Identity. Jewish Cultural Studies, volume 2*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010), 3.

²² Sarah Wobick-Segev, *Homes Away from Home: Jewish Belonging in Twentieth-Century Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 16.

²³ Clemens Maier-Wolthausen, *Zuflucht im Norden: Die Schwedischen Juden und die Flüchtlinge, 1933-1941* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018), 300; Svanberg, and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 237.

²⁴ Natan M. Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 1–16.

Salonica (Thessaloniki) before the Second World War and reconstructs the Jewish community's exploration of their position in a politically, nationally and demographically shifting world.²⁵ The Jewish population in Breslau similarly negotiated their inclusion or exclusion in the multicultural situation of religious, political and economic heterogeneity, as Till van Rahden's book shows.²⁶ All three studies show how different the strategies employed by Jewish populations for making themselves at home in each unique physical and social urban landscape were, heavily influenced by the local setting.

As large communities – Breslau was inhabited by some 20,000 Jewish inhabitants, while 55,000 Jews lived in Salonica and over 200,000 Jews in Kiev – they navigated metropolitan centres that experienced massive and unstable political, industrial and social transformations at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Political and social changes surely transformed Stockholm as well. While poverty and famines prompted over 80,000 people to leave the largely agrarian country for America each year in the 1880s,²⁷ Sweden experienced rapid urbanisation and industrialisation at the turn of the 20th century. State reforms on voting rights, children and women's rights, and the influence of free church movements and temperance movements on the control of liquor and improved work conditions, shaped the subsequent development of Sweden's stronger economic position in the 1930s.²⁸ Although Stockholm clearly changed, its social and cultural landscape was not challenged like in Kiev and Salonica. The Jewish community in Stockholm, as newly emancipated Jews, instead had to negotiate their belonging in the largely homogeneous society of Christian Swedes. Their experience differed drastically from the Jewish communities living in the heterogeneous landscapes of Breslau, Kiev and Salonica.

With a comparably small community and a stable socio-political societal landscape, the Jewish community's explicit devotion to the communal and individual processes of establishing sacred homes in Stockholm stands out as remarkably unexpected. As their legal, social and spatial marginality ended with the emancipation in 1870, the Jewish community not only desired the construction and preservation of sacred institutions, but inner-communal struggles also revealed desires for a multiplicity of places that could reflect their fragmented religious, cultural and socio-economic identities. Moreover, despite the disintegration of communal cohesion and the

²⁵ Devin E. Naar, *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 1–24.

²⁶ Till van Rahden, *Jews and other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860-1925* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

²⁷ Lars Andersson, *Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen* (Falköping: Liber, 2003), 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 59–151.

development of individuality in modern society,²⁹ Stockholm's Jews continued to view traditional, religious institutions as necessary sites for their practices of Jewishness.

To examine the construction and practice of Jewish urban 'at-homeness,' this thesis will use spatial and performance theories as the theoretical basis. While the following section explains these theories and their relevance to studies on modern, urban populations, the subsequent sections will examine the historiographical context in first Jewish-urban studies and second Swedish-Jewish studies, providing a historical backdrop for the thesis in the latter section. The next section provides an analytical setting for the thesis, using the geographical software tool Geographical Information System (GIS) to demonstrate the Jewish population's flexible interconnectedness: despite the existent desire for different and multiple sacred sites in modern Stockholm, the socio-religious borders between them were constantly crossed, ensuring their continued relationship. Lastly, the structure of the 'walk' this thesis will perform through the public – understood in this thesis as physical arenas open to more people than the private individual or family – Jewish Stockholm between 1870 and 1939 will be explained, portraying the thesis' – and the reader's – journey from the macro-perspective of Jewish settlement patterns to the accompany of Jewish individual walks through the modern city of Stockholm.

1.2 Individuality and Multiplicity in the Modern City

The European city during the 19th and 20th centuries was a site of rapid transformation and increasing social differences. The extension of railway networks and introduction of steam boats, trams and cars increased global mobility, stimulating transnational migrations. The technological advances of the 19th century paved way for the industrialisation, promising rural inhabitants work, money and hope for a better life. Pulling people in, the city grew quickly. Contemporary critics argued that the social conditions of the city could easily spiral out of control, the overflow of people and new stimuli pushing the unknown closer to individuals, prompting new emotions and even social antipathy.³⁰ The urban population was indeed confronted with products of

²⁹ Shulamit Volkov, 'The Jewish Project of Modernity: Diverse or Unitary?,' in *The European Way: European Societies During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble (Cambridge: Berghahn Books, 2004), 227.

³⁰ For example: Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (London: Harvard University Press, 1995); Lewis Mumford, 'The Culture of the Cities,' in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 27; Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life,' in *The Blackwell City Reader*, eds. Gary Bridge, and Sophie Watson (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 13–15; Georg Simmel, 'The Stranger,' in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff (New York: The Free Press,

industrialism, capitalism and consumerism on the street: electrical lights and signs blinking day and night, advertisement seeking attention, shop windows presenting exotic and expensive goods, automobiles and traffic roaring, coffee houses moving out into the pedestrian area, squares filled with people selling and buying things, promenades, parks and broad avenues inviting the inhabitant to walk, and museums, department stores and cinemas providing adventure. The city was dangerous and brutal, but also a 'delight' and an 'intoxication.'³¹

Each urban inhabitant unceasingly navigated the danger and delight of the city personally, their individuality developing as part of the process of the disappearance of cohesive, communal identities.³² Indeed, the modern 'identity' has been defined as a 'construction, a process never completed.'³³ As a result, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper even want to change the term 'identity' to 'identification,' since 'identification' focuses on the continuous developments taking place within individuals, rather than fixating a researcher's gaze on imagined, stagnant conditions. The researcher should, furthermore, view terms like ethnicity, race and nationhood as a perspective 'on the world,' rather than a thing 'in this world.'³⁴ As a site of 'multiple-connectedness,'³⁵ the urban milieu promoted the existence of several individual perspectives on the world at the same time.

The role of the modern urban individual's agency in physically reproducing their world perspective is the focus of this study, and it will be approached through the spatial and performative theories. The postmodern scepticism of the scientific achievements of the past, such as the Enlightenment and its complete trust in reason, as well as the increased social mobility and

1950), 405; Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as A Way of Life,' in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 58–62.

³¹ Walter Benjamin explores the adventurous role of the *flâneur*, while Franz Hessel promotes the entertaining qualities of the urban environment. His writings transform the city into a place where beauty is found; the endless stimuli provided interesting events and people for the *flâneur* to watch. See: Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1973), 45–55; Franz Hessel, *Walking in Berlin: A Flâneur in the Capital* (London: Scribe, 2016).

³² Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions,' in *Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 263–265.

³³ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall, and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 2.

³⁴ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), quote from 17; Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63; Rogers Brubaker, and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity",' *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000): 1–34. Rogers Brubaker's italics.

³⁵ Ruthellen Josselson, and Michele Harway, 'The Challenges of Multiple Identity,' in *Navigating Multiple Identities: Race, gender, Culture, Nationality, and Role*, eds. Ruthellen Josselson, and Michele Harway (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–6; Nina Glick Schiller, and Ayse Caglar, 'Locality and Globality: Building a Comparative Analytical Framework in Migration and Urban Studies,' in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, and Ayse Caglar (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 63–64, quote from 63.

technological advances augmenting distances, paved way for a scholarly emphasis on the individual's place in the world; hence the 'spatial turn' in the 1970s.³⁶ The spatial motivation is to understand the relationship between the body and the urban world, focusing on smaller segments and individuals. Disciplines such as cultural, feminist, gender and ethnicity studies emerging within Humanities at the same time also do, and all of them together contrast former attentions on overarching master-narratives.³⁷

While Henri Lefebvre conceptualised a spatial theory that connects human everyday life to public arenas, allowing researchers to look at the grassroots' movements on streets, his Marxist ideology provides people with an agency that can only be recaptured through violent, contradictory responses against the capitalistic structure.³⁸ A person's awareness of their physical surroundings is, however, not only ideological but also biological, a process that starts from a child's first movements and leads to the subsequent acquisition of a sense of direction as 'space assumes a rough coordinate frame centered on the mobile and purposive self.'³⁹ An individual subsequently creates mental properties associated with the area within which they move, and their personal, everyday and familiar experience of that landscape stands true for them only – it becomes their own unique 'space.'⁴⁰ Metaphorically conceptualising these various spaces from the top of the World Trade Centre in New York in 1978, Michel de Certeau writes that

The paths that correspond in these intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude eligibility. It is as though the practices organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness. The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and indefinitely other.⁴¹

³⁶ Robert T. Jr. Tally, *Spatiality* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 12–14.

³⁷ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 51–71; Todd M. Endelman, *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2014), 2–10.

³⁸ Henri Lefebvre, 'Space and the State (1978),' in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays. Henri Lefebvre*, eds. Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 233–234; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 23, 56.

³⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 12.

⁴⁰ 'Space' is a term infused with a variety of connotations and meanings, and has, therefore, been used differently by different researchers and disciplines. As David Harvey notes, 'space' has 'no generic clarification.' See: David Harvey, 'Space as a Keyword,' in *David Harvey: A Critical Reader*, eds. Noel Castree, and Derek Gregory (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 270.

⁴¹ Michel de Certeau, 'Walking in the City,' in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, in ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), 128.

The metaphorical language has attracted criticism,⁴² but this short text alone demonstrates that an individual's route through a city is intrinsically connected to their own motives, preferences, ideals, and intentions. Providing agency to each individual walker, Michel de Certeau's concept is one 'of everyday practices, of lived space, of the disquieting familiarity of the city.'⁴³ These individual movements through the cityscape are bodily representations of a person's characteristics; a 'spatial practice' that cannot be fitted into one generalised storyline. Richard Sennett similarly emphasises that individual bodies in the city have their 'own distinctive spaces',⁴⁴ These bodies express singular voices, averting a master narrative.

Travelling feet are, however, not only conveying information about the individual they belong to. Through their particular pattern they also tell the story of the world they walk within. Walking becomes a dialogue 'between foot and earth, humanity and the world,'⁴⁵ a relationship between human feet and physical streets, and a vehicle for understanding the society the movement springs from. Likewise, Joseph Amato writes that 'the act of going on foot is joined to a time, condition, society, and culture. Walking belongs to the gender, age, class, ethnic and national group, and even the race of the walker. [...] Walking is talking.'⁴⁶ While not generalising a person's movements, he situates the individual into the larger society's socio-economic and cultural context. The experience of one pair of feet, joined by another pair and another pair and another pair, become a multitude of examples of individual spaces joined together, allowing researchers to draw conclusions about metropolitan street life. By tracing these everyday movements practiced by many individuals, spatial theory thus helps to locate both individualism, pluralism and broader societal patterns of life in a metropolitan environment.

On the other hand, feet travelling streets can also be a conscious act of defiance or cultural affiliation. Developed in the 1980s to counteract the contemporary emphasis on written texts, the theory of performance investigates staged movements in public arenas. It aims, just as spatial theory, to study historical, social, and cultural processes from the perspective of the body. Erving Goffman asserts in 1969 that a person socialising within a group expresses two types of

⁴² Priscilla P. Clark, 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life,' *The Journal of Modern History* 58, 3 (1986): 706; Lamont, Michele, 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life,' *American Journal of Sociology* 93, 3 (1987): 721; Langer, Beryl, 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life,' *Contemporary Sociology* 17, 1 (1988): 123.

⁴³ de Certeau, 'Walking in the City,' 131.

⁴⁴ Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 23.

⁴⁵ Joseph A. Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 16.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 2–4.

communication: the verbal interaction and 'the more theatrical and contextual kind.'⁴⁷ Whether unaware or calculating, people act in ways that make impressions on other people and produce ideas of who one is, using the body as a physical expression of a person's intentions. Bridging theatre and anthropology, performative theory looks into the 'framing, editing, and rehearsing, the making and manipulating [of] human behaviour.'⁴⁸ Bodily movements are not only performed on the artistic stage, but also produced in public landscapes as a part of historical, cultural or social processes and an individual's sense of belonging to an idea, ideal or group.

It is not only a person's movements in the city that correspond to individual intentions, but also the geographical sites they produce or walk to. Keith Basso asserts that 'when places are actively sensed, the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind.'⁴⁹ Brian Ladd similarly writes that 'memories often cleave to the physical settings of events [and this is] why buildings and places have so many stories to tell.'⁵⁰ Through human inhabitation of a location, the material structure becomes an architectural microcosm mirroring a larger ideal.⁵¹ A humanly created 'place,' such as a building, thus articulates the desires, aspirations and hopes of its creator. To feel at home in a place is equivalent to being in command of its outlook and usage. Yi-Fu Tuan furthermore adds that 'the objective reference points in space, such as landmarks and the cardinal positions, conform with the intention and the coordinates of the human body.'⁵² In other words, a physical site can be intentionally constructed by individuals or groups as a vehicle for or site of cultural, historical, social and/or religious values in the process of 'place-making,' allowing the site's physical structure to exhibit unique values linked to the individual or the group.

Personal movements and the places they create and move to are, according to the spatial and performative theories, conscious or unconscious extensions of individual or communal intentions in the urban landscape, intrinsically linked to the agent performing the bodily act of walking through the city and shaping buildings in the city. Experiencing and adding to the danger and delight of the modern city, the many urban inhabitants performed various bodily and physically strategies to feel at home. These expressions would not always be in line with the imagined unity of the host society. As argued by Eric Hobsbawm, any national identity is invented and

⁴⁷ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1969), 14–16.

⁴⁸ Richard Schechner, and Victor Turner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 33.

⁴⁹ Keith H. Basso, 'Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape,' in *Senses of Place*, eds. Steven Feld, and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), 55.

⁵⁰ Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1.

⁵¹ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 102.

⁵² *Ibid*, 35.

constructed, adapted to give the modern, political condition a false but cohesive history.⁵³

Benedict Anderson describes the nation as an 'imagined community' since its members do not know each other 'yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion.'⁵⁴ Since the national identity of the modern nation needs to exclude others in order to exist, it is in itself at odds with the existence of the complexity, individuality and pluralism linked to the modern city. To use the public arena to find physical homes for, for example, Jewish perspectives on the world was, therefore, a constant challenge and negotiation with the national identity of the urban locality.

1.3 Jewish Individuality and Multiplicity in the Modern City

Due to the challenges of urban fragmentation, it was previously believed that the modern city in the nation-state was a place of secularisation and religious decline. Contemporary researchers nowadays, however, argue for the innovation the city imposes on religious groups, as well as the individualisation of religious beliefs.⁵⁵ Religious traditions migrating to the modern city did not diminish in strength, but were rather negotiated and redefined by its practitioners to fit their personalised ideals, desires and needs in the new setting. In the modern city, religious associations did not only increase in numbers, but also in diversity; a discourse also experienced by European-Jewish populations.

David Biale has conceptualised the existence of 'Jewish *cultures*.' Arguing that the term 'Judaism' upholds a hegemonic discourse, and proving that Jewish populations throughout time have always lived in a give-and-take relationship with the non-Jewish environment of their habitation, he argues that local customs are absorbed, with the consequential bend of some Talmudic laws.⁵⁶ Affected by their historical and spatial locality, each Jewish population thus constructs its own version of 'Jewishness.' The concept of Jewishness has, furthermore, been argued as more

⁵³ Hobsbawm, 'Introduction,' 1–5.

⁵⁴ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 2006), 5–6.

⁵⁵ See, for example: Irene Becci, Marian Burchardt, and José Casanova, eds., *Topographies of Faith: Religion in Urban Spaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Bettina Hitzer, and Joachim Schlör, eds., 'God in the City: Religious Topographies in the Age of Urbanization,' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011); David Nash, *Christian Ideals in British Culture: Stories of Belief in the 20th Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rik Pinxten, and Lisa Dikomotis, eds., *When God Comes to Town: Religious Traditions in Urban Contexts* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

⁵⁶ David Biale, 'Confessions of an Historian of Jewish Culture,' *Jewish Social Studies* 1, 1 (1994): 41–45; David Biale, 'Preface: Toward a Cultural History of the Jews,' in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), xvii–xxvi.

encompassing than Judaism, as it includes real, imaginary and representative elements of Jewish constructions and reproductions of cultural elements.⁵⁷ Although Moshe Rosman argues that this ‘multiperspectivism’ only replaces the former master-narrative, thus defeating the purpose of the postmodern, constructivist approach,⁵⁸ the flexible concept of Jewishness allows for various Jewish perspectives on the world to exist at the same time. This study aligns to the possibility that variations of Jewishness even could exist within one local Jewish community.

The majority of studies on Jewish urban spatiality have, however, as a result of David Biale’s emphasis on the non-Jewish locality, overemphasised the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship and viewed the inner-communal relationship as less important to the Jewish experience of the modern city.⁵⁹ Barbara Mann argues, for example, that a Jewish life marked by diaspora, exile and the city is constructed in relation to others.⁶⁰ Some even judge that ‘Jewish spaces develop only in relation to non-Jewish spaces.’⁶¹ As Joachim Schlör, ‘the father of Jewish space studies,’⁶² however, explains, Jewish settlement in the modern urban world had to bridge the ‘outer narrative’ of the gentile environment and the ‘inner discourse’ of Jewish thoughts and beliefs. The variety of Jewish spatial life in European metropolises was a result of Jews trying to live in harmony with both the laws of the local world they co-inhabited, and the Jewish religious and cultural laws.⁶³ It is, clearly, imperative to not only focus on the local Jewish/non-Jewish dialogue, but also the population’s inner dynamics to fully understand the construction and usage of Jewish

⁵⁷ Leora Auslander, ‘The Boundaries of Jewishness, or When is a Cultural Practice Jewish?’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8, 1 (2009): 47–48; Klaus Hödl, ‘The Elusiveness of Jewishness: Jews in Viennese Popular Culture around 1900’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12, 3 (2013), 382–387; Paul Lerner, ‘Round Table Introduction: Jewish Studies Meet Cultural Studies’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8, 1 (2009): 44–45.

⁵⁸ Moshe Rosman, *How Jewish is Jewish History?* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007), 16–18.

⁵⁹ Some exemplary work on Jewish/non-Jewish relations in the modern city can be found in: Cristiana Facchini, ed., *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDEd*, 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011), accessed June 11, 2019, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal.it/index.php?issue=2>; Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt, eds., *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context* (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015); Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, eds., *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, and Larisa Lempertiene, eds., *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007).

⁶⁰ Barbara E. Mann, *Space and Place in Jewish Studies* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 7.

⁶¹ Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt, ‘Introduction,’ in *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, eds. Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt, (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015), 14.

⁶² Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, ‘Exploring Jewish Space: An Approach,’ in *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 11.

⁶³ Joachim Schlör, ‘Introduction: Jewish Forms of Settlement and Their Meaning,’ in *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, Jurgita, and Larisa, Lempertiene (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 1–2.

spaces and places in urban environments, and thus the Jewish process of making themselves at home in the city.

The diversity of the modern Jewish inner discourse has only recently been conceptualised. Mario Miccoli, for example, builds his theoretical foundation of Jewish life in modern Alexandria on the idea that modernity can be defined as 'a plurality of dynamic *modernities* connected to many factors, such as gender, ethno-religious identity and social status.'⁶⁴ By suggesting the existence of several 'modernities,' Mario Miccoli argues that the 20th century was differently experienced by each and every individual inhabiting its time and space. All aspects of one's identity – class, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, language, culture and so on – played a vital part in a person's involvement in and understanding of modernity. Erik Cohen, furthermore, argues that the increase of individual choices for Jews in the modern world produced an institutionally, ideologically and personally fragmented Jewish identity.⁶⁵ Lastly, Simone Lässig and Miriam Rürup write that Jewishness 'grew increasingly ambiguous: definitions became more independent in people's subjective experiences, perceptions, and discourses.'⁶⁶ To comprehend the dynamics of the spatial expressions of Jewish religion and culture in the modern city, sub-groups and individual perspectives within the population must be considered.

Studies on Jewish populations in modern Europe from the last 10 years have indeed started to portray these diversified and fragmented communities. Tobias Metzler argues that Berlin was a platform for 'pluralistic forms of Jewishness,' where both experiments of Judaism were executed and inner-communal differences co-existed.⁶⁷ Warsaw was the home to an ethnically mixed Jewish group, with multiple, co-existing centres of communal power, while the smaller city of Strasbourg promoted innovative interpretations of religious traditions.⁶⁸ Mapping patterns between Jewish settlement and industries in pre-Second World War Poland, Malgorzata Hanzl explains that 'against the backdrop of economic activities, individual decisions were made,

⁶⁴ Dario Miccoli, 'Moving Histories. The Jews and Modernity in Alexandria 1881-1919,' in *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDEd*, 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011), ed. Cristiana Facchini, accessed June 11, 2019, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal-it/focus.php?id=223>. Author's italics.

⁶⁵ Erik H. Cohen, 'Jewish Identity Research: A State of the Art,' *International Journal of Jewish Education Research* 1 (2010): 15.

⁶⁶ Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup, 'Introduction: What Made a Space "Jewish"? Reconsidering a Category of Modern German History,' in *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 4.

⁶⁷ Tobias Metzler, 'Secularization and Pluralism: Urban Jewish Cultures in Early Twentieth-Century Berlin,' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011): 871–896.

⁶⁸ François Guesnet, 'The Emergence of the First European Jewish Metropolis in Warsaw, 1850-1880,' in *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, eds. Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015), 128–153; Anthony Steinhoff, 'Nineteenth-Century Urbanization as Sacred Process: Insights from German Strasbourg,' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011): 828–841.

following individual preferences and systems of values, as well as the outset preconditions, such as economic capacities.⁶⁹ Likewise, Sarah Wobick-Segev's study on Jewish communities in 20th century's Berlin, Paris and St. Petersburg highlights the fundamental role of individuality and personal choices in the transformation of communal spaces during the initial decades of the 20th century.⁷⁰

Investigating Judaism's historical relationship with geography, scholars note that 'there is no doubt that we miss the full import of the visions [of early Judaic writers] unless we study their geography attentively,' with place serving in the theology of Judaism as a vehicle, not origin, for God's sacredness.⁷¹ David Kraemer describes the Temple of Jerusalem as the site where the Jewish relationship with their God was upheld through sacrifices and worship. The finalised destruction of both the Temple and Jewish settlement in Jerusalem after the *Bar Kokhba* war 133-5 CE, therefore, imposed a 'double displacement' on the Jewish population: '*that of their own and that of their God.*'⁷² The rabbinic creation and codification of spatial laws has been understood as a response to this trauma, and the desire to theoretically control space was a way to rebuild the relationship between the Jewish people and the deity. The development of the *eruv* – public areas made religiously domestic to enable the practices otherwise forbidden during *shabbat* – was one such 'rabbinic innovation.'⁷³

Although several scholars define a Jewish sacred place – synagogue, cemetery or religious school – as simply a location or area where Judaic-related activities are performed, this definition needs

⁶⁹ Malgorzata Hanzl, 'Jewish Communities in Pre-War Central Poland as an Example of a Self-Organising Society,' in *Computational Science and its Applicants – ICCSSA 2017: 17th International Conference, Trieste, Italy, July 3-6, 2017, Proceedings, Part 3*, eds. Osvaldo Gervasi et. al. (Cham: Springer, 2017), 231.

⁷⁰ Wobick-Segev, *Homes Away from Home*.

⁷¹ Martha Himmelfarb, 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,' in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, eds. Jamie Scott, and Paul Simpson-Housley (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), quote from 63; Zali Gurevitch, and Gideon Aran, 'Never in Place: Eliade and Judaic Sacred Space,' *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 87 (1994): 135–152. Martha Himmelfarb writes about the imagined sacred geography, while Zali Gurevitch and Gideon Aran discuss the relationship between a physical place and God's sacredness.

⁷² David Kraemer, *Rabbinic Judaism: Space and Place* (London: Routledge, 2001), 2–7, quote on 3. Author's italics.

⁷³ The *eruv* has been proposed to be a tool for the creation of a collective Jewish identity, a marker for the Jewish community used in the navigations of the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship, a way to feel free and at home in the city, and a boundary defining Jewish unity. See, for example: Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert, 'From Separatism to Urbanism: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Rabbinic Eruv,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11, 1 (2004): 45–56; Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert, 'The Political Symbolism of the Eruv,' *Jewish Social Studies* 11, 3 (2005): 10–16; Manuel Herz, '"Eruv" Urbanism: Towards an Alternative "Jewish Architecture" in Germany,' in *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 47; Michele Rapoport, 'Creating place, creating community: the intangible boundaries of the Jewish "Eruv",' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (2011): 891.

further exploration.⁷⁴ According to the Judaic theological assertion, a material structure can, due to its impossibility of being a permanent dwelling place for the omnipresent God, never in itself be sacred. The physical place is instead constructed as a symbol or conduit for the Jewish deity's sacredness.⁷⁵ Rabbis re-established the relationship with the Jewish deity through an emphasis on religious texts, and the synagogue, in which the reading of these texts took place, thus became sacred.⁷⁶ Similarly, Gideon Bar uses the term 'sacred' in order to explain memory practices and pilgrimage sites linked to the Zionist ideology in post-1948 Israel, emphasising the human involvement in the creation of places.⁷⁷ The sacredness of a Jewish place will, therefore, be interpreted in this study as determined by the activities connected to religious rituals or objects, performed by Jewish agents within a specific location.

Saskia Coenen Snyder investigates the social and cultural processes surrounding the construction and inauguration of sacred and public places in Berlin, London, Amsterdam and Paris. Following the idea that different groups experienced modernity in different ways, she argues that different socio-cultural local conditions shaped the Jewish construction of public synagogues during the 19th century into 'a potpourri of Jewish aesthetic representations.'⁷⁸ Sarah Wobick-Segev adds that emancipation, the decline of communal authority and the secularisation process, all parts of the modern urban world, paved way for innovative sacred rituals – among them, marriage celebrations in secular venues, summer camps and clubs as sites for teaching youths about Jewish history and culture, and the celebration of *bar/bat mitzvah* in the family home. She claims that traditional sacred venues, such as the synagogue, therefore, lost their communal function.⁷⁹

While scholars in religious studies ask for a 'historical materialist approach' that investigates, rather than catalogues, the agency of and power struggle within the social institutions that shaped and were shaped by religious places,⁸⁰ the Jewish community's complex, inner-communal

⁷⁴ The simplified definition appears in, for example: Eszter B. Gantner, and Jay (Koby) Oppenheim, 'Jewish Space Reloaded: An Introduction,' *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 23, 2 (2014): 1.

⁷⁵ Gurevitch, and Aran, 'Never in Place,' 135–138.

⁷⁶ Oliver Valins, 'Institutionalised Religion: Sacred Texts and Jewish Spatial Practice,' *Geoforum* 31 (2000): 580; Kraemer, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 131–133.

⁷⁷ Gideon Bar, 'Reconstructing the Past: The Creation of Jewish Sacred Space in the State of Israel, 1948–1967,' *Israel Studies* 13, 3 (2008): 16. In his second footnote, Gideon Bar explains human involvement in the creation of places to be the reason for his choosing 'sacred' over 'holy.'

⁷⁸ Saskia Coenen Snyder, *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 2–3, 78–143.

⁷⁹ Wobick-Segev, *Homes Away from Home*, 2.

⁸⁰ Catherine Brace, Adrian R. Bailey, and David C. Harvey, 'Religion, Place and Space: A Framework for Investigation Historical Geographies of Religious Identities and Communities,' *Progress in Human Geography* 30, 1 (2006): 35–38; Kim Knott, 'Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion,' *Temenos* 41, 2 (2005): 158–168; Gregory J. Levine, 'On the Geography of Religion,' *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 11, 1 (1986): 428–440, quote from 428. Kim Knott emphasises the relationship between religion as a social function and space as an arena in which these social relations are played out.

structure, its existent diversified agencies and the hierarchal relationships in relation to sacred spaces, however, remain largely unidentified and unstudied. Sarah Wobick-Segev claims that Jewish multiplicity was a product of the emergence of individuality, while Francois Guesnet and Tobias Metzler both argue that Jewish multiplicity was a product of the size of the Jewish population.⁸¹ The former argues that the diversity spatially expressed by Warsaw's 120,000 Jewish members at the end of the 19th could only evolve because of the sheer population size and the subsequent development of social sub-units. The variations within the community were dependent on size, in order to both work independently and tolerate each other, resulting in all of the different sub-groups thriving together.⁸² But this claim and is reached without comparison to inner-communal dynamics in smaller Jewish populations. This study aims to bridge this gap, providing Stockholm's Jewish community as a case study for the existence of sacred spatial multiplicity in a small Jewish population, as well as in-depth analysis of the non-Jewish and inner-communal social, cultural and religious frameworks that enabled, shaped and limited said multiplicity in the modern city of Stockholm.

1.4 Jewish Individuality and Multiplicity in Modern Stockholm

Stockholm was at the end of the 19th century growing into a city bursting with modern life. The outlook and usage of public spaces changed with the construction of the Central Railway Station in 1871, the instalment of horse-drawn trams in 1877, and the establishment of the telephone network in 1883.⁸³ The city's population increased by 80 per cent between 1880 and 1900, reached 350,000 in 1910 and a little less than half a million in 1939.⁸⁴ Urbanisation welcomed people from rural parishes, transforming the bustle on the street into a dialectic commotion, some people not even understanding each other's pronunciations or vocabulary.⁸⁵ Parks and esplanades became locations for promenades, gas lights lit up the streets during nocturnal hours in 1853, and department stores with big window displays were built in the beginning of the 20th century.⁸⁶ Cafés clustered around the city's centre from the 1870s, offering entertaining places for

⁸¹ Guesnet, 'The Emergence of the First European Jewish Metropolis in Warsaw,' 184–185; Metzler, 'Secularization and Pluralism,' 872.

⁸² Guesnet, 'The Emergence of the First European Jewish Metropolis in Warsaw,' 184–185.

⁸³ Tony Griffiths, *Stockholm: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2009), 9–10.

⁸⁴ Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122; Alexandra Borg, *En vildmark av sten: Stockholm i litteraturen, 1897-1916* (Stockholm: Stockholms förlag, 2011), 74.

⁸⁵ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 9.

⁸⁶ See, for example: Griffiths, *Stockholm*, 38; Orsi Husz, *Drömmars värde: Varuhus och lotteri i svensk konsumtionskultur, 1897-1939* (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2004); Jenny Lee, 'Torg och saluhallar: Drömmar om

Chapter 1

the consumption of culinary experiences, social meetings and cultural exchanges.⁸⁷ Cinemas popped up at about the same time, numbering 75 in Stockholm in 1919.⁸⁸ Although considerably smaller than European metropolises, Stockholm was slowly turning into a buzzing urban centre.

Resting on 14 islands, Stockholm's urban districts were largely topographically shaped by natural borders, as can be seen in figure 1. As the city grew, the overcrowding in wooden sheds, lack of proper sewages or access to clean water, gas or electricity, and insufficient urban infrastructure proposed sanitary problems and demanded modern solutions. Inspired by Parisian Georges-Eugène Haussmann, straight and wide boulevards were planned and constructed by Albert Lindhagen in *Östermalm* and *Norrmalm* at the end of the 19th century, the broad streets lined with tall apartment buildings or shops with big windows.⁸⁹ Although the districts were not completely gentrified until after the reconstruction of Stockholm's city centre in the 1960s, these areas were increasingly associated with modern and luxurious dwellings, and became the commercial and entertainment centre at the turn of the 20th century. While industries lingered on *Kungsholmen* and *Södermalm*, the latter became increasingly known as the city slum.

New ethnic groups settled in this urban district. Italian Catholics, for example, arrived at the beginning of the 19th century and worked as glassblowers, plaster foundrymen, stucco carvers and street musicians. In 1910, 439 Italians clustered on a few streets in northern *Södermalm*.⁹⁰ Some Romani groups temporarily lived in the southern parts of the island, although the City's Municipality reduced access to fresh water in hope to make them leave.⁹¹ Stockholm was topographically divided into urban spaces with different class, status and ethnic belongings, and this mental geography particularly affected Jewish settlement patterns in the city.

en modern stad,' in *Andra Stockholm: Liv, plats och identitet i storstaden*, eds. Bo Larsson, and Birgitta Svensson (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011), 192; Borg, *En vildmark av sten*, 78.

⁸⁷ Ulrika Torell, 'Sötsaksrum: Sockerbagarnas platser och den kommersiella scenografin,' in *Andra Stockholm: Liv, plats och identitet i storstaden*, eds. Bo Larsson, and Birgitta Svensson (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011), 208, 222–225.

⁸⁸ Leif Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige: En historia i tio kapitel* (Höganäs: Wiken, 1991), 44.

⁸⁹ Borg, *En vildmark av sten*, 72–79; Emelie Eriksson, *Stockholm med modernismen i centrum: Cityomdaningen ur ett aktörs- och ett mediaperspektiv* (Sollentuna: Intellecta Docusys, 2004), 51–53.

⁹⁰ Christian Catomeris, *Gipskattor och positiv: italienare i Stockholm, 1896-1910* (Borås: Centraltryckeriet, 1988), 69–92.

⁹¹ Lotta Fernstål, and Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius, *Romska liv och platser: Berättelser om att leva och överleva i 1900-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2018), 127–138.



Figure 1. Stockholm's urban districts.⁹²

Upon seal engraver Aaron Isaac's migration from Mecklenburg to Stockholm,⁹³ king Gustavus III allowed Jews to stay in Stockholm as practising Jews in 1775. Earlier Jewish migrants had been forced to convert, resulting in solemn and public baptisms. In 1775, rights were instead given to bring enough Jews to Stockholm to establish a *minyan* and buy a plot on *Kungsholmen* for a cemetery, thus establishing the institutions needed for Jewish religious practices. Jewish civic rights were, however, limited in 1782 with *Judereglementet* (The Jewish Ordinance). Banned from guilds and political positions, and forced to live only in the cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping, Jews entering Sweden were also demanded to own 2,000 *riksdaler*,⁹⁴ thus ensuring the immigration of only wealthy Jews. Swedish Jews consequently focused on trade. Legal disputes on social issues were solved within the community, thus forming a Jewish civic nation within the Swedish nation. During this time, a synagogue was constructed in *Old Town* and three cemeteries existed across Stockholm. The Ordinance was abolished in 1838 but legal restrictions

⁹² Map: Pålman A. E. and Nils Hanzon, 'Karta över de centrala delarna av Stockholms stad, Generalstabens litografiska anstalt,' (1930-1933), SE/SSA/Tryckta kartor/Pålman 1930 års karta över Stockholm, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9719>.

⁹³ See his lively autobiography: Aaron Isaac, *Minnen: Ett judiskt äventyr i svenskt 1700-tal* (Stockholm: Hilleförlaget, 2008).

⁹⁴ Calculated to approximately £60,000 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.' I used 'riksdaler specie.'

against, for example, intermarriages, political positions, and settlement in rural areas were only slowly removed in the period leading up to the emancipation in 1870.⁹⁵ The last years of the 1860s in Sweden were likewise marked by political and social reformation. Bicameralism legislation replaced the Diet of the Four Estates – the social divisions of nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants in the parliament, extremely poor harvests lead to famine and skyrocketing emigration to America, and the credit market became available for everyone, aiding the creation of banks.

The migration of different Jewish groups to Stockholm started to create social, ethnic and religious differences, and the internal need for diversified sacred places. The earliest migrants at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century mainly arrived from German-speaking states and Denmark. They helped developing Sweden's commercial consumption through sugar and textile productions, founded banks and modern industries, and were involved in the construction of railroads and extraction of ore.⁹⁶ Later generations became influential in cultural spheres as well, being artists, writers and intellectuals, financial donors to the Concert Hall, constructing modern buildings in Stockholm, publishing the national literary cannon, and establishing department stores and restaurants.⁹⁷ The vast number of literature on Jewish contribution to Stockholm's modern society portray the academic and non-academic spheres' previously large interest in portraying Jews as a successful and integrated group in the Swedish society.

Being often described as prosperous and wealthy, this Jewish group has been thematically compared to the 3,000-4,000 Eastern European migrants arriving to Sweden between the 1860s and 1917. Over two million Jews travelled across Central and Western Europe from the Russian Empire, pushed by pogroms and military conscriptions, and pulled by the promise of America. The migrants arriving to Sweden, however, came from areas that had not experienced widespread

⁹⁵ Svanberg, and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 132–134, 180–189; Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964), 44–76.

⁹⁶ See, for example: Fredric Bedoire, *Ett judiskt Europa: Kring uppkomsten av en modern arkitektur, 1830-1930* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1998), 18–32; Anna Brismark, and Pia Lundqvist, 'Sidensjalar och socker: Judiska näringsidkares betydelse för konsumtionsrevolutionen i Sverige,' in *Från sidensjalar till flyktingmottagning: Judarna i Sverige – en minoritets historia*, eds. Lars M Andersson, and Carl Henrik Carlsson (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2013), 17–47; Anders Johnson, *Invandrarna som byggde Sverige* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2015), 167–182; Per-Martin Meyerson, *Judiskt liv i Europa, 1786-1933: Integrationsprocess med förhinder* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2012), 368–370; Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige*, 85–95.

⁹⁷ Per I. Gedin, *Litteraturens ortagårdsmästare: Karl Bonnier och hans tid* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2003); Johnson, *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch*; Josephson, 'Några judiska bokhandlare,' Mia Kuritzén Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet: Framväxten av en symfoniorkester och ett konserthus i Stockholm, cirka 1890–1926* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017); Josef Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1949); Josef Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Resenär och organisatör* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1949); Jacqueline Stare, *Porträtt: Speglingar av svensk judisk kultur* (Stockholm: Fallmarks, 1993), 26–52.

pogroms, but rather crop failures, famine and military conscriptions. Chain migration was, instead, a defining characteristic of Jewish Eastern European migration to Sweden, and in 1890, about a fifth of those who had arrived in the last 30 years used Sweden as a transit nation, continuing their travels towards America.⁹⁸ With the arrival of Eastern European Jews, Stockholm's Jewish population grew from 900 people in 1870, to 1,250 Jews in 1890, and 2,600 Jews in 1910.⁹⁹

These two groups have in the Swedish-Jewish historical field not only been largely regarded as internally homogeneous, but also crudely dichotomised. Arguing that *Södermalm* became the urban home for Eastern European Jews, Jacqueline Stare argues, for example, that 'there were no social contacts between the two different groups.'¹⁰⁰ In an ethno-demographic study in Sweden's Jewish population between 1780 and 1980, Joseph Zitomersky writes that there was a territorial division between established Jews and Eastern European Jews, and the latter's 'particular Jewish life and institutions, which, together with their foreignness and their relatively poorer economic circumstances, contrasted with the more established Jews of the cities.'¹⁰¹ Svante Hansson reconfirms this discourse as late as 2004, describing Eastern European-Jewish settlement in Stockholm as follows:

For the first time in Sweden's history, areas with a concentrated Jewish population developed. [It was located] in a typical working-class district, where very few 'Swedish' Jews lived: they were [instead] concentrated in *Norrmalm* and *Östermalm*.¹⁰²

Scholars in Swedish-Jewish history have, clearly, established a narrative of a Jewish population divided by the topographical borders of Stockholm and the rift has, furthermore, been enhanced by the presumed social, ethnic and religious differences between the two groups.

⁹⁸ Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Immigrants or Transmigrants? Eastern European Jews in Sweden, 1860-1914,' in *Points of Passage: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Tobias Brinkmann (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 55–56; Carl Henrik Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering: Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige, 1860-1920* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 31. The areas were, among others, Kovno, Suwalki, Grodno, Vilna and Vitebsk.

⁹⁹ Svanberg, and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 237.

¹⁰⁰ Jacqueline Stare, 'Judiskt liv på Söder, en annorlunda värld,' in *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998), 185.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Zitomersky, 'The Jewish Population in Sweden, 1780-1980: An Ethno-Demographic Study,' in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988), 114.

¹⁰² Svante Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad: Flyktingverksamhet i Mosaiska församlingen i Stockholm, 1933-1950* (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2004), 44.

Chapter 1

The Eastern European Jews were, however, not a static group of Jews belonging only to the lower classes. Although many worked as peddlers,¹⁰³ Rita Bredefeldt shows that the Jewish population adjusted to the economic setting of Sweden after their emancipation, and Eastern European Jews specifically chose to use both industrial and trade sectors to economically advance and socially integrate.¹⁰⁴ Individuals from Eastern Europe were also successful in commerce, and several were famous artists, such as painter Isaac Grünewald.¹⁰⁵ Mats Franzén reconstructs an ordinary day in the urban district of *Katarina* on *Södermalm* at the beginning of the 20th century, tracing the police during the nights, the opening of bakeries and beer cafés, people cycling, walking and going by tram to work, children playing on the streets, and musicians and political parties gathering in parks and squares in the afternoon, ultimately showing that Jews and Italians were both considered strangers in the streetscape, although Jews integrated occupationally and culturally faster than Italians.¹⁰⁶

Some evidence hints at unclear borders between established Jews and Eastern European migrants. Wealthier Jews established philanthropic institutions to aid impoverished Jews: they built cheap apartments, established a youth leisure centre, and formed a summer youth camp on an island in the archipelago.¹⁰⁷ Clothes manufacturers and shoemakers provided clothes and shoes for impoverished children, and other Mosaic Congregational members provided food.¹⁰⁸ This inner-communal relationship was, however, not without conflicts. The children from the different social groups met in the religious afternoon schools, but the cultural differences between them were too big to enable any friendships.¹⁰⁹ This was also mirrored in the structure of the Mosaic Congregation. It was the only official Jewish institution and up until 1910 legally responsible for providing information for the taxation of Stockholm's Jews to the City's Municipality. Its membership was, therefore, the only way for an individual to join a community with social status from the non-Jewish society. The membership itself could, however, be too expensive for less wealthy Jews, as well as difficult for migrants to obtain, since a Swedish

¹⁰³ For a description of life as a Jewish peddler in Sweden, see: Jacqueline Stare, ed., *Judiska gårdfarihandlare i Sverige* (Stockholm: Judiska Museet, 1996).

¹⁰⁴ Rita Bredefeldt, *Judiskt liv i Stockholm och Norden: Ekonomi, identitet och assimilering, 1850-1930* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2008), 59.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example: Olof Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid: Ur mina memoarer* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1961); Johnson, *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch*, 215–26; Johnson, *Invandrarna som byggde Sverige*, 215–216.

¹⁰⁶ Franzén, Mats, *Den folkliga staden: Söderkvarter i Stockholm mellan krigen* (Lund: Arkiv förlag, 1992), 144–154.

¹⁰⁷ Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Anna Besserman, "'...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn täckts hosta dem upp på Sveriges gästvänliga stränder:' Mosaiska Församlingen i Stockholm inför den östjudiska invandringen till staden, 1860-1914,' *Nordisk Judaistik (Scandinavian Jewish Studies)* 5, 2 (1984): 32; Jacqueline Stare, 'Judiskt liv på Söder,' 199.

¹⁰⁹ Stare, 'Judiskt liv på Söder,' 192.

citizenship was demanded by Jewish leaders in 1882.¹¹⁰ With Eastern European-Jewish naturalisation processes being discriminated by the Swedish government, this internal demand marginalised Eastern European-Jewish presence and influence in the Mosaic Congregation.¹¹¹ As portrayed by Steven Aschheim, a contemporary antipathy flourished among German integrated Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries towards the traditional, and often also Eastern European, Jew.¹¹² The uneven power struggle within the Mosaic Congregation can in light of this be viewed as the Swedish-Jewish expression of a similar antagonism.

The Mosaic Congregation was, furthermore, from the 1860s onwards, affiliated with the emerging Reform Judaism. As a consequence of *Haskalah* – the Jewish movement that merged Judaism with rational elements of the Enlightenment – Reform Judaism in Germany during the 19th century adopted Christian practices to make the religious institution more similar to the national majority. German was spoken during the services, the rabbi was dressed in priest-like attire, confirmation for girls was added to *bar mitzvah* – the religious ritual for the coming of age of boys, the individual prayer was discarded in favour for a cantor and choir, rules for *shabbat* and *kashrut* were loosened or discarded, the Christian organ was installed, and the *bimah* – the elevated platform for the reading of the *Torah*, the Pentateuch – and *Aron Hakodesh* – the ornamental closet holding the *Torah*, also called Torah Ark – were placed together at the front to form a church-like interior structure.

As a response, Orthodox Judaism modernised some aspects of their services, including the abandon of individual prayers and adoption of cantor and men's choir, but kept prayers in Hebrew, the sacredness of *shabbat* and the keeping of *kosher*. Lastly, the positive-historical movement (today Masorti Judaism/Conservative Judaism) positioned itself in between, emphasising the importance of scientific methods in discerning the meanings of religious texts. All strands created their own rabbinic seminaries and education systems, keeping the different approaches separate. In the German setting, the religious traditions from Eastern Europe were mostly ignored, although the German rabbi Jacob Ettlinger formulated an Orthodox Judaism based on the *nusach* – liturgical style – of Eastern European traditions.¹¹³ Regional and rural

¹¹⁰ Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*, 47.

¹¹¹ For the socio-structural approach, see: Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*. For communal examples, see: Besserman, '...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn,' 25–26.

¹¹² Aschheim, Steve E., *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 4.

¹¹³ Judith Bleich, 'Jacob Ettlinger, His Life and Works: The Emergence of Modern Orthodoxy in Germany,' (PhD-thesis, New York University, 1974), 2–31.

Jewish communities also continued observing traditional rituals and customs.¹¹⁴ On top of these various religious orientations, Shulamit Volkov argues that even *Haskalah* was differently expressed across Europe. She emphasises the necessity to avoid overgeneralisation and the sacrifice of the individual, prompting ‘a multifaceted image, offering only a mosaic of different stories, independent of each other, stressing internal diversity at each and every level of analysis,’ thus echoing David Biale’s argument for a more fluid, complex pallet of Jewishness during modernity.¹¹⁵

Stockholm’s Chief rabbis Gottlieb Klein and Marcus Ehrenpreis during the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century had both been students under Abraham Geiger, the designer of Reform Judaism.¹¹⁶ Merging secular and rabbinic studies, the chief rabbis had close relationships with scholars in religion and history in Sweden, and were supposedly socially antagonistic towards Jews who either practiced Orthodox Judaism or lived on *Södermalm*.¹¹⁷ As seen in figure 2, a variety of Jewish sacred places existed in Stockholm between 1870 and 1939. The synagogue *Adat Jisrael* was established in 1871, practising Orthodox Judaism, while the religious orientations of the smaller *minyanim* have been more difficult to pinpoint. They will instead be referred to as traditional in this thesis, alluding to the practitioners’ keenness in observing customs from their homelands. These orthodox and traditional groups kept *kashrut* and *shabbat*, used the *mikveh* and let their children attend the religious afternoon school. Their urban Jewishness, however, functioned without an *eruv*, producing, as David Biale argues, some slackened Talmudic laws because of the specific Swedish setting.

Regarding the relationship between the traditional groups and the Mosaic Congregation, Anna Besserman argues that ‘the social distance was as large and was regarded as closely as in the rest of the society. The only existent contact space was between the needy and the philanthropists.’¹¹⁸ Although the chief rabbi was employed by the Mosaic Congregation, he still functioned as the main overseer of all religious groups in the whole community, further complicating the latter’s existence. Still, although its lay and religious leaders were largely associated with Reform Judaism, the Mosaic Congregation’s members did not necessarily have to be. Indeed, it was not unlikely for orthodox or traditional practitioners to hold membership of both the Mosaic Congregation and

¹¹⁴ Michael Brenner, *Kleine jüdische Geschichte* (Bonn: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2008), 185–234; Steven M. Lowenstein, Paul Mendes-Flohr, Peter Pulzer, and Monika Richarz, eds., *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit: Umstrittene Integration, Band III: 1871-1918* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1997), 101–121.

¹¹⁵ Volkov, ‘The Jewish Project of Modernity,’ 227–234, 244.

¹¹⁶ Lena Roos, ‘Gottlieb Klein und die Religionswissenschaft in Schweden,’ in *Deutschsprachige jüdische Emigration nach Schweden: 1774 bis 1945*, eds. Olaf Glöckner, Lars M Andersson, and Helmut Müssener (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017), 120.

¹¹⁷ Stare, ‘Judiskt liv på Söder,’ 192.

¹¹⁸ Besserman, ‘...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn,’ 29.

the religious sub-group of their choice. The Jewish community in Stockholm was, therefore, not only experiencing inner-communal antagonism against traditional customs or orthodox practices, but also, paradoxically, religious and social flexibility.

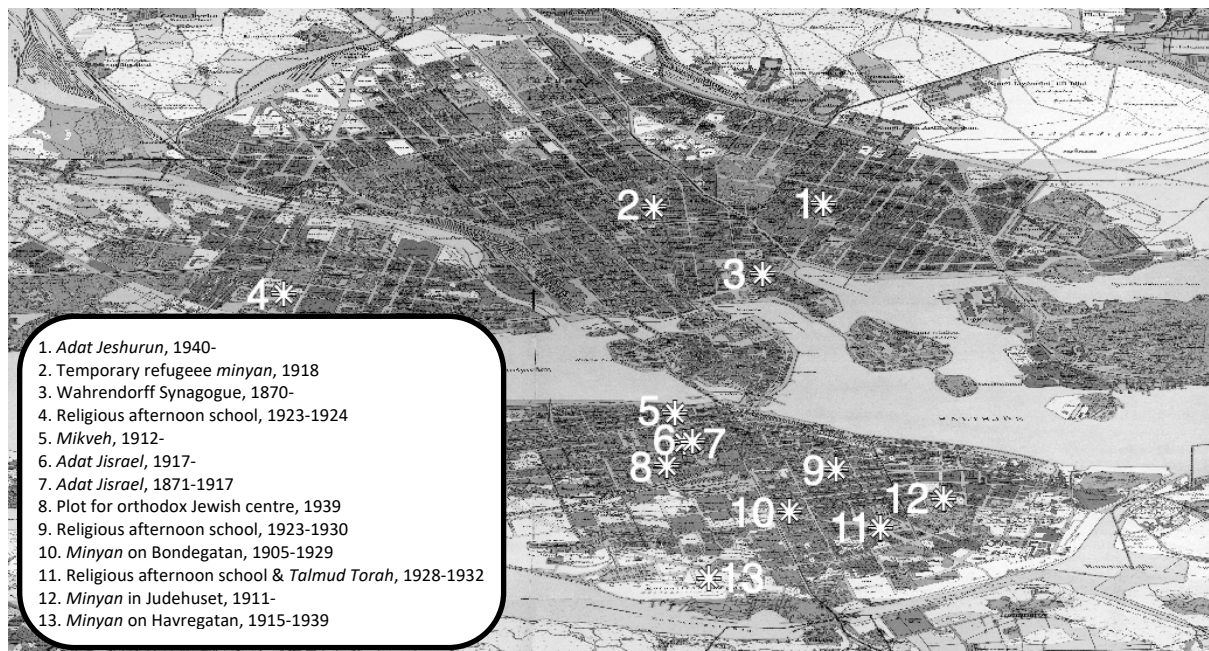


Figure 2. Jewish sacred places in Stockholm, 1870-1939.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, although the Mosaic Congregation's resentment and unhelpful stance towards Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany in the 1930s has been an established narrative within the Swedish-Jewish field,¹²⁰ Pontus Rudberg's study shows that the Mosaic Congregation in Stockholm not only did all it could to get as many Jews to Sweden as possible, mainly restricted by the Swedish government's refugee policies and inadequate finances, but also brought together Reform, Orthodox and Zionist Jews throughout all of Sweden.¹²¹ The 4,000-5,000 Jews arriving in Sweden between 1933 and 1943 should, therefore, be seen as partly a result of Stockholm's Jewish community's ability to cooperate despite religious differences.¹²² Pontus Rudberg instead transposes the researcher's gaze towards the antisemitic discourse in Sweden and its subsequent

¹¹⁹ Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar,' (1917-1934), SE/SSA/Stockholmskartor/ 1917-34 Karta över Stockholm med omnejd, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9231>.

¹²⁰ Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*, 72, 121.

¹²¹ Pontus Rudberg, *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust* (London: Routledge, 2017); The same result is also reached in: Maier-Wolthausen, *Zuflucht im Norden*, 301.

¹²² Numbers from Maier-Wolthausen, *Zuflucht im Norden*, 89.

impact on the Jewish community. This has been a particularly poignant research theme within the Swedish-Jewish scholarly field. Some studies have shown the Swedish government's antisemitic and discriminatory schemes against Jews, specifically increasing in scope and hostility during the 1930s,¹²³ while others have portrayed antisemitic and stereotypical caricatures, the presence of *Shoah* transgressions in the press during the 1930s-40s, and political antisemitic discourses in the Swedish press.¹²⁴ Antisemitism was certainly an everyday presence for the individual Swedish Jew, sometimes expressed through derogatory nicknames in the public arena, but more often consciously avoided through internal strategies. Lay leaders of the Mosaic Congregation, for example, did not want the different opinions on the employment of a cantor to enter the public sphere, and for similar reasons, never publicly criticised Adolf Hitler.¹²⁵ The violent riots against the abolishment of the Jewish Ordinance in 1838, with the destruction of 134 windows belonging to Jewish homes and the assault of one Jewish individual,¹²⁶ were, therefore, not common expressions of antisemitism in the urban landscape.

Scholars focusing on Swedish-Jewish history have thus thoroughly contextualised the wider political and social setting of the Jewish community in Stockholm, and investigated the Jewish relationship with this setting through the discourses of integration and antisemitism. Although some studies have explored the political role of the Jewish community in affecting the life of Jewish immigrants,¹²⁷ the social and cultural complexities of inner-communal relations in relation to religion have not been approached. Instead, it has been suggested that because of the small population size, Swedish Jews at the beginning of the 20th century 'would not be able to maintain

¹²³ See, for example: Klas Åmark, *Att bo granne med ondskan: Sveriges förhållande till nazismen, Nazityskland och Förintelsen* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2011); Göran Blomberg, *Mota Moses i grind: Ariseringsiver och antisemitism i Sverige, 1933-1943* (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2003); Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*; Karin Kvist Geverts, *Ett främmande element i Nationen: Svensk flyktingpolitik och de judiska flyktingarna, 1938-1944* (Uppsala: Universitetsbiblioteket, 2008); Stare, *Judiska gårdfarihandlare i Sverige*.

¹²⁴ See, for example: Lars M Andersson, *En jude är en jude är en jude...: Representationer av "juden" i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900-1930* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000); Henrik Bachner, *'Judefrågan': Debatt om antisemitism i 1930-talets Sverige* (Lund: Atlantis, 2009); Lena Johannesson, "'Schene Rariteten": Antisemitisk bildagitation i svensk rabulistpress, 1845-1860,' in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988), 179-208; Ingvar Svanberg, and Mattias Tydén, *Sverige och Förintelsen: Debatt och document om Europas judar, 1933-1945* (Stockholm: Arena, 1997).

¹²⁵ Bernt Hermele, *'Kommer de, så skjuter jag oss': Om svenska judars liv i skuggan av Förintelsen* (Stockholm: Lind & Co, 2018), 75-83.

¹²⁶ Cordelia Hess, 'Eine Fussnote der Emanzipation? Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Stockholm 1838 und ihre Bedeutung für eine Wissensgeschichte des Antisemitismus,' in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 27, ed. Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2018), 65-87.

¹²⁷ See, for example: Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*; Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*; Besserman, '...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn.'

the integrity of Jewish culture.¹²⁸ Per-Martin Meyerson and Hugo Valentin simultaneously argue that the 19th and 20th centuries were mainly ‘a golden period for Jewish integration,’ during which the Jewish population was spiritually ‘weak.’¹²⁹ It has, lastly, been claimed that the Jewish population integrated in the public spheres of economy and culture, while simultaneously establishing an ‘introverted’ religious life kept to the private spaces of the home and the synagogue.¹³⁰

The assumed dichotomy of the Jewish population – divided between integrated, German-descendant, Reform, affluent Jews living in modern areas of northern Stockholm and Eastern European, poorer, orthodox, traditional Jews settling in the industrial and slum suburbs on *Södermalm* – has, furthermore, only been suggested to be too simplistic. Carl Henrik Carlsson writes that

my comprehension is [...] that the real correlation ‘Western Jew’/Reformed Jew respectively ‘Eastern Jew’/orthodox Jew is not necessary fully as strong as one at first believes, and that is usually emphasised.¹³¹

In an article on Jewish emigrants making Sweden their new home as a consequence of the First World War, he calls orthodox yet economically affluent Jacob Ettlinger a ‘typically untypical Jew’ and an example of how the dichotomised identity ‘templates are not always true.’¹³² Suggesting that there are more ‘typically untypical’ Jews in Sweden, Carl Henrik Carlsson produces the first doubts of Stockholm’s Jews being a dichotomised community. This thesis will survey his expressed concern, explicitly displaying a Jewish population that consisted of individuals, who one after another desired to visibly express their preferences in the urban landscape. Their individual movements and constructed places were explicitly played out in the urban streetscape, creating a multiplicity of physical Jewishness that changed the outlook of Stockholm.

¹²⁸ Zitomersky, ‘The Jewish Population in Sweden,’ 104. His argumentation is based, for example, on the example that less Swedish-born Jews married Jews than foreign-born Jews in 1920: 65.0 per cent versus 92.5 per cent. He thus determines that Jews assimilated in such a rate it posed a threat to Jewishness.

¹²⁹ Meyerson, *Judiskt liv i Europa*, 366; Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige*, 156. My translation from Swedish.

¹³⁰ Bredefeldt, *Judiskt liv i Stockholm och Norden*, 49; Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige*, 156. Hugo Valentin argues that the Jewish religious life was ‘weak,’ and Rita Bredefeldt claims that the Jewish community was socio-economically public and religiously ‘introverted.’ My translation from Swedish.

¹³¹ Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*, 34. My translation from Swedish.

¹³² Carl Henrik Carlsson, ‘Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget. Fyra fallstudier,’ in *Första världskriget i svenska arkiv: Årsbok för Riksarkivet och Landsarkiven 2014*, ed. Carl Henrik Carlsson (Stockholm: TMG Tabergs, 2014), 168–170. My translation from Swedish.

Spatial studies on Swedish-Jewish history have made some efforts to discover Jewish everyday life in Sweden. Anna Svenson, for example, uses sources like census records, birth and death records and applications for citizenship to determine residential clusters and public practices in the southern Swedish town of Lund in the 20th century.¹³³ Exploring Jewish settlement in northern towns between 1870 and 1940, Per Hammarström suggests that the Jewish population of 200 people in Sundsvall was divided into two dichotomised groups according to their social status, just like the gentile population. He finds a cultural and social rift between two social groups, which was highlighted by their geographical distribution.¹³⁴ Christoph Leiska argues that the synagogue in Gothenburg was constructed to both present Jewish belonging in the city and strengthen the community's religiousness.¹³⁵ Anders Hammarlund reconstructs Jewish urban space of 20th century Gothenburg. Although he shows different expressions of Jewishness, the research is mainly about Jewish contribution to a *fin-de-siècle* modernity in the city. Anders Hammarlund portrays Gothenburg as a metaphorical suburb to Germany, the Reform and *Bildung* movements transported across national borders via Jews, helping to create salons and cafés for cultural meetings.¹³⁶ Fredric Bedoire similarly investigates Jewish contribution to modern, public spaces in Stockholm, focusing on Jewish links to modern architecture. He concludes that Swedish Jews mirrored architectural creations on the continent, using their connections across the world to bring innovative, modern space to Scandinavia.¹³⁷

Spatial and performance theories have, clearly, only been used in the examples of Lund and Gothenburg to explore Jewish communities' everyday relationship with the urban milieu. Although Anna Svenson briefly explores inner-communal dynamics and differences in relation to public arenas, and Christoph Leiska proves the use of the urban landscape in constructing both a public and private Jewishness, no study in the Swedish-Jewish field has used one Jewish community in a single city to investigate said community's inner and outer relationships as they were played out in the public, urban landscape. Capturing individual and communal ideas of Jewishness through the construction, contestation, maintenance and limitation of spatial practices and place-making, this thesis not only applies an innovative theoretical approach to Swedish-Jewish studies, but also discovers the following four aspects about Jewish life in modern

¹³³ Anna Svenson, *Nöden – en shtetl i Lund* (Lund: Gamla Lund, 1995), 45–53, 66–71.

¹³⁴ Per Hammarström, *Nationens styvbarn: Judisk samhällsintegration i några Norrlandsstäder, 1870-1940* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2007), 147–150, 272.

¹³⁵ Christoph Leiska, *Räume der Begegnung – Räume der Differenz: Jüdische Integration und Antisemitismus in Göteborg und Kopenhagen, 1850-1914* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2016), 91–108.

¹³⁶ Anders Hammarlund, *En bön för moderniteten. Kultur och politik i Abraham Baers värld* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2013), 218–228, 282.

¹³⁷ Bedoire, *Ett judiskt Europa*, 23, 42–44, 186–190, 468.

Stockholm, as it emerged from its legal, social and spatial marginality in 1870 and developed a sacred multiplicity up until 1939:

- the continued importance of religion,
- the religious fragmentation,
- the inner-communal interconnectedness, and
- the socio-religious flexibility.

1.5 Setting the Scene: Mapping Jewish Multiplicity

The following case study sets the scene for the analysis and discussions of the four themes mentioned above. Using GIS to map the Jewish population's residential homes in three temporal intersections between 1870 and 1939, this section proves the four discourses mentioned above. The 'computational turn' in the first two decades of the 21st century has offered digital tools that can analyse patterns, structures and trends in large quantities of data.¹³⁸ The results of studies within Digital Humanities – 'a set of qualitative tools or methods [that are] influenced by computation as a way of accessing, interpreting, and reporting [on] the world itself'¹³⁹ – have been described as 'visually impressive and intuitively convincing,' and allows for breadth and depth into the study of human interaction in, more often than not, urban milieus.¹⁴⁰ Despite struggling with conceptual uncertainties, computational illiteracy among humanities scholars, and its larger research identity, interdisciplinary digital studies explore human everyday lives in both contemporary and historical contexts through a variety of software programmes.¹⁴¹ The use of GIS to map urban populations have been popular in the last 10 years.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Term coined by: David M. Berry, 'Introduction: Understanding the Digital Humanities,' in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4.

¹³⁹ Definition by Leighton Evans, and Sian Rees, 'An Interpretation of Digital Humanities,' in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 29.

¹⁴⁰ Bernhard Rieder, and Theo Röhle, 'Digital Methods: Five Challenges,' in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 67–70, quote from 70.

¹⁴¹ See discussions in: Rieder, and Röhle, 'Digital Methods,' 72–78; Lev Manovich, 'Trending: The Promises and the Challenges of Big Social Data,' in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 460–475; Lisa Spiro, "'This is Why We Fight:' Defining the Values of the Digital Humanities,' in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 24–29; Patrik Svensson, 'Beyond the Big Tent,' in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 36–49.

¹⁴² John R. Logan, Jason Jindrich, and Hyoungjin Shin, 'Mapping America in 1880: The Urban Transition Historical GIS Project,' *Historical Methods* 44, 1 (2011), 49. The research project 'Mapping America in 1880' has, for example, made census information from over 50 million Americans in 39 cities available online, enabling researchers to produce quantitative historical research on social relations by analysing patterns of, for example, segregation, assimilation, immigrant generations, and neighbourhood relations.

Chapter 1

Online mapping facilities within both academic and non-academic projects on Jewish heritage and history have been launched,¹⁴³ but most do not explicitly analyse the spatial patterns generated through their work. Jewish studies have, indeed, started to incorporate the use of GIS rather slowly, but when they do, ground-breaking results often follow. Research on Jews in the Byzantine Empire proves, for example, the scholarly over-emphasis on the existence of urban Jewries, and produces evidence for a much larger population distribution across time and space.¹⁴⁴ Mapping population patterns of Jewish communities in pre-Second World War Poland, Malgorzata Hanzl does not only investigate the motives behind migration and settlement, but, more importantly, proves these processes to be linked to the modern development of individual preferences.¹⁴⁵

Despite the informative results of GIS population mapping, the methodology has, however, already been accused of producing 'static residential spaces,'¹⁴⁶ the work tool trapping mobile environments and actors within the boundaries of the chosen date and location of mapping. Don Lafreniere and Jason Gilliland's proposed methodological framework adds physical urban attributes, information on socio-familial relationships, and qualitative narrative sources into the GIS-mapping. Doing this, they can examine an individual's complex social networks in the streetscape over time.¹⁴⁷ While GIS-mappings on individual uses of Stockholm will be used in chapters three and four, this section will introduce and explore the socio-economic and spatial identities of Stockholm's Jewish populations. GIS-mappings have been created for the years 1870, 1909 and 1935,¹⁴⁸ providing a possibility for comparisons and thus attempting to engage with the

¹⁴³ See, for example: *Historic Synagogues of Europe*, accessed: June 13, 2019, URL: <www.historicsynagogueurope.org/synagogue-map>; *Jewish Places*, accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.jewish-places.de>; *Key Documents of German-Jewish History: A Digital Source Edition* (2019), accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.jewish-history-online.net>; Laurence Leitenberg, 'Maps of Jewish Communities and their Populations in Europe: 1750-1950,' *International Institute for Jewish Genealogy and Paul Jacobi Center* (2004), accessed: June 13, 2019, URL: <www.iiig.org/tools-and-technologies/maps-of-jewish-communities/>; *Mapping Jewish LA* (2018), accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.mappingjewishla.org>.

¹⁴⁴ Gethin Rees, Nicholas de Lange, and Alexander Panayotov, 'Mapping the Jewish Communities of the Byzantine Empire using GIS,' in *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, eds. Justin Yoo, Andrea Serbini, and Caroline Barron (New York: Routledge, 2019), 116. The open access website is <www.byzantinejewry.net>.

¹⁴⁵ Hanzl, 'Jewish Communities in Pre-War Central Poland,' 231.

¹⁴⁶ Don Lafreniere, and Jason Gilliland, "'All the World's Stage:' A GIS Framework for Recreating Personal Time-Space from Qualitative and Quantitative Sources,' *Transactions in GIS* 19, 2 (2015): 226.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 227–240, quote from 235.

¹⁴⁸ 1909 has the best digital sources, and was thus chosen as the second case study. While I gathered material from the non-digital communal taxations list of the Mosaic Congregation for 1939, the local city taxation list for 1939 was not digitally available. The last digital taxation records for Stockholm's population, as of 2019, belong to 1935, and this list has therefore, because of time management reasons, been used for the mapping of the 1939 population, meaning that the study is unable to analyse the spatial strategies adopted by Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany, arriving to Sweden up to the beginning of the 1940s. The

before-mentioned spatial stagnation. Due to the time constraints and resources noted by Don Lafreniere and Jason Gilliland to be needed for their excellent inclusion of physical attributes and socio-familial data information,¹⁴⁹ this analysis will not include those aspects. On the other hand, since the overall structure of the thesis will narrate the reader from the macro-perspective of overviewing maps to the micro-perspective of individual movements, as will be discussed below, the static images derived from the population mappings will be combined with the complexity of qualitative examples, thus avoiding a ‘condensed or reduced representation’¹⁵⁰ of Stockholm’s Jews.

To map the Jewish population in Stockholm, a manual cross-reference of Jews listed in the Mosaic Congregation’s membership lists, the non-Mosaic Congregation members in ‘alien faith confessional’ lists at local church parishes and local city taxation lists provides information on residence, name, gender, marital status, age, occupation, birth place and internal taxation.¹⁵¹ Only

1935/9 mapping is, subsequently, an amalgamation of information from years with a four-year gap, and thus, less exact.

¹⁴⁹ Lafreniere, and Gilliland, ‘All the World’s Stage,’ 243.

¹⁵⁰ Rieder, and Röhle, ‘Digital Methods,’ 73.

¹⁵¹ The Mosaic Congregation had to keep membership lists for the taxation of Stockholm’s Jews until 1910, but continued keeping internal membership lists until the 1930s. Since a membership demanded a Swedish citizenship, these membership lists do not include all Jews living in Stockholm, but rather represent the more integrated and/or wealthier part of the community. Information-wise, the hand-written membership lists are extensive, with information on family connections, age, gender, employment and nationality. Since the lists post-1910 were not obligatory, they, however, do not include as much information. The communal taxation lists of 1909 respectively 1939 provide more information for these years. They, however, only incorporate the – mostly – male family heads, do not include all family members, and only provide information on employment, address and communal tax.

Since Swedish citizens up to 1951 had to be legally registered to a religious group, Jewish individuals who could not or were not members of the Mosaic Congregation had to be registered as ‘alien faith confessioners’ at local church parishes. These lists are digitally available at the Swedish State Archive. Notified as ‘M,’ ‘Mos’ or ‘Mosiack faith confessional,’ Jewish individuals moving into a new parish were registered, complete with address, age, familial relationships, and sometimes also employment and nationality. ‘Alien faith confessional’ lists were not, however, collected by all local parishes for the three years covered in this study, alternatively they were destroyed and thus unavailable for research. The majority of the lists start at the beginning of the 20th century, with only a few available for the end of the 19th century. The mapping for 1870 will, therefore, unfortunately not include any non-members of the Mosaic Congregation. Moreover, not all lists are, as of 2019, digitally available at the archive, some being closed due to reasons of integrity, others not being digitalised.

The local city taxation records, digitally available at Stockholm’s City Archive for the years 1870, 1905, 1909, 1911 and 1935, were used to find Jewish residences. By cross-referencing the names from the Jewish population lists recorded from the two previous sources, with the alphabetically ordered taxation records, individual’s home addresses could be found. The city taxation records only include people who worked and thus needed to pay taxes, which is why many Jewish women and impoverished members cannot be found in these records. Lists of female taxable workers exist for the years 1909 and 1935, but wives and daughters living with their husbands or fathers cannot be found. Educated guesses have, therefore, been made about the home addresses of these wives and daughters. Here, spelling differences or mistakes have most probably resulted in the loss of several individuals. The lists are only digital copies and not interactive search engines (apart from the 1909 list), making the search for different name versions too time-consuming for this project. Furthermore, since the last digital taxation records for Stockholm’s population,

adult Jews who defined themselves as Jews are included, thus ensuring their conscious identification as Jewish.¹⁵² In alignment with the digital discipline's belief in transparency,¹⁵³ the methodological problems for this information capture and mapping process must be engaged with. Different name spellings made the manual search for addresses difficult and likely incomplete. The local parishes are related to the geography of Stockholm, see figure 3, and the spatial distribution of individuals is surely affected since not all parishes' 'alien faith confessioner' exist or are available for research up until 2019.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, while some of the addresses from 1870 and 1909 had to be manually changed for the conversion into geographical coordinates, the historical maps from 1863, 1909 and 1934, onto which the population are plotted, were georeferenced; two processes that potentially offset the exact location of Jewish residences.¹⁵⁵ Lastly, due to the limits of this researcher's GIS-literacy and the project's duration,

as of 2019, belongs to 1935, this list has, because of time management reasons, been used for the mapping of the 1939 population.

Although more people were registered in the local 'Rotemansarkivet,' which is both digital and collected all people who lived in Stockholm, the taxation lists were chosen because they provide information for 1870 and 1935, while 'Rotemansarkivet' only has information from 1878-1926. To compare the sources, I tried to locate all surnames beginning with a 'B' from the 1935-list, finding 22.1 per cent in the taxation list and 28.9 per cent in 'Rotemansarkivet.' I judge that it was more important to include 1870 and 1935 rather than finding 23.5 per cent more people.

Thus, the following sources have been used to create the population lists for 1870, 1909 and 1935: Mosaic church books for 1855-1894, 1855-1916, 1891-1910 and 1891-1943, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/1-7, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Parish book 1911-1935, SE/SSA/0001/G_I_a/1, Church Archive of Adolf Fredrik; Parish books 1919-1931 and 1932-1941, SE/SSA/6003/G_I_b/1-2, Church Archive of Engelbrekt, SCA; Parish book 1906, SE/SSA/6021/G_I/1, Church Archive of Gustav Vasa, SCA; Parish books 1889-1921 and 1911-1940, SE/SSA/6009/G_III/1-2, Church Archive of Jakob, SCA; Parish books 1911-1925 and 1911-1939, SE/SSA/G_IV/1-2, Church Archive of Johannes, SCA; Parish books 1911-1921 and 1921-1936, SE/SSA/0009/G_V_a/a/1-2, Church Archive of Katarina, SCA; Parish book 1911-1926, SE/SSA/6024/G_III/1, Church Archive of Matteus; Parish book 1911-1935, SE/SSA/6025/G_I/2, Church Archive of Oscar, SCA; Parish book 1917-1940, SE/SSA/6030/G_I_a/1, Church Archive of Sofia, SCA; Parish book 1930-1940, SE/SSA/6001/G_III/1, Church Archive of S:t Göran, SCA; (1870, 1905, 1909, 1911, 1935) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

¹⁵² Membership in the Mosaic Congregation and the registration as 'M/Mos/Mosaic faith confessioner' in the local parish lists ensure that the individual defined themselves as Jewish. Although several more individuals with similar surnames were found in the taxation lists – and most probably being Jews – they could not be included, since they had not been found as a Jew in any of the other sources. The adult age has been calculated to be 18 or older, although the age for adulthood actually occurred at 21 throughout the whole period. I've chosen 18 because the majority of these individuals in the lists were already working, making them taxable.

¹⁵³ See, for example: Rieder, and Röhle, 'Digital Methods,' 82; Rees, de Lange, and Panayotov, 'Mapping the Jewish Communities of the Byzantine Empire using GIS,' 109–114. The latter define uncertain locations in the GIS-mapping, thus allowing the user to draw own conclusions on the material.

¹⁵⁴ The unavailable parishes are: Högalid, Maria, Hedvig Eleonora, Storkyrkan and Kungsholmen.

¹⁵⁵ To be able to map the addresses of the Jewish home onto a map with GIS, the addresses had to be converted into x/y coordinates. This was done with GPS Visualizer (<www.gpsvisualizer.com/geocoder/>). Stockholm's street names, as well as street numbers, were largely changed during the 1930s. To get the correct coordinates, the addresses had to be manually changed to today's equivalent. The large lists of 1909 and 1939, however, made changes of street numbers a too time-consuming task, which is why they have not been altered. Furthermore, parts of Stockholm's city centre were rebuilt at the beginning of the 20th century, removing and altering existing streets. Locations on these streets had to be changed to today's

enumeration district (ED) boundaries – a complementary tool that allows the map to be divided into urban districts, and the subsequent comparisons between different districts – have not been used for topographical analysis, a feature that would have been most fruitful for this study. Because of these methodological challenges, the percentages of individuals with found addresses vary throughout the study. 65.1 per cent (586 individuals) of Stockholm's 900 Jews in 1870, 58.7 per cent (1,527 individuals) of Stockholm's 2,600 Jews in 1910, and 45.2 per cent (2,488 individuals) of Stockholm's approximately 5,500 Jews in 1935 were found after the data capture.¹⁵⁶ The general residential distributions of the three population can be viewed in appendices A-C. While clearly not representing the whole Jewish community, the GIS analysis can still offer patterns of the spatial, social, economic and cultural identifications of Stockholm's Jewry from their emancipation in 1870 to 1939.

While the Mosaic Congregation's members are easily located through lists of taxed members and/or members with votes, the members of other religious subgroups are more difficult to find, demanding more creative solutions. There are no specific archives related to these religious group; they are, indeed, even seldomly found in the Jewish Community's archive at the Swedish State Archive. Nonetheless, by using different applications and petitions for the construction or maintenance of traditional religious institutions, such as *mikveh* or religious afternoon schools, to the board of the Mosaic Congregation, internal subgroups have been located. Furthermore, a personal archive belonging to Jacob Ettlinger, the chairman of the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael*, holds an undated, suggestive membership list, which has been cross-referenced to Stockholm City's taxation lists from 1935. The lists of Jewish populations (referred to as 1870, 1909 and 1935), the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members (referred to as T-70, T-09 and T-35), members of *Adat Jisrael* in 1935 (referred to as AJ-35),¹⁵⁷ people supporting the upkeep of the

equivalent x/y coordinates. The RMS error numbers for the georeferenced maps are as follows: 1863 (unknown), 1909 (26,0439), and 1934 (29,1225). The maps were provided by *Stockholmskällan*: '1863 års karta över Stockholm,' (1863), SE/SSA/0234/J 4 A:6 1863 års karta (38 blad), *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 14, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9112>; Alfred Bentzer, Topografiska corpsen, '1909 års karta över Stockholm,' (1862-1909), SE/SSA/0234/J_4_A:21 Karta öfver Stockholm, Bentzer 1909 (12 blad), *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 14, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/31530>; H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

¹⁵⁶ Svanberg, and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 237; Maier-Wolthausen, *Zuflucht im Norden*, 300, gives the 1939 population number to 7,000, and Rudberg, *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust*, 111, 3,063 Jewish refugees had arrived to Sweden in 1939, of which 2,000 might be assumed to live in Stockholm. The 1933 Jewish population consisted, therefore, of 5,000 Jews, and the 1935 population might therefore be assumed to hold 5,500 members in 1935, considering that more people fled from Nazi Germany at the end of the 1930s.

¹⁵⁷ The following sources have been used to create population AJ-35: List of possible members of *Adat Jisrael*, 1926, SE/RA/720483/5/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA; Communal taxation lists for 1939, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/109, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1935) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

mikveh in 1922 (referred to as M-22),¹⁵⁸ people supporting the creation of the traditional religious afternoon school *Talmud Torah* in 1925 (referred to as T-25),¹⁵⁹ and people supporting the impoverished, traditional teacher Jacob Marcus who wanted to be employed in the *Talmud Torah* in 1933 (referred to as J-33),¹⁶⁰ will be compared in three consecutive steps: a) social status, b) class belonging, and c) national origin. The groups' struggles for the existence of and employment in traditional institutions will be investigated in further detail later on in chapter three.

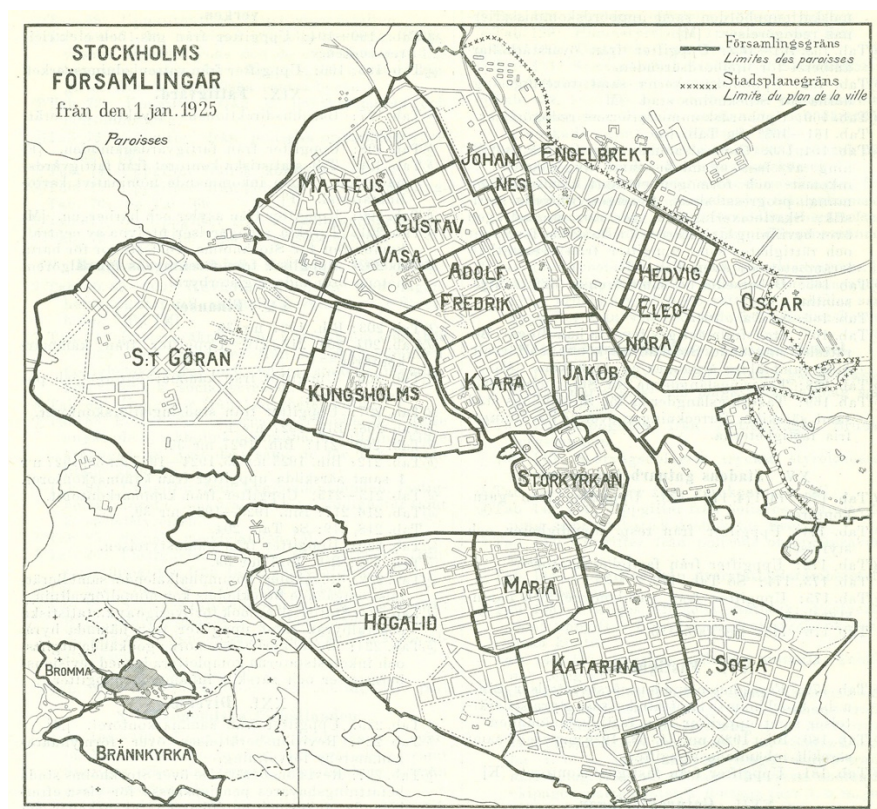


Figure 3. Parish districts in Stockholm, 1925.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ The following sources have been used to create population M-22: Application for financial support for a ritual bath to the Mosaic Congregation, written on January 18, 1922, in protocol from board meeting on February 26, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Communal voting and taxation lists for 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1925) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; Population lists 1909 and 1939.

¹⁵⁹ The following sources have been used to create population T-25: Application to the Mosaic Congregation, written by Jacob Ettlinger on January 10, 1925, in protocol from board meeting on February 8, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Communal voting and taxation lists for 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1925) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; Population list 1909.

¹⁶⁰ The following sources have been used to create population J-33: Letter from Jacob Marcus to Talmud Torah on, January 5, 1933, SE/RA/720483/5/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA; Communal voting and taxation lists for 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/104, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1935) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

¹⁶¹ 'Karta över Stockholms församlingar 1925,' (1925), Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/18632>.

The concept of social status is for the purpose of the thesis based on Till van Rahden's application of Max Weber's distinction between class and status.¹⁶² As the latter explains, status is related to lifestyle, privilege and the esteem of professions, which the former finds by looking at occupation patterns. While Till van Rahden divides the Jewish population in Breslau into categories of workers, petit *bourgeois*, prosperous *bourgeois* and wealthy *bourgeois*, the source material for this study, however, allows for more distinguishable terms, opting for, from low social status to high social status, heavy labourer, manual worker, artisan, lower trade, office worker, lower civil servant, education, upper trade, artist, free professionals (the contemporary Swedish term for educated professions that could be performed at own establishments), higher civil servant and estate owners.¹⁶³ The concept of class, as a difference, refers to income and actual economic possibilities and limitations.¹⁶⁴ In this study, incomes are deduced from the Mosaic Congregation's internal and income-proportional taxation system.¹⁶⁵ It thus limits the analysis to those with a membership in the Mosaic Congregation, but also portrays and compares the class belonging of different religious groups. Because of the source material, only the taxed members of the Mosaic Congregation in 1870, 1909 and 1935, *Adat Jisrael*, and the list of support for Jacob Marcus are included in this analysis.

To enable comparison of national origins between 1870 and 1939, this study is forced to set up stagnant national borders. While the category of Germany includes all German-speaking states existing before the unification in 1871, Austria-Hungary also includes areas that belonged to, for

¹⁶² Till van Rahden, *Jews and other Germans*, 23.

¹⁶³ The professions within each employment categories are: Heavy labourer (Industrial worker, Worker, Tinsmith, Machinist, Metal labourer, Port worker); Manual worker (Janitor, Assembler, Building worker, Seamstress, Seaman, Tobacco worker, Cigar worker, Electrical assembler, Foreman, Painter, Installer, Mechanic, Upholsterer, Warehouse worker, Matron, Laundress, Kitchen worker, Instrument maker, Housekeeper, Barber, Hairdresser, Polisher, Shop assistant, Conductor, Guard, Chauffeur, Cemetery worker, Child carer, Lady companion, Cashier, Server, Waiter); Artisan (Stonemason, Watchmaker, Saddle maker, Tailor, Shoemaker, Butcher, Bookbinder, Book printer, Typographer, Stenographer, Hat maker, Baker, Presser, Carpenter, Arborist, Charcutier); Lower Trade (Agent, Procurist, Travelling trader, Peddler, Sales person); Office Worker (Assistant, Banking clerk, Clerk, Office clerk, Office manager, Secretary, Telephonist, Accountant, Telegrapher, Manager, Notary); Lower Civil Servant (Controller, Debt collector, Inspector, Library clerk, Organiser, Post clerk, Public clerk, Registrator, Surveyor, Nurse); Education (Students); Upper Trade (Antique dealer, Art dealer, Shop owner, Confectioner, Executive manager, Furrier, General manager, Wholesale merchant, Manufacturer, Trader, Businessman, Book shop owner, Café owner); Artist (Cantor, Musical director, Chamber musician, Composer, Actor, Artist, Musician, Dancer, Decorator, Fashionist, Photographer, Reciter, Singer, Sculptor, Writer); Free Professional (Architect, Professor, BA/Fil Lic/Fil Mag, Doctor, Med Dr/Med Lic, Lawyer, Pharmacist, Banker, Rabbi, Trustee, Representative, Chef, Editor, Publisher, Solicitor); Higher Civil Servant (Judge, Chemist, Consul, Principal, Teacher, Lecturer, Admiral advisor); Estate (Estate owner, Rentier).

¹⁶⁴ Till van Rahden, *Jews and other Germans*, 23.

¹⁶⁵ As described in the new statutes from February 7, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/F/F_23/5, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

example, Romania and Czechoslovakia after the empire's demise in 1918. Russia also becomes an enveloping category to enable larger comparison, therefore including Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Russian-annexed Poland. Furthermore, the information is drawn from the Mosaic Congregation's membership lists and the 'alien faith confessioner' lists, where the nation, area or city of origin is often noted in the margins. It is unclear if the nation reflects the migrant's understanding of their homeland or denotes a current political status. Still, as all population groups but the list of support for Jacob Marcus are included, inner-communal comparisons can be made.

The inner-communal differences in social status can be viewed in tables 1 and 2. In comparison to the populations of 1870, 1909 and 1935, *Adat Jisrael's* members and the groups expressing desire to keep traditional religious institutions had high numbers of employed individuals, matching and even surpassing the percentage number of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members. Their large exclusion of women can, however, be one reason for these differences. With the exception of *Adat Jisrael*, the religiously traditional groups displayed a higher concentration of people employed within the lower and upper trades. The total percentages of traders were certainly so high among the supporters of *mikveh* and *Talmud Torah* (78.7 per cent and 69.8 per cent) that it can be presumed that these groups were religiously mobilised through occupational networks, their social status adding another layer to their group identity. *Adat Jisrael's* occupation pattern, on the other hand, was situated almost exactly between the patterns of the Jewish population and the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members in 1935. Its members were, furthermore, slightly situated towards the middle of the ladder of social status, with less percentages of estate owners, free professionals, artists, artisans and heavy labourers. Of the four traditional groups, only the people supporting teacher Jacob Marcus had an unusually high percentage of manual workers and members with unknown occupations. Although three of the traditional groups are structured around applications, which might have involved the conscious decision to mainly include people with higher social status, the statistics clearly conclude that first, people in occupations with middle or high social status were supportive of traditional religious institutions and orthodox practices, second, religious traditions were sometimes interlinked with occupational networks, and third, the differences between the Reform movement linked to Mosaic Congregation's taxed members and traditional or orthodox practitioners were not as different as previously believed.

Table 1. Occupational distribution, 1870-1935, in percentages.¹⁶⁶

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	M-22	T-25	J-33
MEN							
Employed	54.3	74.2	66.8	79.8	97.9	91.0	76.0
<i>Estate Owner</i>	0.5	0.3	0.1	-	-	-	-
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	0.7	4.6	1.3	-	-	-	-
<i>Free Professional</i>	2.7	15.2	12.0	6.7	2.1	3.0	4.0
<i>Artist</i>	0.7	1.3	1.5	1.1	-	-	-
<i>Upper Trade</i>	24.3	28.9	24.4	37.2	53.2	45.5	36.0
<i>Education</i>	0.7	0.3	1.3	2.2	-	3.0	-
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	-	1.3	1.7	1.1	-	3.0	-
<i>Office Worker</i>	8.6	4.1	5.3	4.6	4.3	6.1	-
<i>Lower Trade</i>	13.9	16.2	5.6	6.7	25.5	24.3	12.0
<i>Artisan</i>	1.5	1.0	6.1	9.0	8.5	6.1	-
<i>Manual Worker</i>	0.7	1.0	5.7	10.1	4.3	-	20.0
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	-	-	1.8	1.1	-	-	4.0
Unknown	4.6	0.3	0.9	1.1	2.1	3.0	20.0
Total	58.9	74.5	67.7	80.9	100.0	93.9	96.0
WOMEN							
Employed	2.7	3.6	16.0	-	-	-	4.0
<i>Estate</i>	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	-	0.7	1.4	-	-	-	-
<i>Free Professional</i>	-	0.3	1.2	-	-	-	-
<i>Artist</i>	-	0.3	0.4	-	-	-	-

¹⁶⁶ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1934, AJ-35, M-22, T-25 and J-33. For numbers, visit appendix D.

<i>Upper Trade</i>	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Education</i>	-	-	0.6	-	-	-	-
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	-	0.5	1.1	-	-	-	-
<i>Office Worker</i>	0.5	0.5	4.7	-	-	-	-
<i>Lower Trade</i>	0.2	0.5	1.4	-	-	-	-
<i>Artisan</i>	0.3	-	0.8	-	-	-	4.0
<i>Manual Worker</i>	1.2	0.8	4.3	-	-	-	-
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wife	22.7	5.2	9.3	18.0	-	6.1	-
Miss	8.6	9.3	2.6	-	-	-	-
Widow	6.6	6.9	3.4	1.1	-	-	-
Divorced	-	-	1.0	-	-	-	-
Unknown	0.5	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Total	41.1	25.5	32.3	19.1	-	6.1	4.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2. Occupational distribution 1870-1935, men and women combined, in percentages.¹⁶⁷

	1870	T-70	1909	T-09	1935	T-35
Employed	52.9	57.0	59.7	77.8	66.2	82.8
<i>Estate Owner</i>	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	0.9	0.7	2.6	5.4	2.0	2.7
<i>Free Professional</i>	2.4	2.9	6.3	15.5	8.1	13.2
<i>Artist</i>	1.5	0.7	0.9	1.5	2.3	1.9
<i>Upper Trade</i>	18.9	24.7	9.6	28.9	11.5	24.4

¹⁶⁷ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909 and 1935. For numbers, visit appendix E.

<i>Education</i>	0.7	0.7	2.6	0.3	2.4	1.9
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	0.2	-	1.0	1.8	1.8	2.8
<i>Office Worker</i>	9.9	9.0	4.0	4.6	5.8	9.9
<i>Lower Trade</i>	12.8	14.2	12.2	16.8	7.2	7.1
<i>Artisan</i>	3.1	1.7	8.0	1.0	7.2	6.9
<i>Manual Worker</i>	1.9	1.9	7.7	1.8	11.7	10.0
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	0.3	-	4.6	-	2.0	1.8
Wife	20.8	22.7	21.9	5.2	18.2	9.3
Miss	12.8	8.6	11.3	9.3	3.6	2.6
Widow	7.8	6.6	3.9	7.0	4.9	3.4
Divorced	-	-	-	-	0.6	1.0
Unknown	5.7	5.1	3.2	0.7	6.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Using 1935 as a spatial in-depth study for comparisons with the traditional groups, the plotted occupation patterns in figures 4-8 show that all groups but Jacob Marcus's supporters were scattered all over Stockholm. The mapping of the 1935 population in figure 4 displays the general relationship between the urban topography and social status. While the majority of estate owners, free professionals and higher civil servants resided in *Östermalm*, on southern *Kungsholmen*, and to a certain extent in *Norrmalm*, the northern parts of *Södermalm* was also the residential district for some free professionals and upper traders. Its southern areas, together with *Vasastaden* and *Kungsholmen*, were instead the main residential location for people employed as manual workers and heavy labourers. Artists mainly resided on *Södermalm*, while artisans lived all over Stockholm. Lower traders were concentrated on *Södermalm*. Similarly, office workers generally chose to settle in the eastern outskirts of *Östermalm*, possibly displaying a spatial strategy for social mobilisation. The southern island as a whole was clearly not only a slum district but an urban home for several Jewish groups with a higher social status. On the other hand, employees in occupation categories linked to education and civil service wanted to be associated with *Östermalm*, suggesting the district's intrinsic role in the elevation of one's social status.

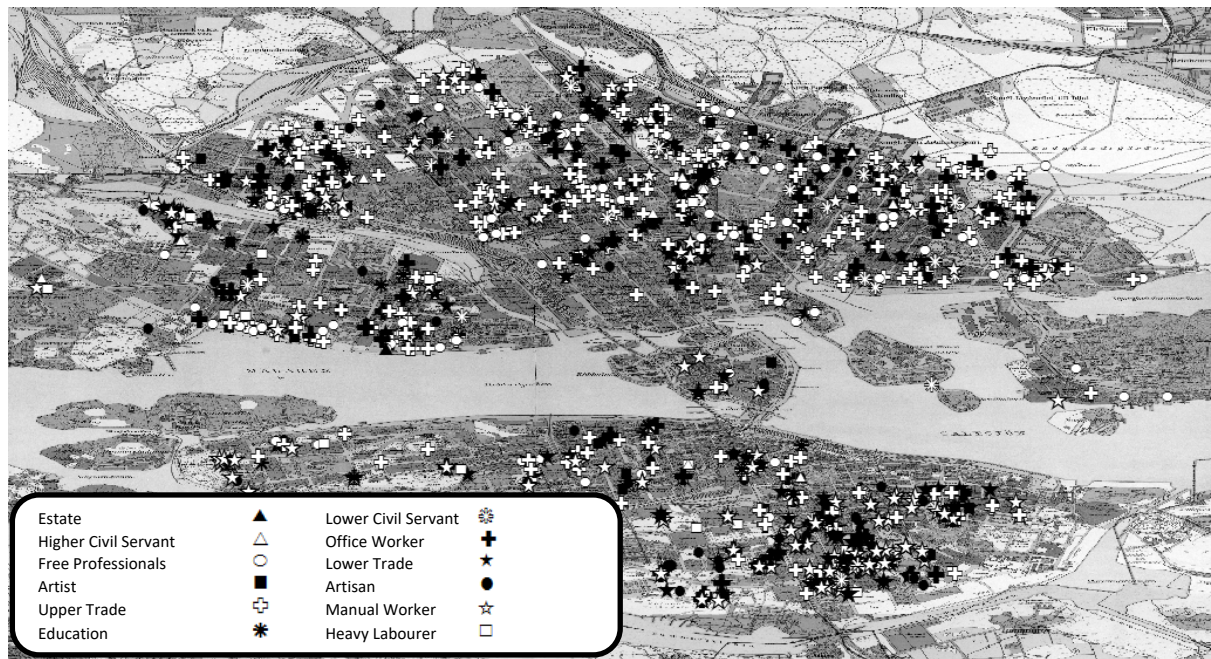


Figure 4. Occupational distribution of the Jewish population, 1935.¹⁶⁸

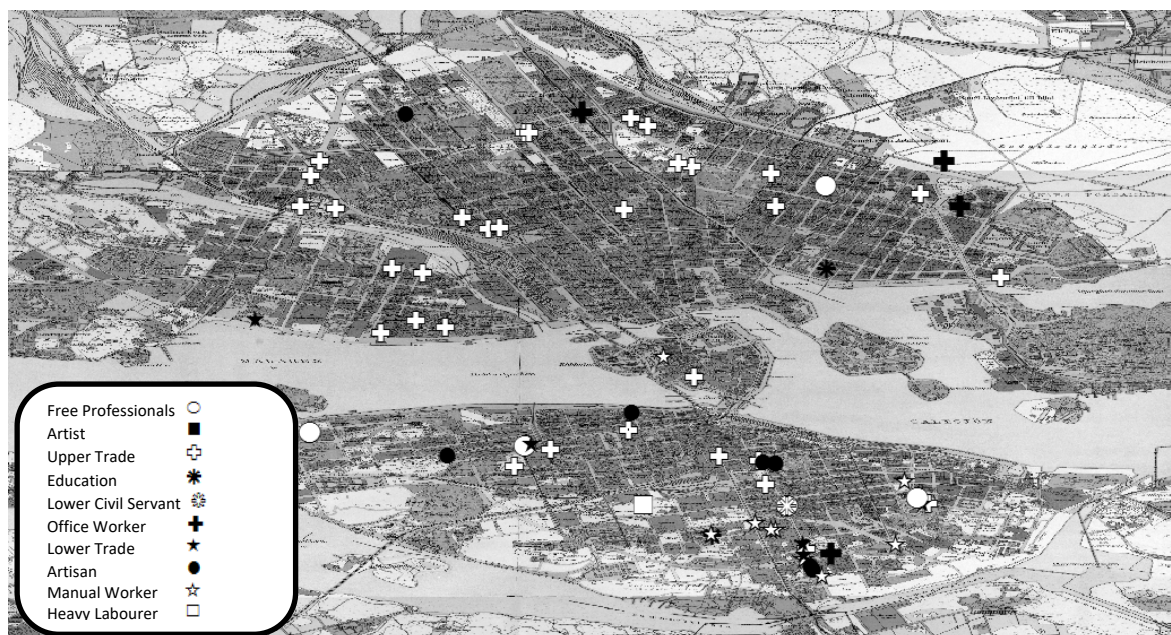


Figure 5. Occupational distribution of *Adat Jisrael's* members, 1935.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Based on population list 1935; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

¹⁶⁹ Based on population list AJ-35; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

While *Adat Jisrael*'s members displayed a similar distribution in their occupational pattern, see figure 5, only upper traders in *Östermalm* visited the orthodox synagogue, despite the synagogue's location on northern *Södermalm*. Similarly, the supporters for *mikveh*, also located on northern *Södermalm*, were distributed all over Stockholm, as can be seen in figure 6. Indeed, almost no inhabitants from the southern area of *Södermalm* supported the survival of the ritual bath. The *Talmud Torah* was, on the other hand, not supported by any of *Östermalm*'s Jewish inhabitants linked to the free professions, the civil service or office sector. Perhaps traditional education had to be discarded in their quest for social mobility. Still, as can be seen in figure 7, the *Talmud Torah* received support from upper traders on *Södermalm*, who clearly preferred religious education instead of the bath rituals, while the big concentration of lower traders on *Södermalm* seemed to ignore this religious institution.

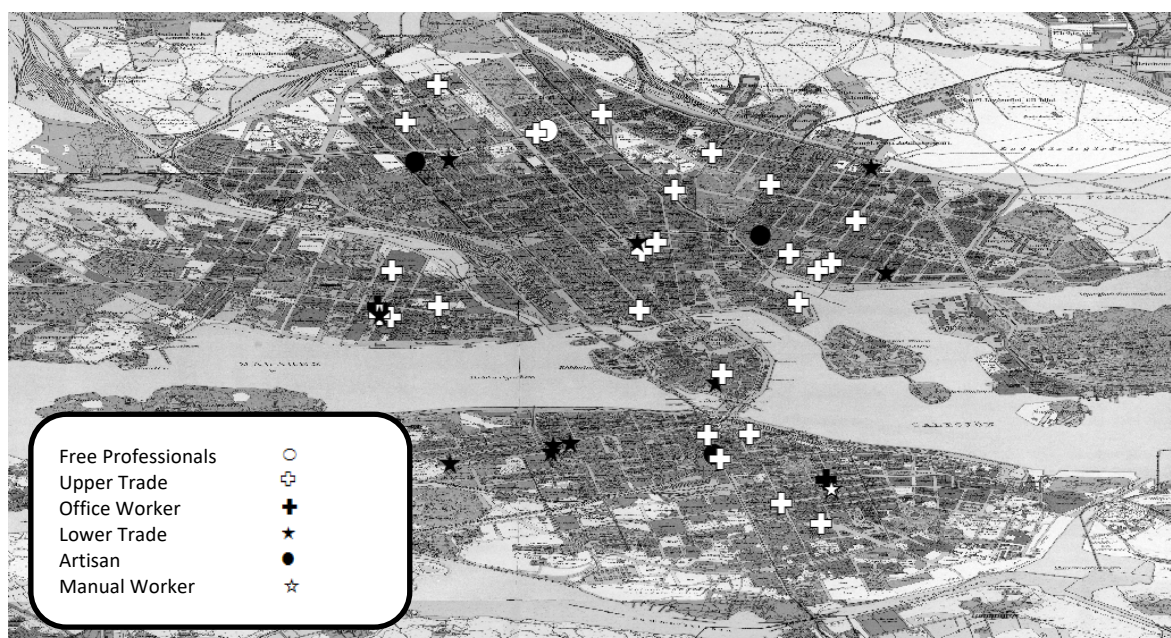


Figure 6. Occupational distribution of *mikveh* supporters, 1922.¹⁷⁰

Reversing the situation, Jacob Marcus was supported by upper traders from *Norrmalm* and *Östermalm*, and manual workers and lower traders from *Södermalm*, see figure 8. The spatial distribution of traditional supporters and orthodox practitioners were clearly not organised in spatial enclaves in the slum or industrial districts of the city. Indeed, some closer-residing people

¹⁷⁰ Based on population list M-22; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

Chapter 1

who fitted the previous scholarly criteria for an orthodox identification, demonstratively chose to not support inner-communal bids for financial aid towards religious institutions. Instead, individuals with a high status were mobilised in uneven patterns across the whole city to become orthodox members and supporters of traditional institutions and rituals.

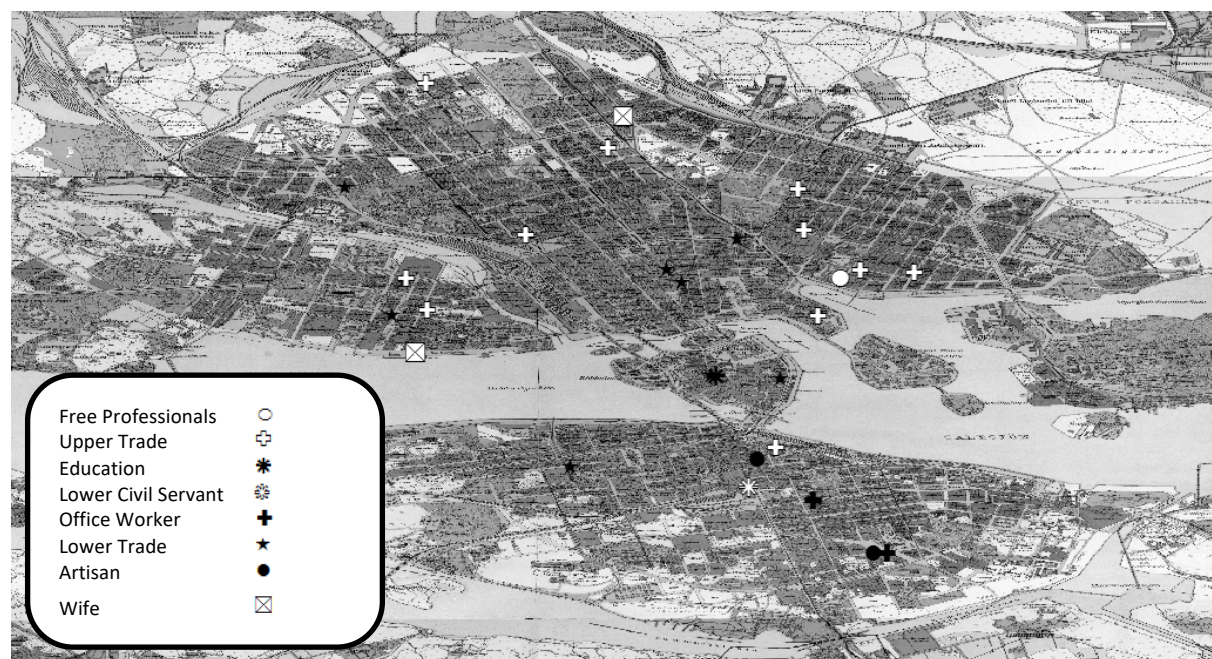


Figure 7. Occupational distribution of *Talmud Torah* supporters, 1925.¹⁷¹

While the spatial distribution of social status shows not only some social flexibility of urban spaces, although some districts were clearly related to a higher esteem, but also the largely non-existent, Jewish religious clusters, the analysis of the Jewish population's class belonging between 1870 and 1939 portrays more practical limitations on the establishment of Jewish residential homes. The percentage of taxed members in the populations of 1870, 1909 and 1935, as well as *Adat Jisrael* and the supporters of Jacob Marcus, can be seen in table 3. The percentage of Mosaic Congregational members among *Adat Jisrael*'s members is astonishingly high when compared to the general populations, while Jacob Marcus' male supporters are at a lower percentage. These statistics do not only proclaim the economically powerful members of *Adat Jisrael*, but also suggest wide class differences within the traditional-orthodox strand of the wider community.

¹⁷¹ Based on population list T-25; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pählman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

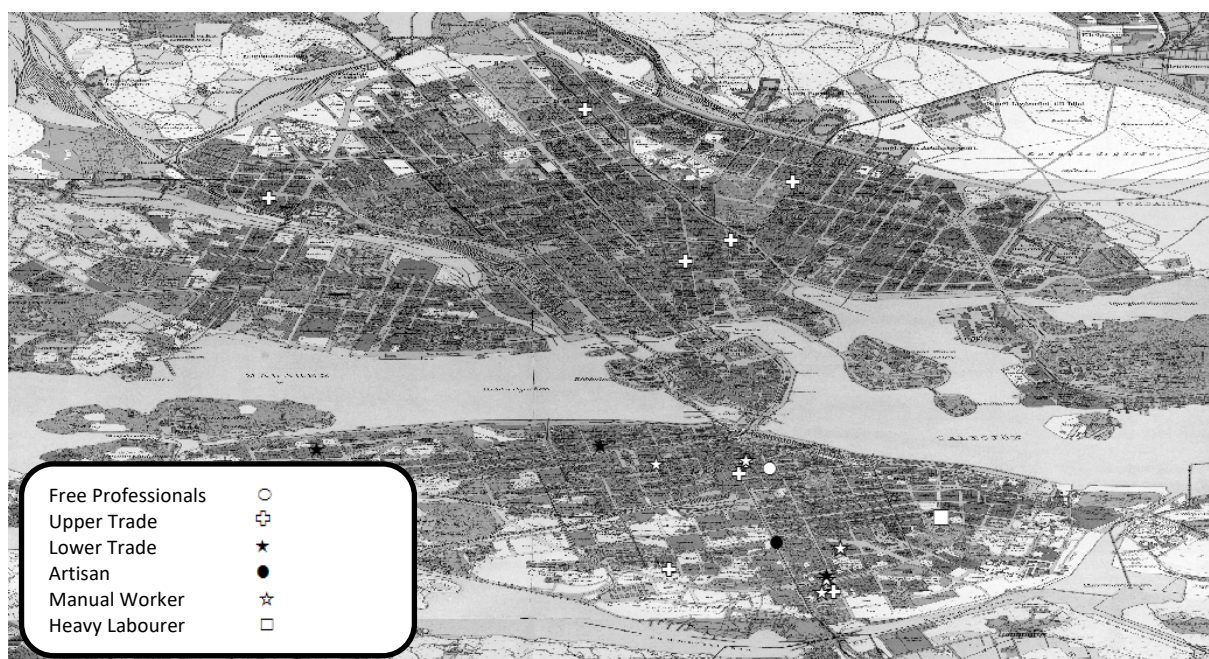


Figure 8. Occupational distribution of Jacob Marcus' supporters, 1933.¹⁷²

Going into greater detail, table 4 portrays that the individuals with memberships in both the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael* had higher internal taxes, and thus earned more. In relation to class, *Adat Jisrael*'s members were as a group combining their strong social status with a considerable wealth. Jacob Marcus' supporters were located at the bottom tax range, once again emphasising that the existence of different traditional groups was highlighted by wide socio-economic differences.

Table 3. The Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.¹⁷³

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	J-33
Men	74.8	35.2	51.6	66.7	25.0
Women	62.5	14.0	29.1	17.6	100.0
Overall	70.0	25.4	41.3	57.3	28.0

¹⁷² Based on population list J-33; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

¹⁷³ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1935, AJ-35 and J-33.

Table 4. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.¹⁷⁴

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	J-33
MEN					
>1,001	-	2.3	2.3	2.0	-
901-1,000	-	0.7	0.3	-	-
801-900	-	0.7	0.9	-	-
701-800	-	0.5	1.1	3.9	-
601-700	1.5	0.7	1.2	-	-
501-600	1.0	0.7	0.9	5.9	-
401-500	0.7	2.0	1.8	2.0	-
301-400	1.7	2.0	3.4	9.8	-
201-300	3.7	4.9	4.3	3.9	-
101-200	7.0	12.1	10.0	21.5	-
0-100	43.3	47.9	41.5	45.1	85.7
Total	58.9	74.5	67.7	94.1	85.7
WOMEN					
>1,001		0.3	0.2	-	-
901-1,000		-	0.1	-	-
801-900		-	0.1	-	-
701-800		0.3	0.1	-	-
601-700		-	-	-	-
501-600		0.3	0.2	-	-
401-500	0.5	0.3	0.4	-	-

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. For numbers, visit appendix F.

301-400	-	0.3	0.4	-	-
201-300	0.2	1.4	1.9	2.0	-
101-200	0.5	2.0	2.3	-	-
0-100	39.9	20.6	26.6	3.9	14.3
Total	41.1	25.5	32.3	5.9	14.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

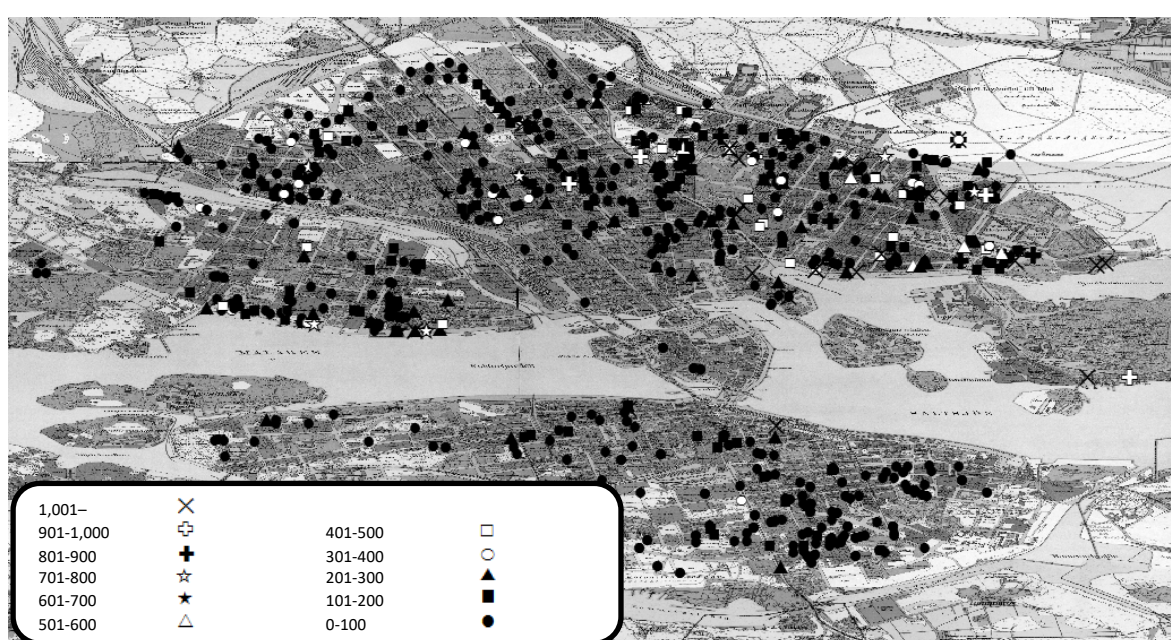


Figure 9. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1935.¹⁷⁵

Using the taxed members of the 1935 population as a spatial comparison once again, figure 9 shows that 68.1 per cent of the members paying 0-100 *kronor* were distributed across the whole city. Clearly, apartments for the working-classes existed in all urban districts, making no urban space impenetrable for the lower classes. On the other hand, wealthier Jews largely chose to settle in *Norrmalm* and *Östermalm*, although some *bourgeois* homes could be found along the waterfront promenades on *Kungsholmen* and *Djurgården*, as well as northern *Södermalm*. The wealthier individual's choice to settle in urban districts linked to a higher social status is clearer in

¹⁷⁵ Based on population list for 1935; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

Chapter 1

the example of *Adat Jisrael's* taxed members in 1935, see figure 10. Here, only the two lowest ranges were represented on *Södermalm* while wealthier members largely lived in the newly developed and modern areas of Stockholm. Apart from a small cluster of non-taxed Mosaic Congregational members on southern *Södermalm*, *Adat Jisrael's* members were scattered all over Stockholm. Jacob Marcus' untaxed supporters were for the most part located on *Södermalm* as a more homogenous group of lower-class members. Some Mosaic Congregational members from the lowest ranges of the taxed sums supported his petition for employment as a communal teacher and, as can be seen in figure 11, they were mainly distributed along Stockholm's outskirts. In the traditional and orthodox examples, class was a less flexible category than social status, clearly shaping the process of making Stockholm a Jewish home.

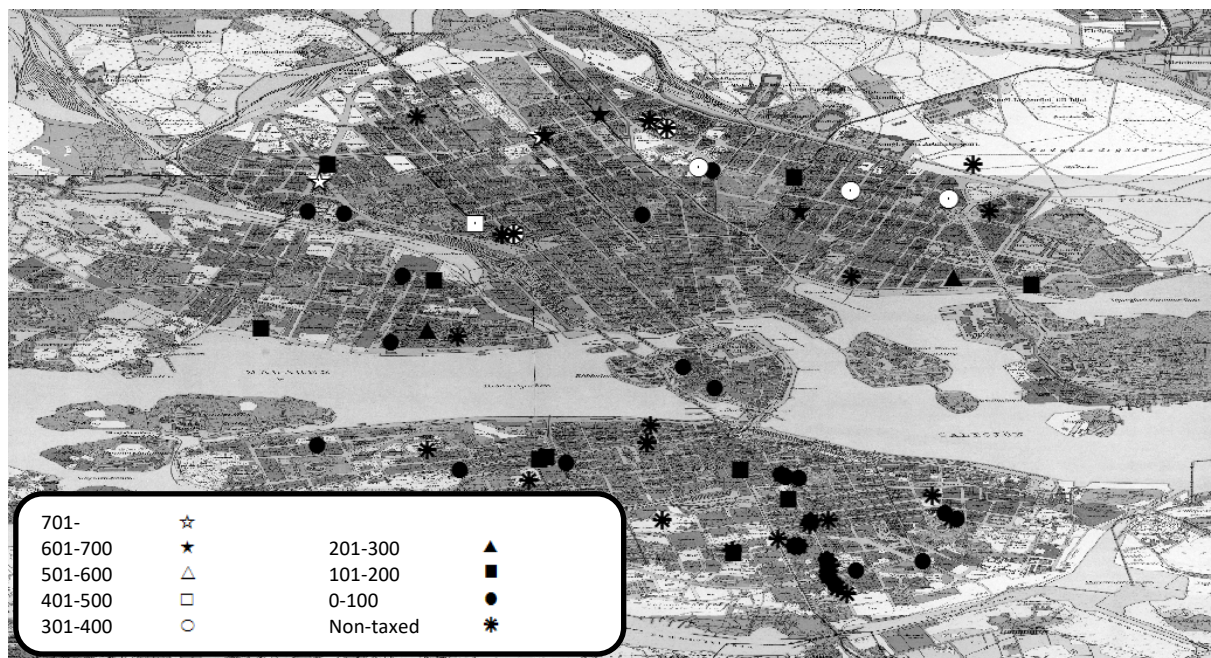


Figure 10. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members in *Adat Jisrael*, 1935.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Based on population list for AJ-35; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pählman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

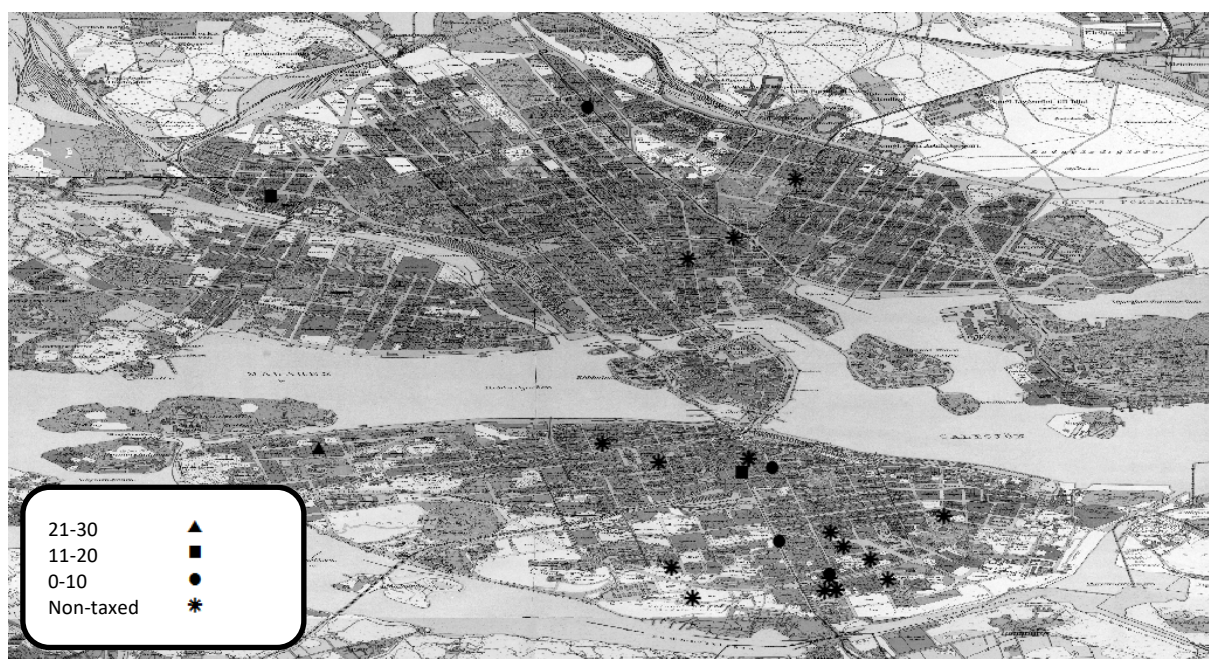


Figure 11. The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members among Jacob Marcus' supporters, 1933.¹⁷⁷

While class belonging constricted the Jewish individual's relationship with the urban landscape more than social status, the national origin was another significant factor shaping the geographical location of Jewish residential homes. As table 5 shows, the percentages of unknown origins within each population or group are rather high, emphasising the necessity to see the conclusions from this analysis as strong suggestions, not truth set in stone. Analysing the patterns of the populations in 1870, 1909 and 1935, it can be deduced that the number of German and Danish immigrants declined over time. Knowing the numbers of Eastern European immigrants arriving to Stockholm at the turn of the 20th century, the percentages of people from Russia and Poland seem, however, quite marginalised, hinting that the people with unknown origins were from an Eastern European country or/and the individuals not found in this research were mostly Eastern European immigrants, although it should be emphasised that these numbers also include all those born in Stockholm. The origin of the supporters of *mikveh* and *Talmud Torah* can thus be hypothesised to be linked to Russia and Poland or Stockholm. Although a heterogeneous group in terms of social status and class belongings, *Adat Jisrael* was, similarly, largely a group with an Eastern European origin. Looking at the Mosaic Congregation's members in table 6, the disadvantage for Russian and Polish immigrants previously mentioned becomes clear. Likewise,

¹⁷⁷ Based on population list for J-33; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

Chapter 1

the percentages of people born in Sweden but outside of Stockholm increased among the taxed members.

Table 5. The distribution of national origin, 1870-1939, in percentages.¹⁷⁸

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	M-22	T-25
Men						
Germany	10.8	9.8	1.7	2.2	2.1	-
Austria-Hungary	1.0	1.3	0.5	-	-	-
Russia	2.9	2.3	10.8	27.0	4.3	3.0
Poland	-	2.6	0.6	2.2	12.8	9.1
The Netherlands	0.2	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	1.7	2.1	0.2	-	-	3.0
Norway	-	0.5	0.5	-	-	-
Finland	-	0.3	-	-	-	-
France	-	-	0.3	-	-	-
The United Kingdom	-	0.3	-	-	-	-
The United States	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	7.6	15.9	5.6	4.5	12.8	3.0
Unknown	34.7	39.4	47.5	45.0	68.0	75.8
Total	58.9	74.5	67.7	80.9	100.0	93.9
Women						
Germany	5.9	1.5	0.4	-	-	3.0
Austria-Hungary	0.2	-	-	-	-	-

¹⁷⁸ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1935, AJ-35, M-22 and T-25. For numbers, visit appendix G.

Russia	-	-	3.5	9.0	-	-
Poland	1.2	-	0.1	1.1	-	-
The Netherlands	0.2	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	1.5	0.5	0.2	1.1	-	-
Norway	-	-	0.2	-	-	-
Finland	-	-	0.1	-	-	-
France	-	0.3	0.1	-	-	-
The United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	-
The United States	-	0.3	0.1	-	-	-
Sweden	5.0	6.2	2.9	-	-	-
Unknown	27.1	16.7	24.7	7.9	-	3.1
Total	41.1	25.5	32.3	19.1	-	6.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6. The distribution of national origin among the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in percentages.¹⁷⁹

	1870	T-70	1909	T-09	1935	T-35
Germany	14.4	16.6	7.5	11.3	3.7	2.0
Austria-Hungary	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.3	0.8	0.5
Russia	4.4	4.1	23.6	2.3	25.3	14.3
Poland	-	-	4.6	2.6	1.7	0.7
The Netherlands	0.5	0.5	0.1	-	0.1	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	0.0	-

¹⁷⁹ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909 and 1935. For numbers, visit appendix H.

Chapter 1

Denmark	2.4	3.2	1.4	2.6	0.5	0.4
Norway	-	-	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.7
Finland	0.3	-	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.1
France	-	-	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4
The United Kingdom	0.2	-	0.1	0.3	0.0	-
The United States	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.1
Sweden	12.8	12.5	17.7	22.2	7.5	8.6
Unknown	64.0	61.9	42.3	56.1	58.9	72.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The spatial distribution of national origins reveals perhaps the strongest influence on the Jewish relationship with the city's topography. Using the population of 1935 for the last comparison with the smaller religious groups, the existence of, perhaps not clusters but definitely, geographical preferences appear. The majority of individuals with a Russian origin gathered in north-eastern *Södermalm*, with smaller enclaves in western *Vasastaden* and north-eastern *Norrmalm*. Swedish-born Jews largely abandoned *Södermalm* for any other districts, suggesting the low social status Stockholmers associated with the island. German Jews seemed to prefer *Östermalm* and *Kungsholmen*. Although many exceptions existed, figure 12 portrays a Jewish community largely, but not completely, favouring an urban neighbourhood with similar national origins. Although spread out across Stockholm, the vast majority of *Adat Jisrael's* Russian members likewise lived on *Södermalm*, see figure 13. The large Russian group on *Södermalm* was, on the other hand, not the largest group of supporters for neither *mikveh* nor *Talmud Torah*, see figures 14 and 15. Indeed, national origin seemed to have no importance for the creation of these petitions.

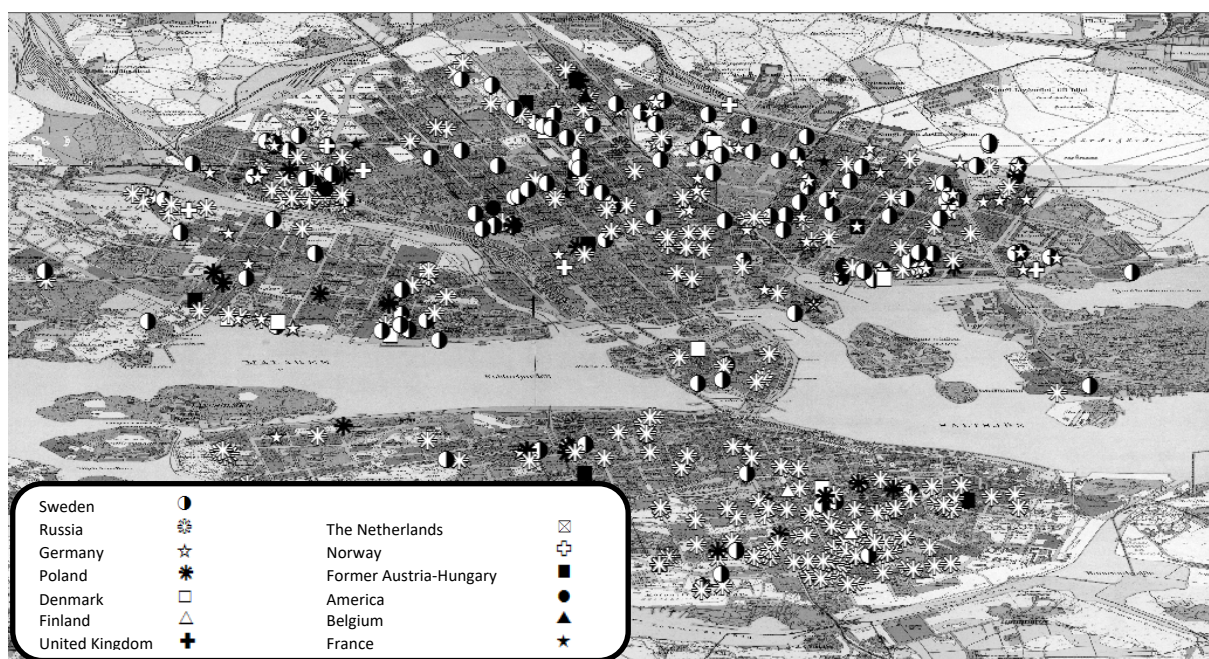


Figure 12. The distribution of national origin in the Jewish population, 1935.¹⁸⁰

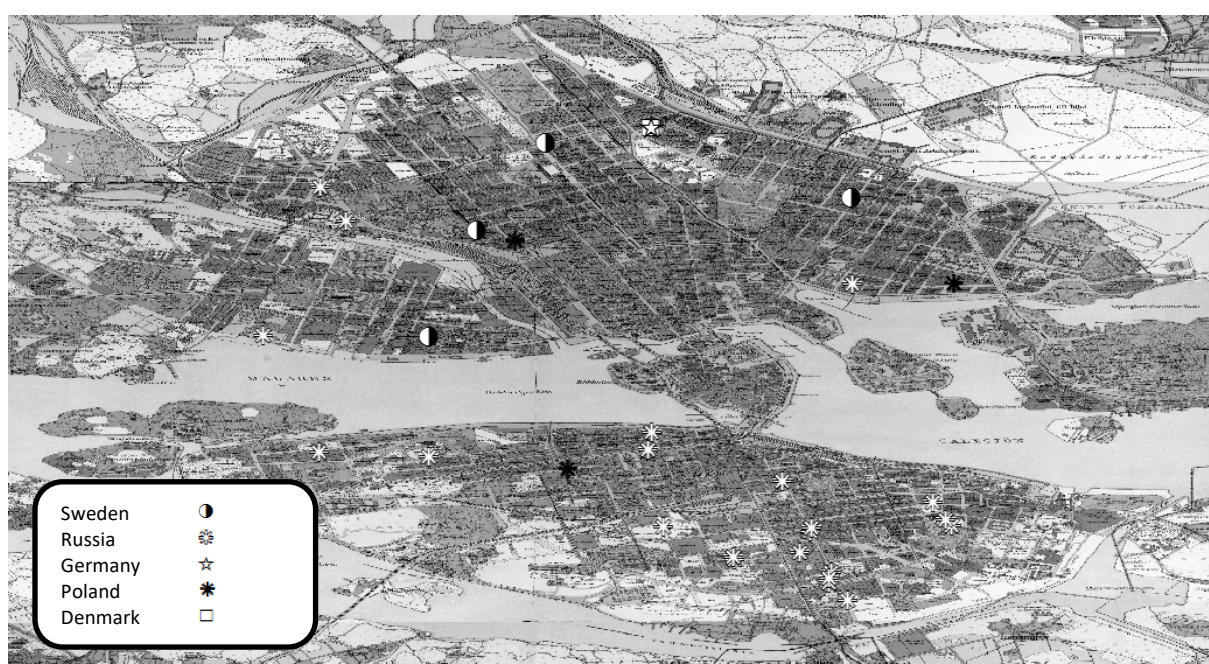


Figure 13. The distribution of national origin in *Adat Jisrael*, 1935.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Based on population list 1935; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

¹⁸¹ Based on population list AJ_35; Map: Ibid.

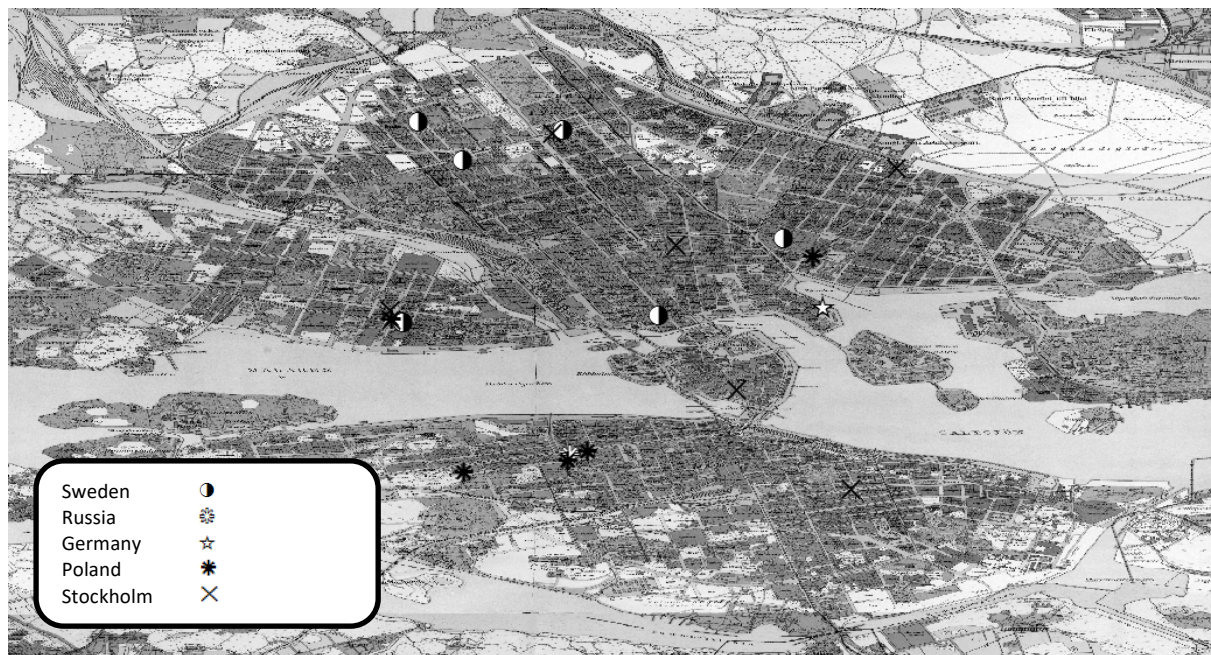


Figure 14. The distribution of national origin of *mikveh* supporters, 1922.¹⁸²



Figure 15. The distribution of national origin of *Talmud Torah* supporters, 1925.¹⁸³

While class belonging and national origin were the strongest forces shaping Jewish settlement in Stockholm, they did not automatically predict the socio-economic outlook of the traditional and

¹⁸² Based on population list J-22; Map: Ibid

¹⁸³ Based on population list T-25; Map: Ibid.

orthodox subgroups within the community. This analytical setting has instead demolished the presumptions of previous studies on spatially and economically dichotomised Reform and Orthodox groups. Indeed, the presumption has only proved correct in terms of the predominance of Eastern European Jews in traditional and orthodox groups. This case study has shown that, first, a Mosaic Congregational membership was not necessarily a demonstration of alliance to the institution's Reform alignment. The membership was instead used as a way to enter the larger community's social network and thus held by several orthodox practitioners and traditional supporters. Consequently, no clear-cut border existed between Reform and Orthodox Jews. Second, the majority of the groups with orthodox practitioners or supporters of traditional institutions lived across all of Stockholm, including modern parts of the city, and had a comparably strong social status and class belonging. Third, the traditional or orthodox groups did not use the same strategies for assembling members or supporters. Some groups were structured around certain occupational sectors, while others gathered around similar national origins.

Furthermore, a comparison between *Adat Jisrael's* membership list and the lists of petitioners shows that only five people were members of *Adat Jisrael* and supporters of both *mikveh* and *Talmud Torah*, and only two individuals signed all three petitions. Similarly, while around a third of *Talmud Torah's* supporters were also members of *Adat Jisrael* and supporters of *mikveh*, less than 10 per cent of *mikveh* supporters joined *Adat Jisrael* or signed Jacob Marcus' bid for employment. Clearly, the traditional or orthodox subgroups in Stockholm were not one homogeneous unit, but socio-economically and spatially diverse, expressing multiple ways of being religiously Jewish in Stockholm. Altogether, this is the correct socio-economic and spatial framework to be used for the following analysis of the Swedish-Jewish experience of making 'at-homeness' in Stockholm's capital, which will be explored in this thesis through the following research questions:

- How was Jewish multiplicity constructed and practiced in the urban landscape?
- What factors aided and what limitations hindered the multiplicity?
- How did Jewish/non-Jewish relations shape the constructions or practices of multiplicity?
- How did inner-communal relations shape the constructions or practices of multiplicity?

With a theoretical foundation based on the individual's agency in the navigation and negotiation of the modern urban world, the dynamics of the social relationships in the outer narrative and the inner discourse, shaping the construction of material and bodily Jewish at-homeness in Stockholm, will portray a community both religiously fragmented and socially interconnected.

1.6 Walking through Jewish Stockholm: Three Tours

The modern urban city has been argued as a home for the observant and lonely figure of the *flaneur*.¹⁸⁴ Contemporary intellectuals and poets explored Paris, London and Berlin in the 19th and 20th centuries, watching crowds and chaotic street scenes.¹⁸⁵ Previous academic studies have travelled with nocturnal walkers, female walkers and political walkers, investigating the city, and the larger society, through their experiences.¹⁸⁶ The urban walk has indeed become once again a fashionable literary approach to explore the human experience of the modern and postmodern worlds. Rebecca Solnit finds the historical walker in shoes, maps and literary fantasies, arguing that they are material leftovers of individual strategies to both create the world and exist in it,¹⁸⁷ while John Baxter's singular experience of Paris is joined by historical narratives. The latter argues that 'there is [no] single Paris. The city exists as a blank page on which each person scribbles what the French call a *griffe* – literally "a claw" but more precisely a signature; a choice of favorite cafés, shops, parks, and the routes that link them.'¹⁸⁸ Walking New York for over four years at the beginning of the 2010s, William Helmreich similarly writes that 'the essence of a city is its people. By their actions and interactions they determine the shape it assumes, the flow of its daily life, and the aspirations and dreams it has.'¹⁸⁹ Walking the city to understand its people has clearly been an intellectual, artistic and academic method for the last 150 years, providing readers with a tangible setting on which to situate and analyse the human experience of the modern, urban city.

The thesis will, therefore, take its readers for a 'walk' to Jewish places and public arenas in historical Stockholm. Figure 2, displayed above, shows the sacred places that existed between 1870 and 1939 – synagogues, *minyanim*, *mikveh* and religious afternoon schools – and the three

¹⁸⁴ See, for example: Susan Buck-Moss, 'The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering,' *New German Critique* 39 (1986): 99–140; Anke Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flaneire, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Mary Gluck, 'The *Flâneur* and the Aesthetic Appropriation of Urban Culture in Mid-19th-century Paris,' *Theory, Culture & Society* 20, 5 (2003): 53–80; Sabine Hake, *Topographies of Class: Modern Architecture and Mass Society in Weimar Berlin* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 134–167.

¹⁸⁵ For example: Charles Baudelaire, *Paris Spleen* (New York: New Directions, 1970); Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002); Hessel, *Walking in Berlin*; Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*; Edgar Allan Poe, *The Man in the Crowd* (Palm Coast: Lee Writing Services, 2015).

¹⁸⁶ For example: Leif Jerram, *Street Life: The Untold History of Europe's Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London, 1840-1930* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998); Godela Weiss-Sussex, "'Ich gehe und gehe [...] und gehe und sehe:' Female Experience of the City,' in *Berlin: Kultur und Metropole in den zwanziger und seit den neunziger Jahren*, ed. Ulrike Zitzlsperger (Munich: Publications of the Institute of Germanic Studies, 2007), 46–61.

¹⁸⁷ Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: Att gå till fots* (Göteborg: Diadalos, 2017), 56.

¹⁸⁸ John Baxter, *The Most Beautiful Walk in the World: A Pedestrian in Paris* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2011), 5.

¹⁸⁹ William B. Helmreich, *The New York Nobody Knows: Walking 6,000 Miles in the City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1.

chapters will explore the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship in the creation and usage of synagogues, the inner-communal debate on the existence of *minyanim*, *mikveh* and religious afternoon schools, and individual movements in the public landscape in relation to these sacred places. While the first act of home-making – the creation of the familial residence – has already been approached from a macro-perspective, viewing the city from above as Michel de Certeau did from World Trade Centre, each chapter will zoom in one step closer on the Jewish process of making Stockholm their home, passing through Jewish physical changes to the urban landscape and the different communal uses of these existent places, until it ‘walks’ together with Jewish individuals across Stockholm on the way to *shabbat* services, the *kosher* shop, the post-box, department stores or summer houses.

The next chapter initially ‘walks’ down to the first purpose-built synagogue in Stockholm. It uses architectural designs, minutes from board meetings, newspaper articles and photographs to, based on the methodology of building biography and Sander Gilman’s concept of the ‘frontier,’ examine the relationship between Stockholm’s Jews and non-Jewish actors in the construction and usage of the Reform Wahrendorff Synagogue and the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael*. Arguing that these public spaces promoted a Jewish-constructed stage, to which non-Jewish audiences and co-performers were invited, spaces of temporal compatibility of Jewishness and the Swedish national identity were created. The last case study travels from the Wahrendorff Synagogue, through the streetscape, to the Jewish suburban cemetery, using Swedish-Jewish elite funerals to portray 20 deceased individuals’ uniquely memorialised performances, and hope for societal acceptance, as Jews *and* Swedes.

The Jewish individual’s desire to create and attend religious institutions that corresponded to their own perspective of Jewishness receives the second chapter’s attention. Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘social capital’ provides a framework for the study of the performance and exercise of social identifications of individual Jewish agents in the inner-communal power struggle for the maintenance of the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael*, several traditional *minyanim*, and the traditional institutions of *mikveh* and religious afternoon schools. The internal debates, revealed through minutes from board meetings, applications for financial aid and economic cash flows, do not only expose the Jewish community’s emphasis on traditional sacred places as venues for Jewish practices, but also explore the vital role of individual intermediaries who straddled the border between the Mosaic Congregation and the orthodox or traditional subgroups. Within the inner-communal social and hierarchal landscape, these actors – and the social capital each of them wielded – largely determined the survival of sacred places.

Chapter 1

Having stepped across the thresholds of most sacred places in Stockholm between 1870 and 1939, the last chapter turns to the individual uses of both these places and secular destinations. The interdisciplinary methodologies of oral history, literary analysis, gendered analysis, GIS and cultural economy provide an eclectic base from which to study Yi-Fu Tuan's concept of 'geometric personalities:' in this case referring to the everyday lives of seven Jewish families in Stockholm in relation to the construction and performance of private, urban and national homes. The examination of the female role in creating public and communal homes, innovative and familial religious practices, personal relationships to synagogues and *kosher* shops, the importance of Jewish social networks, shopping activities, procurement of summer houses and international travels show the communal adoption of personal strategies for creating Jewish *and* Swedish familial homes in Stockholm, the community's fragmented practices ultimately emphasising the need for the communal sacred places studied in chapters two and three.

Walking through Sweden's capital, visiting Jewish sacred and secular places and observing individual practices, this thesis thus explores 'Jewish Stockholm' between the emancipation in 1870 and the beginning of the Second World War. The shape of this Jewish Stockholm offers new understanding for the Jewish experience of the modern urban world. It was a small community located in a largely homogeneous Christian society in northern Europe, expressing ardent interest in the religious elements of Jewishness. In addition, the example of Jewish Stockholm portrays the continued importance of traditional sacred venues, and the way their pivotal function increased as the Jewish urban inhabitant formed an individual and singular relationship with the modern city.

Chapter 2 Changing the City: Construction and Uses of Sacred Places

2.1 Building Biographies and the ‘Frontier:’ Methodologies for Jewish/non-Jewish Negotiations in the Public Sphere

The Jewish community entered a phase of spatial expansion in the 1850s-60s. At the time of the auction, described in the introduction, they owned two cemeteries on *Kungsholmen*, of which one was already full, as well as a building in *Old Town*, rebuilt into a synagogue in the first half of the 19th century. The commercial and financial centre of Stockholm was, however, moving north, away from *Old Town* and towards *Norrmalm*. The Jewish population simultaneously increased in size, reaching 900 people in 1870,¹⁹⁰ and a growing number of community members were gradually inspired by the Reform movement in Germany. A transformation and expansion of places linked to Jewish religion and life was clearly needed, and the Mosaic Congregation’s board members purchased a new cemetery plot at the Northern Cemetery in a northern suburb in the 1850s. Swedish, non-Jewish architect Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander designed the mortuary chapel.¹⁹¹ A new synagogue was the next step.

The architectural production in Stockholm towards the end of the 19th century largely consisted of modern monuments such as banks and industries, and state institutions such as prisons, hospitals, schools, the Parliament House and the new Opera.¹⁹² At the same time, religious constructions linked to Christian revivalist movements became more prominent. The physical expression of Christian diversity had begun a century earlier with the inauguration of the Calvinist Huguenot temple in central Stockholm in 1752.¹⁹³ The construction of the Philadelphia Church, belonging to the Swedish Pentacostal movement, was finished in 1930, its rounded, functionalistic façade making it both a modern and sacred temple. The Jewish community’s first synagogue in *Old Town* was constructed in 1790 as the city’s first non-Christian sacred place, but it was not purpose-built

¹⁹⁰ Svanberg, and Tydén *Tusen år av invandring*, 237.

¹⁹¹ Bo Grandien, *Drömmen om renässansen: Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander som arkitekt och mångfrestare* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1979), 420.

¹⁹² Fredric Bedoire, *Den svenska arkitekturens historia, 1800-2000* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2015), 59–125.

¹⁹³ Fredric Bedoire, *Hugenotternas värld: Från religionskrigens Frankrike till Skeppsbroadelns Stockholm* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 2009), 265–271.

and therefore not perceived as Jewish from the outside.¹⁹⁴ Although Stockholm housed an increase of physical expressions of Sweden's Christian minorities during the 19th century, religious diversity did not exist in architectural forms. The desired purpose-built synagogue would, therefore, be an exceptional building in Stockholm, constructed in a time of strengthened social tolerance for religious differences.

As the cultural and social distances between Jews and non-Jews in Sweden diminished in the 19th century, epitomised with the emancipation in 1870, they were able to increasingly interact. Jewish/non-Jewish intersections in the European city have been allocated by researchers in the last decade to bookshops, music halls, ports, costume balls, and, of course, the street.¹⁹⁵ These locations are, however, largely located in secular spaces. This chapter turns the focus to Jewish sacred places – synagogues and cemeteries – as well as the streetscape connecting them, positioning the public negotiation of Jewish urban belonging onto stages controlled by Jewish agencies, with non-Jews invited as both audience and co-performers.

Synagogues erected across Europe during the 19th century have been associated with the process of integration, their physical presence deemed as concrete statements of emancipation and the establishment of a communal home while in diaspora.¹⁹⁶ Entering – or wishing to enter – the society as citizens with equal rights, Jews self-consciously constructed their public presence through the choice of architecture and geographical position.¹⁹⁷ Their purpose-built synagogues became sites of explicit, material Jewishness, publicly facilitating the community's sense of societal belonging, and therefore, as Saskia Coenen Snyder argues, 'social products actively

¹⁹⁴ *Jewish Museum in Stockholm*, 'Själagårdsgatan 19: Synagogans historia,' unpublished report (2019).

¹⁹⁵ Tullia Catalan, 'The Ambivalence of a Port-City: The Jews of Trieste from the 19th to the 20th Century,' in *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDED*, no. 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011), ed. Cristiana Facchini, accessed December 13, 2018, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=232>; Hagit Cohen, 'The Jewish Book Shop in the Urban Landscape of Eastern Europe at the End of the 19th Century,' in *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, and Larisa Lempertiene (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 195–210; François Guesnet, 'The Emergence of the First European Jewish Metropolis in Warsaw,' 183–95; Klaus Hödl, 'The Blurring of Distinction: Performance and Jewish Identities in late Nineteenth-Century Vienna,' *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 3, 2 (2009): 229–249; Miklos Konrád, 'Music Halls and Jewish Identities in Budapest at the turn of the Century,' in *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, and Larisa Lempertiene (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 143–55.

¹⁹⁶ Andreas Gotzmann, 'Out of the Ghetto, Into the Middle Class: Changing Perspectives on Jewish Spaces in Nineteenth-Century Germany - The Case of Synagogues and Jewish Burial Grounds,' in *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup (New York: Berghahn Books 2016), 145; Rudolf Klein, 'Nineteenth-Century Synagogue Typology in Historic Hungary,' in *Jewish Architecture in Europe*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Harmen H. Thies (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010), 117–30; Kraemer, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 4–9.

¹⁹⁷ Coenen Snyder, *Building a Public Judaism*, 1–14.

engaged in the construction of cultural identities.¹⁹⁸ Aspiring to provide some guidelines in order to define the sacred architecture of Judaism, Harmen Thies lists the existence of ritual objects such as *bimah*, shrine and balcony, material structures that are linked to the practical function of the synagogue or rabbinic laws. He also emphasises the need to investigate the human involvement with the place, such as geographical context, contemporary time and culture, function and purpose of the sacred place and materials, techniques and design intentions used during the construction period.¹⁹⁹ Involving a more cultural point of view, Akel Ismail Kahera defines sacred architecture to generally originate from, and strive to enhance, the spiritual, contemplating and worship practices performed by men and women.²⁰⁰ While thus communicating the community's choice of religious and cultural practices, the synagogue was also the product of the ideals, hopes and convictions of a private faith transformed into a minority's outwardly, physical declaration to a gentile population.²⁰¹ As a sacred place, the 19th century synagogue in Europe, therefore, portrayed and housed the Jewish sacred identity negotiated by the community in their geographical and temporal social locality.

The architectural methodology 'building biography,' introduced by Nathan Silver in his work on the processes leading up to the construction of Centre Pompidou in Paris, allows for research on social, religious and cultural processes linked to a particular building. The book chronologically goes through the different steps leading up to the post-inauguration use of the centre.²⁰² The methodology has also been used to, for example, explore the social and cultural processes linked to the emblematical character of the Pentagon.²⁰³ Analysing the Lithuanian architecture of synagogue from the 17th century to the 20th century, Sergey Kravtsov asserts that the building 'provided Jews and non-Jews with a channel of cultural communication, a bridge, at times narrow and shaky, giving a hope of mutual understanding.'²⁰⁴ Although neither the Swedish national government nor local authorities contested the construction of Stockholm's purpose-built synagogue, as was often the case in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the building itself similarly

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 8.

¹⁹⁹ Harmen H. Thies, 'Jewish Architecture in Europe: An Introduction,' in *Jewish Architecture in Europe*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Harmen H. Thies (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010), 31–34.

²⁰⁰ Akel Ismail Kahera, 'Gardens of the Righteous: Sacred Space in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,' *Cross Currents* 52, 3 (2002): 329.

²⁰¹ Joachim Schlör, 'Faith in Residence: Jewish Spatial Practice in the Urban Context,' in *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup (New York: Berghahn Books 2016), 238–240.

²⁰² Nathan Silver, *The Making of Beaubourg: A Building Biography of the Centre Pompidou, Paris* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994).

²⁰³ David Alexander, *The Building: A Biography of the Pentagon* (Minneapolis: Zenith Press, 2008), ix–x.

²⁰⁴ Sergey Kravtsov, 'Synagogue Architecture in Lithuania,' in *Synagogues in Lithuania*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, Sergey Kravtsov, and Vladimir Levin (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2010), 67.

offered a chance for Jews and non-Jews to converge, communicate and collaborate in the social and cultural processes involved in the construction and uses of the synagogue.

Functioning, therefore, not only as a Jewish sacred place, the synagogue as a building presents a place for the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship to interact in the urban landscape.²⁰⁵ It is positioned on the 'frontier,' described by Sander Gilman as 'the conceptual and physical arena where groups in motion meet, confront, alter, destroy, and build. It is the place of the "migrant culture of the in-between" as both a transitional and translational phenomenon.'²⁰⁶ As a space for confronting others and accommodating oneself, the 'frontier' is, in other words, the conceptual site for the construction and contestation of a minority's public home in the modern city. The identifications linked to Jews and non-Jews are defined and redefined by themselves and others on this 'frontier,' and the synagogue becomes the material product of this relationship. Joachim Schlör's conceptualisation of the 'doorstep' similarly revolves the researcher's focus to the relationship between the private and public spheres.²⁰⁷ On the 'frontier,' and at the 'doorstep,' people meet, converse, converge, contest and accept each other, prompting the process of the continuous construction and re-construction of identities. As both a public and communally sacred building, a synagogue's construction process take place on the border between the inner-communal discourse and the public – physical and social – milieu, providing a platform for Jewishness and the Swedish national identity to interact.

As this chapter will show, non-Jews were not only involved in the construction process of synagogues in Stockholm, but also shared the building's intimate space. The orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael* shared location with a Pietist orphanage, and non-Jewish artists and politicians were involved in funeral practices at Swedish-Jewish elite funerals. The latest theoretical discussions on shared sacred places have questioned both the 'underlying integrationist paradigm' and the presumption of conflict in the notion of sacred co-habitation, portraying the two standpoints within the field.²⁰⁸ Established within the disciplines of anthropology and religion, most studies on

²⁰⁵ David E. Johnson, and Scott Michaelsen, 'Border Secrets: An Introduction,' in *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politic*, eds. Scott Michaelsen, and David E. Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2–3.

²⁰⁶ Sander Gilman, *Jewish Frontiers: Essays on Bodies, Histories, and Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 15.

²⁰⁷ Joachim Schlör, 'Faith in Residence,' 233–235.

²⁰⁸ See, for example: Elazar Barkan, and Karen Barkey, 'Introduction,' in *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution*, eds. Elazar Barkan, and Karen Barkey (New York: Clumbia University Press, 2015), 6; Glenn Bowman, 'Introduction: Sharing the Sacra,' in *Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places*, ed. Glenn Bowman (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 2; Tsypylma Darieva, Florian Mühlfried, and Kevin Tvite, 'Introduction,' in *Sacred Places, Emerging Spaces. Religious Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Caucasus*, eds. Tsypylma Darieva, Florian Mühlfried, and Kevin Tvite (New York: Berghahn, 2018), 9; Florian Mühlfried, 'Not Sharing the Sacra,' in *Sacred Places*,

shared sacred places are, however, focused on contemporary shrines and conflicts, and the shape – or indeed existence – of shared sacred places in the European modern urban setting has not yet received much attention. Although the form of sharing in the Jewish-Protestant example in Stockholm has a completely different setup than historical or contemporary shrines, the field's theoretical emphasis on the influence of local social relations on the nature of sharing will be useful.²⁰⁹

Studies on synagogues in modern Europe have already taken the interaction between the sacred place and the local and national surroundings into account. Local conditions shaped the way Jews constructed their public, religious places, which allowed German Jews to unapologetically demonstrate their Jewishness before their emancipation, while persuading English Jews to let their synagogues conform to the urban environment.²¹⁰ Contrary to the German-Jewish desire to use their public sites as political tools for gaining emancipation, Amsterdam's Jews lacked both finances and political incentive for building noticeable synagogues, having enjoyed emancipation since the 18th century.²¹¹ Parisian synagogues were financed by the state, which also decided the locations of synagogues, and therefore inhibited the expression of local French Jewishness in the design and location.²¹² Lithuanian synagogues in the Russian Empire, furthermore, conformed their layout and design to governmental pressures and focused instead on interior arrangements – the 'haven in a hostile surrounding world.'²¹³

Scandinavian synagogues were not governmentally disputed, but rather reflected the local Jewish community's practical, social and spiritual demands. Although situated on a side street, Copenhagen's synagogue, inaugurated in 1833, was located in an area that was associated with the university and book publishers. Gothenburg's synagogue, inaugurated in 1855, was located in the modernised area of the city and exhibited an Oriental architecture with, for example, domes. Both synagogues accentuated the German-inspired and Reform-adopted Oriental style more clearly in the interior design, thus strengthening the modernised Reform movement on the inside while simultaneously allowing the exterior architecture and geographical location to publicly

Emerging Spaces. Religious Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Caucasus, eds. Tsypylma Darieva, Florian Mühlfried, and Kevin Tvite (New York: Berghahn, 2018), quote from 170.

²⁰⁹ Bowman, 'Introduction: Sharing the Sacra;' Barkan, 'Introduction;,' Mühlfried, 'Not Sharing the Sacra,' 151–152.

²¹⁰ Coenen Snyder, *Building a Public Judaism*, 25–150.

²¹¹ Ibid, 151–206.

²¹² Ibid, 207–252; Richard I. Cohen, 'Urban Visibility and Biblical Visions: Jewish Culture in Western and Central Europe in the Modern Age,' in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 747–750.

²¹³ Kravtsov, 'Synagogue Architecture in Lithuania,' 45, 67, quote from 67.

express both Jewishness and *bourgeois* values.²¹⁴ The Jewish community in Helsinki, on the other hand, asked for a diminution of the Oriental style emphasised in the non-Jewish architect Johan Jacob Ahrenberg's first design. The chosen Art Nouveau-style was, however, not only related to the community's desire to conform to the city's architectural landscape, but also due to their fragile economic position.²¹⁵ These examples clearly portray the need to include the local, societal perspective when analysing the construction of a synagogue and its belonging in the urban landscape.

Still, as Christoph Leiska argues, the synagogue was also a material structure used for the advocacy of the religious and spiritual direction of the communal Jewish identity.²¹⁶ With several studies available on the relationship between synagogues and the local government, this chapter will shift the focus to the involvement and influence of non-Jewish individual actors in the construction of the synagogue and the practices it housed. Using minutes from the Mosaic Congregation's board meetings and architectural designs, the 'building biographies' of the Reform Synagogue and the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael* will portray the pivotal role of non-Jewish professionals and Christian minorities for the construction of sacred visibility and religious multiplicity. The third section will, similarly, portray non-Jewish co-performance of the Swedish-Jewish elite's individual versions of religious Jewishness during funerals. Arguing that the synagogues, as well as the communal cemetery, became public places for the negotiation of the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship on the 'frontier' during their constructions and uses as settings for inauguration ceremonies and funerals, this chapter examines the performance of the co-habitation of religiously Jewish and nationally Swedish identifications. The first case study is located in *Norrmalm*, and so this chapter 'walks' down towards the Royal Palace, but turns left, strolls around the exercise area in the urban park of *Kungsträdgården* and finds a narrow street towards the recently refilled bog, located opposite to the current reconstructions of the former waterfront slums into the broad, modern street and later on famous promenade *Strandvägen* (Beach Road).

²¹⁴ Leiska, *Räume der Begegnung*, 76–108.

²¹⁵ Pirkko-Liisa Schulman, 'Jac. Ahrenberg: The Man who Designed the Helsinki Synagogue,' in *Jewish Architecture – New Sources and Approaches*, eds. Katrin Kessler, and Alexander von Kienlin (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010), 135.

²¹⁶ Leiska, *Räume der Begegnung*, 77.

2.2 The Construction of the Reform Synagogue: The Negotiation of Public Jewishness

A plot situated on this somewhat hidden side street was on sale in 1860. Restaurant owner Wilhelm Davidson and Sofi Bonnier's younger brother David Hirsch felt certain of this plot's qualities for the construction of a future synagogue, and subsequently bought it. Together with title deed and plot layout, they sent the following verdict to the Mosaic Congregation's board: 'we have found plot no. 8 in block *Näckström* at *Wahrendorffsgatan* (Wahrendorff Street) to be particularly and preferentially suitable.'²¹⁷ The Mosaic Congregation concurrently determined that 'there is space not only for a worthy Temple of the Lord calculating a length of 60 cubits and a width of 30 cubit,' but also for plantations and a playground.²¹⁸ They bought the plot from the pair. A general meeting on May 5, 1861 unanimously voted for the construction of a new synagogue on the plot. A Building Committee was set up during the same meeting, consisting of Albert Bonnier, Wilhelm Davidson, David Hirsch, Jacques Lamm, the owner of a well-known iron foundry, and Henrik Davidson, the son-in-law of the Mosaic Congregation's lay leader Lesser Meyerson.²¹⁹

2.2.1 Visibility: Jewish Public Belonging in Stockholm

This initial enthusiasm, mirrored in the joyfulness of the 1863 auction described in the introduction, quickly turned cloudy as doubt about the suitability of the plot's geographical location arose. This issue was discussed within the Jewish community for five consecutive years, the practical problem serving as a backdrop for the negotiation of the more abstract idea of Jewish visibility in the Swedish society. Despite a positive introductory examination of the plot's foundation in November 1861, which advised against costly pile work, the softer sand base on the eastern side ultimately demanded the synagogue to be built in the western corner, contradictory

²¹⁷ Letter from Wilhelm Davidson, David Hirsch and Eduard Josephson to the Mosaic Congregation, written on December 22, 1860, Appendix E in Protocol 23, December 26, 1860, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/30, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

²¹⁸ Ibid. My translation from Swedish.

²¹⁹ Appendix D in Protocol 23, December 26, 1860, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/30, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Protocol 7, May 5, 1861, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/31, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Jacques Lamm quitted the position in 1866, and only Albert Bonnier and Wilhelm Davidson remained in the group in 1868; see: Protocol 25, March 19, 1866, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/35, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Protocol 2, April 19, 1868, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

to the original plans shown in figure 16.²²⁰ The initial plan in 1861 was to place the synagogue with one of its shorter sides towards the edge of the public *Berzelii Park*, making it fully visible from the newly developed park. A new school and community building would be positioned behind the synagogue. A later technical examination of the plot in 1863, however, confirmed the need for pile work and thus forced the synagogue to move further in towards the narrow street and surrounding plots, on which buildings were quickly built, see figure 17. The architect, opposing inner-communal groups and the Mosaic Congregation's board debated these two aspects – the plot's foundation and the synagogue's proposed visibility – in order to find the perfect spot for the new synagogue.

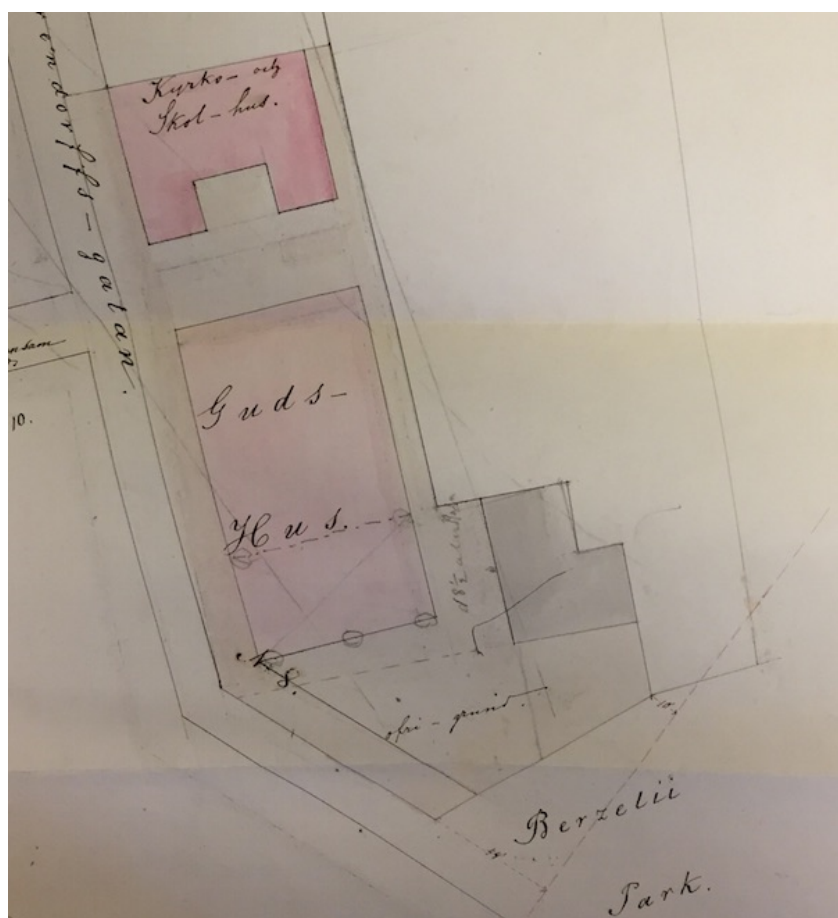


Figure 16. The building plan proposed for the Wahrendorff synagogue, 1861.²²¹

²²⁰ Appendix A in Protocol 4, April 18, 1861, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/31, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²²¹ Proposed building plan from 1861 in Protocol 11, June 6, 1861, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/31, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.



Figure 17. The position of the Wahrendorff synagogue, 1885.²²²

Like in the case of the mortuary chapel, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander was once again chosen as architect. His non-Jewish voice repeatedly argued for a better location and stronger visibility. Educated at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts and in Paris under Louis-Hippolyte Lebas, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, as Stockholm's city architect, constructed both public buildings such as churches, hospitals, universities, schools and theatres, and private houses.²²³ As the Superintendent's closest man, he was from 1864 onwards furthermore responsible for examining architectural designs of public buildings across all of Sweden.²²⁴ He was Sweden's most famous and respected architects in the 1860's,²²⁵ and the fact that the Mosaic Congregation chose him as architect for their synagogue signifies the value they put on this new building, including their hope for its future position within the Swedish society. A well-known, famous architect could provide status to the building, thus increasing the prestige of the Jewish population, who had at this point not yet been granted emancipation.

Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, in his professional capacity, wrote about the foundation and the location of the new synagogue in numerous letters to the board during the construction process. He initially advised against the need for pile work, but two years later revised his decision, claiming he had thought the plot problematic from the start. The foundation was, however, never

²²² A cropped image from a map from 1885 in the interactive function 'Compare Maps' on *Stockholmskällan*, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/sok/?q=&map=true.

²²³ The role of the 'town architect' is explored in Anna-Maria Blennow, *Stadsarkitekternas epok, 1870-1950: Fyra porträtt – Peter Boisen, P.L. Håkanson, Fredrik Sundbärg och Frans Ekelund* (Stockholm: Bygghörskningsrådet, 1990).

²²⁴ Bo Grandien, 'Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander,' *Dictionary of Swedish National*, 31 (2000-2002): 592, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6393>.

²²⁵ Fredric Bedoire names Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander 'the country's highest authority' on architecture in the middle of the 19th century: Bedoire, *Den svenska arkitekturens historia*, 92.

the biggest problem for the architect. He wrote on January 21, 1863 that 'the sandwiched location is incompatible with the dignity of the building.'²²⁶ As the surrounding plots were increasingly adorned with tall buildings, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander found the plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* hidden and insignificant. He refused to attend the Mosaic Congregation's general meeting in 1863 to answer communal questions, arguing that

it is such a palpable, wrongful principle to construct a churchly monument on a narrow courtyard cluttered with privies, and I can therefore no longer partake [in this process] in front of the congregation, and this so much less as I [...] have always considered [the site] a last resort.²²⁷

The architect's reason to battle for a better location is not stated explicitly, but implied. With his reputation and body of work, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander was used to working on prominent buildings located on popular, central sites. Despite his reservations, the architectural designs were delivered to Stockholm's Building Office for approval in 1867, although they had been completed in 1862.²²⁸ He must, therefore, have finalised the building plans shortly after the plot was bought by the Mosaic Congregation, despite his reservations about the plot's location.

As conversations about the synagogue's location prolonged, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander even offered the Mosaic Congregation two solutions in 1866: buy a new plot or extend and renovate their current synagogue in *Old Town*. He explained that 'it would be more monumental if a separate, new building could be achieved,' but the building in *Old Town* could be made to 'advertise the presence of a holy room, although, all things considered, the façade cannot be as satisfactory and monumental as [a] separate new building.'²²⁹ This was his last objection, and it reveals his ideals of and hopes for the synagogue. He wanted it to be dominant in the cityscape, easily seen by the people of Stockholm, a monument – a word the architect used time and again in his letters – symbolising the religious importance of the place.

²²⁶ Appendix A in Protocol 4, April 18, 1861, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/31, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Appendix 9 in Protocol 5, May 3, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My own translation from Swedish.

²²⁷ Appendix 9 in Protocol 5, May 3, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My own translation from Swedish.

²²⁸ NS037-BN-1867-56-60, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA.

²²⁹ Appendix 3 in Protocol 14, December 26, 1866, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/36, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

An unnamed subgroup within the Jewish community considered the architect's changed statement of the foundation as reason to abandon the *Wahrendorffsgatan* plot. On March 12, 1863, they bypassed the Mosaic Congregation's Building Committee and wrote to Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander of their scepticism of the site's suitability.²³⁰ When notified, the Building Committee was forced to scrutinise every aspect of the plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan*, as well as six other available plots in Stockholm, bringing their research to the Mosaic Congregation's general meeting on March 6, 1864. Their report discussed foundations, existing buildings, economic costs, and most of all, geographical locations. The exact distance between each plot and the proposed city centre – the statue of king Gustav II Adolph, situated on a square next to *Kungsträdgården*, overlooking the Royal Palace – were calculated. The relationship between the location and the statue can be seen in figure 18.



Figure 18. Locations considered for the new synagogue, 1864.²³¹

The choice of city centre explains the Jewish community's sense of belonging to the Swedish national identity. First, having conquered large areas in Central Europe during the Thirty

²³⁰ These unnamed individuals are mentioned in Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's letter to the Mosaic Congregation, written on January 21, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²³¹ Based on: Minutes from General meeting on March 6, 1864, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

Years' War, Gustav II Adolph was nationally regarded as the most successful Swedish king throughout the nation's history. The historical narrative of the Swedish nation was constructed by Swedish intellectuals at the beginning of the 19th century, and Gustav II Adolph became a personified incarnation of the nation and one with the people as he, in the national narrative, battled against a religious and spiritual threat during the 30 Years' War.²³² Using his statue, constructed in 1796 and seen in figure 19, as a measurable mark for the location of the synagogue suggests that the Jewish community's sought to connect the synagogue with one of Sweden's most celebrated historical figures.



Figure 19. The Square of Gustav Adolph during a cortege, 1893-1897.²³³

The geographical position is also north of *Old Town*, showing the community's knowledge of the shifting developments in the urban landscape, and their aspiration to locate their synagogue in the new and modern centre of the city. The plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* was 288 metres from the

²³² Patrik Hall, *Den svenskaste historien: Nationalism i Sverige under sex sekler* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000), 180–189.

²³³ 'Gustaf Adolfs torg, cortege,' (1893-1897), ID D70, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/6754>.

statue, the closest of all the six plots.²³⁴ Considering the synagogue's centrality, the Building Committee noted that 'it is a highly important decorum that should not be overlooked,'²³⁵ thus showcasing their interest in a central location. Together with the existing building that could be used as school, it would not only be the cheapest option, but also give the synagogue the most prominent position in the streetscape.

Still, at the last general meeting concerning the construction of the synagogue on January 6, 1867, five men, including Wilhelm Davidson who initially bought the plot,²³⁶ asked to adjourn the planned final vote in order to overturn the idea of using the plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* altogether. As the voting nonetheless turned in favour for *Wahrendorffsgatan*, Wilhelm Rubenson and Emanuel Bendix, a wholesale merchant and second generation's migrant from Denmark, publicly stated their disagreement with the decision. These men were both present and bought objects at the auction in 1863, thus clearly appreciating the need for a new synagogue. With a socio-cultural background and status similar to the other auction attendees, their reason for wanting another location for the synagogue must have been based on personal conviction.²³⁷ It is never explicitly stated that the six men who objected to the *Wahrendorffsgatan* plot at the last general meeting were included in the initial disagreement in 1863, but seeing no other objection during this meeting, some kind of relation can be assumed. Since the original disagreement was based on Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's verdict on the plot's foundation, the geographical location and the hindered visibility, these opposing men were commenting on the synagogue's position in Swedish society. In alignment with the architect, they wanted a visible synagogue, clearly stating its presence in the urban landscape and thus claiming belonging to the Swedish society. The plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* would, in their opinion, not be able to produce such a result.

The voice of the Mosaic Congregation's board was, however, the loudest.²³⁸ For example, the Mosaic Congregation met Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's revised report about the foundation, as well as his comments on the location, with a mixture of disappointment and authority. At the

²³⁴ Converted from the unit cubit. The distance was originally 630 cubits.

²³⁵ Minutes from General meeting on March 6, 1864, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²³⁶ Wilhelm Davidson stops being named as a part of the Building Committee in the middle of the 1860s.

²³⁷ The men are: Wilhelm Rubenson, Simon Bensow, Louis Elliot, Bernhard Nachman, Isaac Isaac Davidson and Emanuel Bendix. They were descendants of some of the oldest Jewish families in Stockholm or first generation immigrant from Strelitz, Altona or St. Petersburg, well to do with own businesses or employed as royal dentist, and residing on central addresses, such as *Drottninggatan*, the square of Gustav II Adolph or *Old Town*. Protocol 15 from General meeting, January 6, 1867, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/36, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 'Bendix, Emanuel,' 'Bensow, Simon,' 'Davidson, Isaac Isaac,' 'Elliot, Louis,' 'Nachman, Bernhard,' 'Rubenson, Wilhelm' (1860) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

²³⁸ The main material on which this study is based is from the Mosaic Congregation's archive, every paper at mercy of what they chose to keep and explain. It is therefore their responses to Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander and the subgroup, mainly directed towards the utility of the future synagogue, that dominate the narrative.

general meeting on May 3, 1863, they observed that his reversal was 'as unexpected as dismal' and they stated that 'one has to regret the contradictions Mr. Professor is guilty of, which if sooner spoken, would have saved the Congregation time and the Committee much unpleasantness.' They dryly explained his change of heart to be due to him putting his 'architectural honour above everything else.'²³⁹ Although a famous architect, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander was clearly viewed by the Jewish authority as an employed architect, whose opinion was clouded by ambition. When the subgroup voiced their questions and concerns about the plot, the Mosaic Congregation, as has been described, instead listened and investigated their concerns.

But the Mosaic Congregation's board did not only respond to the subgroup's scepticism – it also declared its own idea about the future synagogue. A model brought to the Mosaic Congregation's general meeting on March 6, 1864 showed that the building would be seen from three sides.²⁴⁰ Referring to the sacred actions performed within the building, they described the building's purpose: to enable the visitor to 'feel lifted to devotion and summoned to peace through the worthy form of the temple and the solemn character of the service.'²⁴¹ The board wrote, furthermore, that

our plot should [...] be particularly appropriate, since it offers the synagogue and those who visit it the calmest, most peaceful site, which under the current circumstances, and which has in writing been designated as an inconvenience, should on the contrary be considered one of the most essential advantages of our plot. Regarding the state of the surroundings, the synagogue would be positioned between two scenic gardens, a circumstance that can only produce a favourable impact on church visitors and summon their mind to peace and devotion.²⁴²

The Mosaic Congregation's lay leaders argued that the plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* was the best of all available sites in central Stockholm, not only because it rejected the subgroup's concerns, but also because it would be a tranquil, peaceful and devotional place, adequately serving as a site for

²³⁹ Protocol 5 from General Meeting, May 3, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

²⁴⁰ Protocol 19, January 7, 1864, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁴¹ General meeting, March 6, 1864, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁴² Ibid.

activities linked to the community's religious life. The Mosaic Congregation thus emphasised the synagogue's sacred role before its social function.

The final vote took place on January 6, 1867. About 80 people were present, constituting only some 10 per cent of the Jewish population in Stockholm. Although the chosen plot for the new synagogue was contested, the issue was evidently not deemed important by the large bulk of the Jewish community. On the other hand, the decision to build the new synagogue on the plot was only passed by a small minority: 46 were in favour, while 33 voted against. Some objected to the vote altogether.²⁴³ The process leading up to the construction of the synagogue portrays a community of diverse ideals of sacred places, mostly in relation to different interpretations of spatial visibility and religious tranquillity, the former directly related to their social position in the society. The Jewish population was already entering a phase of spatial fragmentation before the emancipation in 1870, and the different groups used the non-Jewish architect to enhance and validate their preferred public version of the community's identity as members of the Swedish society.

2.2.2 Religious Orientation: Inner-Communal Differences Made Public

The cornerstone was ceremoniously put into the ground on April 9, 1868. Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, former rabbi in Frankfurt an der Oder and Worms, held a prayer and spoke about the importance of the building to come. A notice in the national newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* (Daily News) described his speech as 'warm and moving,' as he 'invoked God's protection over the completion of the work.'²⁴⁴ A hole had been dug in the southwestern corner. In his hand, the chief rabbi cradled a hermetically closed glass box. Gold, silver and copper coins, minted during the reign of the current king Charles XV, were placed in the box, together with a silver sheet with an inscribed text listing the current Mosaic Congregation's board members.²⁴⁵ Louis Ludwig Lewysohn planted the glass box in the hole. Grout was scooped on top of it. All men mentioned on the silver sheet spread out the grey-coloured mortar with steady hammer blows.

²⁴³ Minutes from General meeting, January 6, 1867, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/36, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁴⁴ 'Den nya synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (April 11, 1868), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

²⁴⁵ The inscription was: 'On the 17th day in the month of Nissan year 5628, this cornerstone for the Mosaic Congregation's House of God was placed by rabbi dr Ludwig Lewysohn, chairman and head of the community, doctor of Medicine and knight Jacob Levertin, other leaders: doctor of Medicine Axel Lamm, Consul and knight Henrik Davidson, cash manager Adolf H. Schück, church leader A C Valentin, members of Building Committee: Albert Bonnier and Wilhelm Davidson. Architect S W Scholander, contractor: master builder A P Nilsson.' See: Protocol 2, April 19, 1868, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

The ritual was quite typical for the construction of synagogues at this time: a similar one took place during the construction of the *Wielka* synagogue in Warsaw. At the cornerstone ceremony of the Reform synagogue on May 14, 1876, the Polish community described the future building as ‘a new testimony of steadfast perseverance in the beliefs of our fathers,’ whose heritage they wanted to preserve and pass on to future generations.²⁴⁶ The sacredness of the cornerstone ritual is palpable: it marked the first physical step towards the materialisation of the community’s new religious home. The cornerstone initialised the metamorphosis of an abstract ideal, planned by the community, into a representative object communicating with people outside of the community. The inclusion of national connotations in the cornerstone ritual in Stockholm also proclaimed the community’s willingness to belong to Sweden. Put in the social and political context of 1860’s Sweden, as described in the introductory chapter, a synagogue physically proclaiming Jewish presence in the urban landscape would display the hopes for social equality and national inclusion.

The architecture of the synagogue was indeed intended to communicate the community’s self-understanding as Swedish Jews. In his study on Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander’s lifework, Bo Grandien explains the architect’s influences to stem from a personal interest in archaeology, orientalism and Asian and North African architecture.²⁴⁷ Both Babylon and Jerusalem were, for example, excavated in the middle of the 19th century, and excavated objects from Babylon and interpretive sketches of the Jewish temple circulated in Europe, the styles interpreted by the popularised Oriental style.²⁴⁸ The trend was adopted among *bourgeois* Jews across Europe, among which the presentation of Japanese miniature sculptures in the home of the wealthy Ephrussi family in Vienna is just one example.²⁴⁹ Turkish rugs, paintings and divans was similarly the new interior trend in Sweden at the end of the 18th century.²⁵⁰ Constricted by the plot’s rectangular appearance, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander constructed a box-like synagogue, complete with protruding consoles by the roof and a low ground floor. A zigzag-patterned batten and a

²⁴⁶ Documents referring to the construction of the *Wielka* synagogue can be viewed in the core exhibition at the POLIN Museum in Warsaw. I visited the museum on November 19, 2017, and the following information could be found from a reproduction of board minutes. Translation from Polish to English provided by the POLIN museum.

²⁴⁷ Grandien, *Drömmen om renässansen*, 426.

²⁴⁸ See, for example: Michael Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History, and the Ancient City* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 173–183; John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 41–63.

²⁴⁹ Edmund de Waal’s family memoir revolves around miniature Japanese porcelain figures, located in a cabinet in the family’s home in Vienna before the *Shoah*, see: Edmund de Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010).

²⁵⁰ Helena Kåberg, ‘Bröderna Celsings turkiska inredningar i Sverige och de gustavianska divanerna,’ in *Minnet av Konstantinopel: Den osmansk-turkiska 1700-talssamlingen på Biby*, ed. Karin Ådahl (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003), 264–282.

taller main floor with large windows grouped three and three were placed on top, see figures 20-22. The western gable held a rose window placed in an alcove with columns and Hebrew inscriptions. The rest of the façade was covered in symmetrical illusions of stone slabs, thin terracotta battens and Hebrew inscriptions.²⁵¹

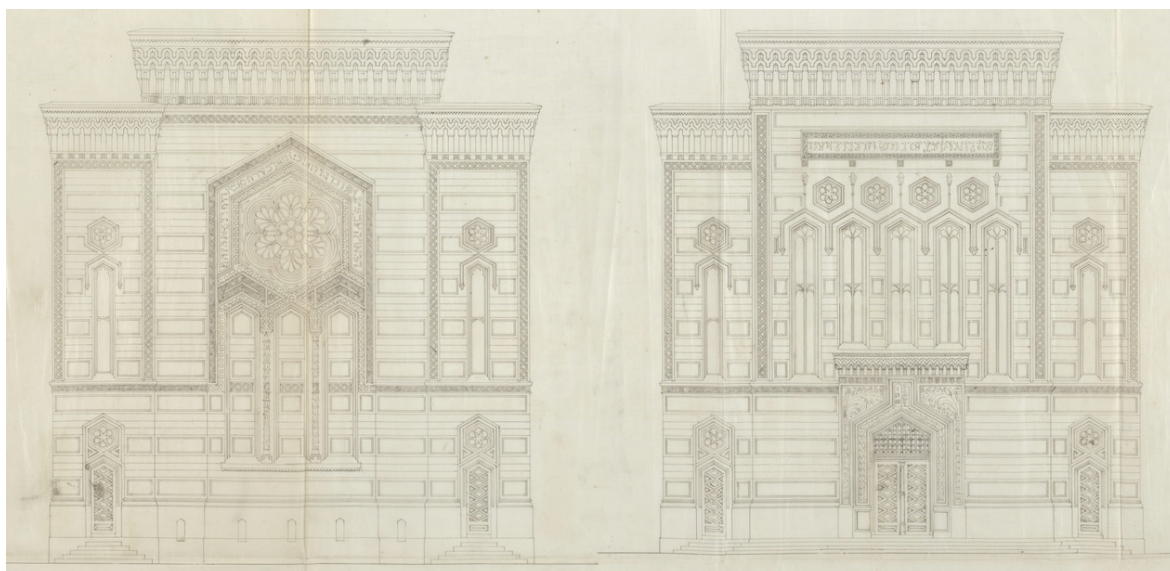


Figure 20. The architectural design of the eastern and western façades of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.²⁵²

The style was described by the Swedish press as ‘Assyrian’,²⁵³ which according to Bo Grandien was the architect’s ‘conscious act of distancing’ his project from contemporary European synagogues, which were often constructed with domes, stars of David, minarets and cast-iron decorations.²⁵⁴ Since discussions on the synagogue’s architecture between Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander and the Jewish community never were recorded in written form, it is difficult to know if the community specifically asked for this ‘Assyrian’ architecture, or if it was the architect’s own idea of Jewishness. His notes from an over three months long European trip in 1863 go into minute detail of churches, but he seldom visited synagogues. When he did, the synagogues were neither described in depth nor compared to his own work, although he by this time had already finished

²⁵¹ Description is based on Bo Grandien’s architectural analysis of the synagogue, see: Grandien, *Drömmen om renässansen*, 422–425.

²⁵² NS037-BN-1867-58, Stockholm’s Older Building Designs, SCA.

²⁵³ ‘Invigningen af nya synagogan,’ *Aftonbladet* (September 17, 1870), RLS; ‘Invigningen af nya synagogan,’ *Dagens Nyheter* (September 17, 1870), RLS; ‘Den nya synagogan,’ *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (September 17, 1870), RLS; ‘Invigningen af den nya Synagogan,’ *Stockholms Dagblad* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁵⁴ Grandien, *Drömmen om renässansen*, 422–424. My translation from Swedish.

his sketches.²⁵⁵ The contemporary modern Oriental trend is, therefore, a possible reason for the synagogue's exterior architecture.

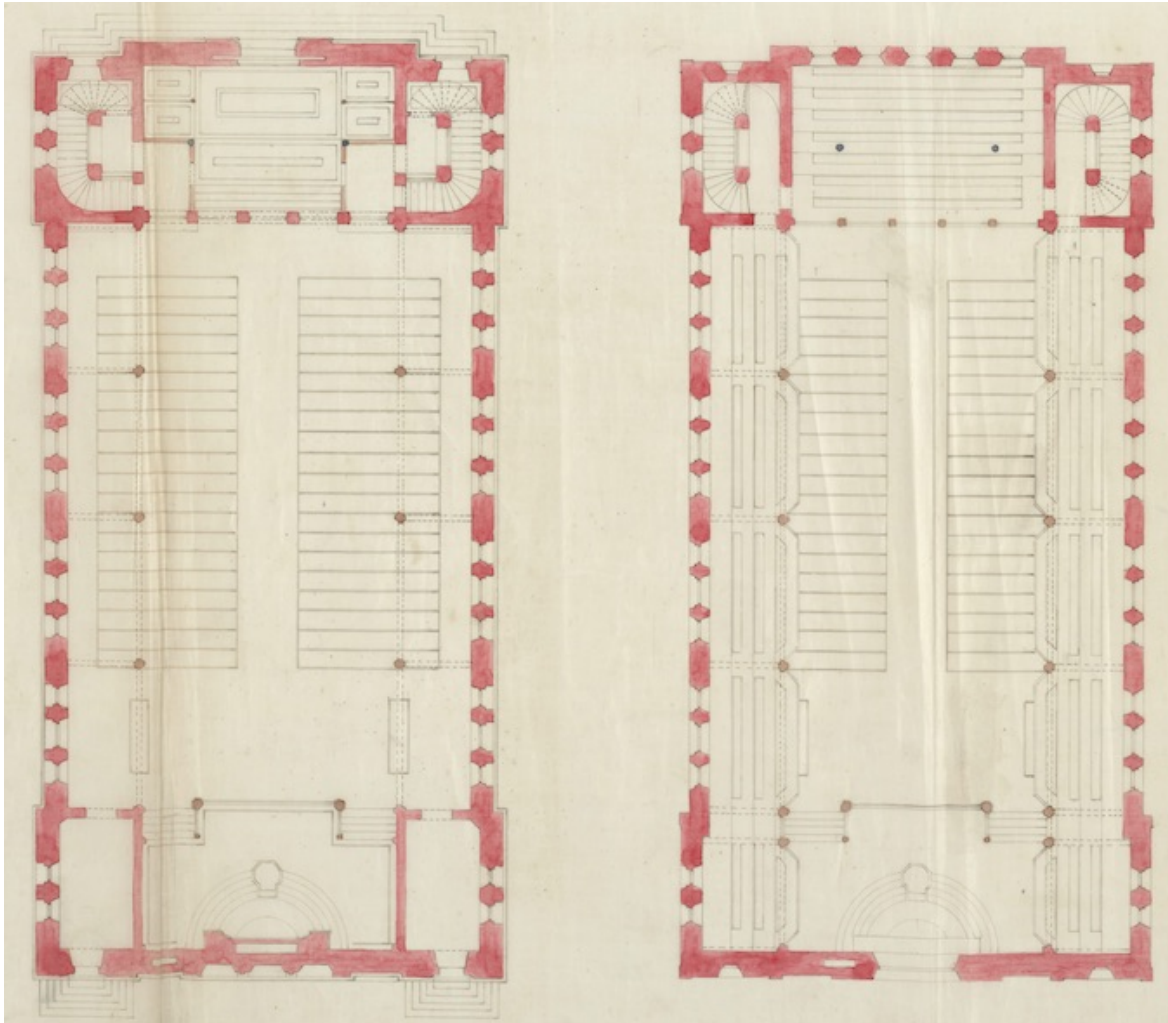


Figure 21. The architectural design of the ground floor and upper floor of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Scholander designed the synagogue in 1862, and only minor details were altered in 1867. During his trip in 1863, the Reform synagogue in Berlin was discussed only in relation to its brick façade, Mannheim's synagogue was of 'Eastern' style with marble colonnades and golden decorations, and Worms' synagogue was 'just an abandoned church.' The synagogue in Cologne apparently deserved further details: it was a 'splendid oriental' building, situated on a narrow street but with a 'Persian' interior of golden reliefs, a blue-coloured dome, white marble and a cast-iron balcony. See: NS037-BN-1867-56-60, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA; Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's travel diary, SE S-HS ACC1992/46, Handwritten Manuscript Collection, RLS.

²⁵⁶ NS037-BN-1867-56, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA.

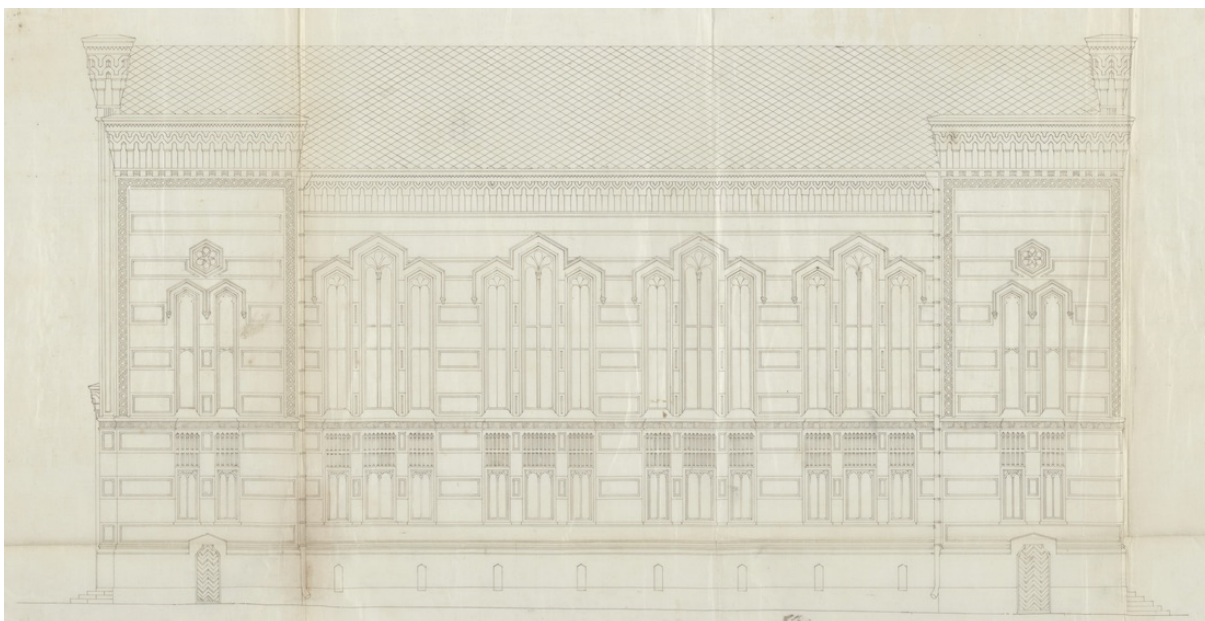


Figure 22. The architectural design of the southern and northern façades of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, 1867.²⁵⁷

The Jewish community desired a ‘neat monument’ with a ‘worthy form’ that instilled ‘peace’ and ‘devotion.’²⁵⁸ Practically, they, furthermore, wanted a cellar, a vestibule, a cloakroom, storage rooms and rooms for the lay and religious leaders – combining neatness with a big enough space, for the total cost of 150,000 *riksdaler*.²⁵⁹ The rectangular plot thus defined the outline of the synagogue, and the budget might have limited the design from including more extravagant domes and forms. Commenting on the limitations of the project, Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander wrote:

The plot’s dimensions have not allowed freedom to search for the unusual in terms of the building’s plan, and [...] the simple, rectangular floor plan, together with a design for the biggest space, create the easiest executable construction and thereby also the smallest cost of construction. [In the architectural plan, I] search for doting forms, a character that as much as possible reminds of the monument’s solemn, serious purpose, and thus join the [desire] for architectural neatness. Therefore, if the ornaments out-

²⁵⁷ NS037-BN-1867-57, Stockholm’s Older Building Designs, SCA.

²⁵⁸ General meeting, March 6, 1864, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Protocol 5, May 3, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. Calculated to approximately £800,000 in today’s currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, ‘A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.’ I used ‘riksdaler specie.’

and inwardly are given attention, each and every one shall find that they are of the simplest sort.²⁶⁰

His repetition of the word 'simple' and emphasis on a budgeted, easy – and thus cheaper – construction portray the boundaries he had to design the synagogue within. With these restrictions in mind, his choice of style was clearly not only the result of architectural creativity. The solemn product on *Wahrendorffsgatan* fitted the customer's needs for neatness, worthiness, devotion and budget, as well as the plot's rectangularity. If the location of the synagogue was indicative of the community's Swedish identity, the architecture represented their Jewish identity. The combination of the two indicates the conscious decision to represent the community as simultaneously Swedish and Jewish.

Although proclaiming a unique identity as Jews via the synagogue's architecture, some of the interior design aligned to the modernised Reform movement. The synagogue on *Wahrendorffsgatan* was built with a balcony for women, advocating for differentiated seating according to Jewish traditions, but the form of the main nave was more church-like, with the *bimah* placed at the front together with the *Aron Hakodesh*, and the aisle leading up to it enclosed by rows of benches, also directed towards the front, see figure 21. An organ had been planned but never constructed in the old synagogue. An on-site organ was instead built in the Wahrendorff Synagogue, and it was remodelled at the beginning of the 1930s to prepare room for a bigger female choir.²⁶¹ But *Haskalah* should, as was discussed earlier, not be viewed as a unitary movement. Several people expressed their individual and divergent perspectives on the practices of Judaism during discussions on the utility of the synagogue on *Wahrendorffsgatan*. The Mosaic Congregation's lay and religious leaders had to navigate and re-evaluate the modes of religious expression that they thought belonged to the new Reform synagogue. The inclusion of an organ and a choir have already been mentioned, but members also raised concerns about the possibility of the construction of a *mikveh* and mixed seating in the synagogue.

Half a year after the cornerstone ritual, and almost a year after the architectural design of the Wahrendorff synagogue was settled at the general meeting, unnamed individuals asked the board to incorporate a *mikveh* into the new synagogue, just as it had been in the old one. The board and the Building Committee decided to ask Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander for a report on the available

²⁶⁰ Letter written by Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander on May 28, 1861, in Appendix 7 in Protocol 5, May 3, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

²⁶¹ Protocol 18, November 23, 1863, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/33, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Protocol 13, June 17, 1931, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/101, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

space, sewer solution and economic costs for the ‘inconveniences and nuisances’ linked to an instalment of the ritual bath.²⁶² The architect replied three months later, in February 1869, with a drawing depicting how the bath could be constructed in the cellar underneath the synagogue, see figure 23. The tub had to be placed close to the ceiling to enable drainage above ground.²⁶³

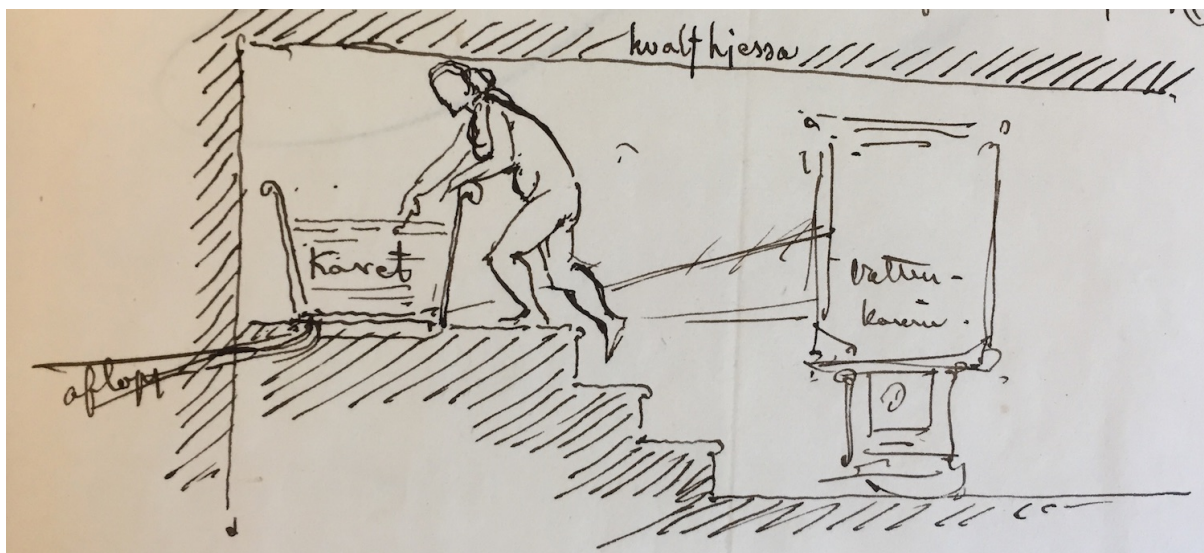


Figure 23. Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's drawing of a *mikveh* in the Wahrendorff synagogue's cellar, 1869.²⁶⁴

The majority of the Mosaic Congregation's board members were, as seen in the rather unenthusiastic choice of words above, not appreciating the need for a merged synagogue/*mikveh*, partly because of cost. Fredrik Wilhlem Scholander's calculated cost for the cellar's conversion into a bath reached 2,300 *riksdaler*,²⁶⁵ which was deemed too expensive. Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn stated that it was 'desirable' to have the *mikveh* in the same building but not obligatory.²⁶⁶ The board consequently voted against the *mikveh*. School principal Albert Abraham

²⁶² Protocol 14, November 18, 1868, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁶³ Letter from Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander written on February 4, 1869, Appendix G in Protocol 18, February 17, 1869, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Calculated to approximately £12,000 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

²⁶⁶ Letter from Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn to the Mosaic Congregation's board, written on February 16, 1869, Protocol 18, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. A third aspect is that the board members, who were all men, always defined the *mikveh* as a 'women's bath,' although the ritual bath was used by both women and men during Holy Days and conversions. As a result, those directing and shaping the religious practices belonging to the Jewish community in Stockholm

(Elias) Valentin wanted his objection noted,²⁶⁷ but neither the existence of communal desire for a merged synagogue/*mikveh*-building, nor the objection against the decision to not construct it, were strong enough to influence the outlook of the new sacred building. The outcome can be read as clear step towards a more Reform-inspired community. The example portrays the religious tensions and differences that existed within the community as a whole, but ultimately depicts that first, unknown people supporting the idea of a *mikveh* in the building were removed from the centre of power, and second, the representatives voting on the matter largely believed in a modernisation of religious practices.

In the spring of 1870, a few months before the Wahrendorff synagogue's inauguration, discussions on issues of seating became heated. There were questions about what each chair should cost, and if the seating should be allocated to each member or used flexibly. Julius Elliot and Moritz Rubenson,²⁶⁸ two of the 13 men discussing the matter during the board meeting, raised the question about whether the synagogue should deviate from the traditional seating structure with men on the bottom floor and women on the balcony. As usual, the board asked non-Jewish Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander for an expert opinion on the possibility of mixed seating in the building. His reply was that 'an obstacle for such a change cannot be found in the building.'²⁶⁹ He, however, added that 'a not insignificant part of the church's characteristic neatness is lost if men and women sit mixed together.' What he based his opinion on is unreferenced, although the synagogue's balcony was clearly created with this traditional Jewish practice in mind. The board's emphasis on the voice of a gentile architect on a religious matter is even more noteworthy, highlighting both the Mosaic Congregation's strategy of utilising Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's voice in disputes, and the architect's intrinsic relationship with the building.

portrayed the practice of *mikveh* as a female activity, which might have created some distance between the decision-making men and the religious practice.

²⁶⁷ He was born in Bejanowo in today's Poland. See: Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁶⁸ Julius Elliot was born in Strelitz north of Berlin, worked as a silk manufacturer and his children all had Swedish names. Some of them were married to non-Jews. Rubenson's grandparents were born in Leszno in western Poland and Copenhagen. He received an education in mathematics and law at Uppsala University and was just a few years earlier refused a position at the Court of Appeal because of his Jewish identity. He currently worked as a secretary for Stockholm's town councillors and was known in the Jewish world as an active member in the community. See: Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Torgny Nevés, 'S Moritz Rubenson,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 30 (1998-2000): 610, accessed June 10, 2019, URL: <sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6968>.

²⁶⁹ Letter from Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, written on April 27, 1870, Appendix F in Protocol 6, June 8, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish, Scholander's underlining.

Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander might, however, have echoed chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn's statement, which emphasised that 'to place the different sexes together in a Jewish God's house is strictly forbidden.'²⁷⁰ When commenting on mixed seating, the rabbi used Talmudic and Maimonidean writings, arguing that there was only one synagogue in Berlin that practiced mixed seating, and 'contrasted with the 7 million Jews on earth [these 300 people] are a disappearing minority' that should not be used as a role model.²⁷¹ Considering that mixed seating was practised for the first time in Berlin's Jewish community at the beginning of the 19th century,²⁷² it seems highly unlikely that only one synagogue practiced mixed seating in the 1860s. Besides using exaggeration to aid his argument, Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, furthermore, argued that the Talmudic laws forbade women to stand in front of praying men or next to their husbands, and some prayers demanded praying individuals to not move from their seats. This could pose a problem since 'if a woman arrives late one has to move in the seats so she can pass.'²⁷³ There was, however, no explanation as to why there was a bigger risk for a woman being late and disrupting the prayer than a man.²⁷⁴

The Cultural Commission of the Mosaic Congregation agreed with the rabbi's hesitance, although a certain Heckscher, one of its members with an unintelligible first name, wrote a letter of reservation. He believed mixed seating would increase the number of attending members, since it would allow one to enjoy the synagogue with everyone else in the family:

Surely everyone, who during all events in life – joyful or sorrowful, indoors and outdoors – always prefers being surrounded by their loved ones, would also prefer to be surrounded by them in church, and through them be spurred to greater devotion?²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Letter from Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, Appendix G in Protocol 6, June 8, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish, Lewysohn's underlining.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Michael A. Meyer, *Responses to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 45.

²⁷³ Letter from Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, Appendix G in Protocol 6, June 8, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

²⁷⁴ Together with the board's opinion that the *mikveh* was to be solely used by women, this is another example of a lingering traditional customs on gendered religious practices. The Mosaic Congregation introduced an organ, choir and hymns in Swedish, but further aspects derived from the Reform movement – including relaxed regulations regarding gender – was not yet accepted by the religious and lay leadership in Stockholm in the 1860s.

²⁷⁵ Comment by Heckscher, Appendix I in Protocol 6, June 8, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

The discussions on mixed seating promoted various opinions within the Jewish community. Some members endorsed a stronger Reform-inspired, modernised version, while perspectives on economy, liturgy and gender were used by others to disqualify sudden changes. The board members listened to the gentile architect, the chief rabbi and the Culture Commission, not the other members of their community, and voted to continue the separated seating in June 1870.

2.2.3 The Inauguration: Public Presentation of the Jewish Vision

During its construction, the anticipation of the Wahrendorff Synagogue's position on the 'frontier' was conceptualised and contested within the Jewish community. The result was a synagogue expressing the *bourgeois*-adopted style of orientalism and Jewish Reform elements, declaring its right for existence in the Swedish urban landscape. True to the methodology of 'building biography,' a study on the construction of the Reform Wahrendorff Synagogue should also include the societal perception and the first indoor practices. Local media accounts of the inauguration ceremony on September 16, 1870, reveal not only the non-Jewish reception of the event, and the building, but also the Mosaic Congregation's carefully fashioned narrative.²⁷⁶

Publishing an article on the almost completed synagogue on August 10, 1870, the local newspaper *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (New Daily Miscellaneous) was not only the first newspaper to distribute the textual version of this Jewish place across Stockholm, but also reproduced the Mosaic Congregation's and Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander's architectural vision almost word-for-word. The article stated that the synagogue was built in 'ancient oriental' style, listing the usage of 'historical characteristics,' such as the 'Assyrian' palm and the hexagon of the *Magen David* (Star of David). Historical sites such as Babylon, Jerusalem and Nineveh were mentioned, evoking the imagination of historical places. The article listed Judaic elements present in the synagogue, but neither architectural particularities nor Jewish imagery was properly explained to the non-Jewish audience.²⁷⁷ It also used the words *kyrka* (church) and *tempel* (temple) eight and three times respectively, even in the headline, while the word *synagoga* (synagogue) was not mentioned once. The Mosaic Congregation's board minutes through the 1860s similarly preferred the word

²⁷⁶ The following articles have been used for this study: 'Nya Mosaiska kyrkan i Stockholm' in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, (August 10, 1870), RLS; 'Mosaiska synagogan' in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, (September 13, 1870), RLS; 'Den nya Synagoga', in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Den nya synagogan' in *Dagens Nyheter*, (September 16, 1870), RLS; 'Invigningen af den nya Synagogan' in *Dagens Nyheter*, (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Invigning af nya synagogan' in *Aftonbladet*, (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Invigningen af den nya Synagogan' in *Stockholms Dagblad*, (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁷⁷ The *el-mimmar* was explained as 'an elevated place,' while '(the Pentateuch)' clarified what the *Torah* scroll was.

kyrka, opting for a more general term to describe the Jewish sacred place. To describe a Judaic ritual, the word *mosaisk* (mosaic) was instead chosen. The term was in usage from the middle of the 19th century until the end of the 1940s, and was a way for Jews to etymologically show that their identity was confessional, not ethnic. As Swedes with a Mosaic faith, they, therefore, argued that they could be members of the Swedish nation.²⁷⁸

The article's text was thus architecturally technical and religiously informed, adopting the terminology of the Mosaic Congregation, but the writer did not reorganise and represent this information in a coherent, accessible form for the non-Jewish Stockholmer. Because of the architectural descriptions, Bo Grandien suggests that Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander cooperated with the newspaper by talking to the journalists.²⁷⁹ This analysis of the interior descriptions and choice of words shows that the Mosaic Congregation's board also must have influenced the transferal process. The article delivered a representation of the synagogue that aligned to the intentions of its creators. As the inauguration day drew closer, other newspapers also published descriptions of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, largely reproducing *Nya Dagligt Allehanda's* text with only minor changes.²⁸⁰ By recycling the original article, the newspapers unknowingly circulated the spatial vision of the Mosaic Congregation and Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, solidifying their narrative.

Positive descriptions of the building that introduced the synagogue to *Nya Dagligt Allehanda's* readers were reproduced: phrases such as 'one of the most interesting and beautiful monumental buildings that have been constructed in our country during our lifetime,' 'magnificent temple,' and 'as original as harmonious' praised Stockholm's newest structure. *Aftonbladet* (The Evening Paper) described the synagogue as a 'neat, but solemn [...] magnificent building,' echoing the Mosaic Congregation's vision provided for Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander in 1863. The synagogue was, however, largely viewed as an architectural accomplishment, not a Jewish sacred place, as shown in the following tribute:

²⁷⁸ Dencik, *Judendom i Sverige*, 20–23.

²⁷⁹ Grandien, *Drömmen om renässansen*, 424.

²⁸⁰ *Dagens Nyheter* credited the former newspaper before launching into the unchanged presentation, adding only a rather long section on the specifics of the organ. In turn, *Aftonbladet* credited *Dagens Nyheter* when adding an edited version of the original text to the end of their article about the ceremony. *Stockholms Dagblad* published *Dagens Nyheter's* version, including the depiction of the organ, crediting 'some other newspapers.'

the whole thing is a beautiful testimony to both the great artistry of the architect and the scrupulous labour of entrepreneur and all workers during the construction of the building, and it has become an adornment to our capital.²⁸¹

Indeed, all newspapers commented on the synagogue's geographical position. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* and *Dagens Nyheter* published this statement:

Perhaps some Mosaic tradition inflicted this obscured location onto the building, which to a large extent is lost to the capital, and which could have seen one of its most distinguished architectonic adornments.²⁸²

The degrading note about the Jewish religion should not be missed in the above quote, especially since it is put in opposition to the accomplished architecture. *Aftonbladet*, on the other hand, analysed that

One has [...] not without reason, regretted that this magnificent building has been given such an obscured and narrow location, but we assume that the Mosaic Congregation, not without calculation, has chosen this position, which has the advantage that the congregation, whose greater festivals as well as days of Sabbath occur on other times than those of the rest of the city population, is not disrupted by the noise and movement on common streets and places.²⁸³

As the above analysis comments on the relationship between the Jewish inner discourse and the outer architecture, the text echoes the opinions of the Mosaic Congregation's board. Overall, the newspapers, however, linked their wish for a better location to the architectural achievements of non-Jewish Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, not the desired visibility of Jewishness in Stockholm.

²⁸¹ 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁸² 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Den nya synagogan,' *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁸³ 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

Nya Dagligt Allehanda, however, added a socio-political perspective to the discussion on the synagogue's visibility, one which no other newspaper at the time chose to republish:

We have recently in our society broken the last of faults, which yore eliminated Jews from Christian societies and forced them to hide their wealth and religious cult in their particularly narrow and dirty quarters.²⁸⁴

While commenting positively on the newly received Jewish emancipation, the newspaper still followed some antisemitic patterns by mentioning the imagined Jewish wealth and the ghetto, which never existed in Stockholm. Still, the author expressed gratitude that *judar* (Jews) – mark the word the writer used – were finally a visible part of the Swedish society, physically expressed through the synagogue. The author saw the synagogue as a physical embodiment of the Jewish political and legal equality in Sweden, which is why it deserved a better location.

The above sentiment was passionately emphasised by the chief rabbi during his sermon in the inauguration ceremony.²⁸⁵ Not using the words 'synagogue,' 'Jew' or 'Mosaic,' Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn preferred 'temple,' 'the House of God' and 'Israelite.' He, furthermore, universalised his inauguration message by arguing for the synagogue's function of fostering Jews to become educated and spiritual members of the Swedish nation in the non-Jewish, public space. He advised the Jewish audience to 'in here [...], pray as *Israelites*, out there [...] act primarily as *humans*, as *humans with everyone else and for everyone else*.'²⁸⁶ Although housing a distinct Jewish identity, the synagogue as a public building was, therefore, a physical embodiment of the liberal and egalitarian movements in society. According to the chief rabbi, it was possible to strive towards a society united in peace and love since

the number of countries grows, in which confessional difference seizes being a foundation for difference before court and law. And we greatly appreciate experiencing this inauguration holiday, which takes place in the same year that one of the most

²⁸⁴ 'Den nya synagogan,' *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁸⁵ Louis Lewysohn's speech was published as Dr. L. Lewysohn, *Predikan hållen vid invigningen af den nya synagogan i Stockholm den 16 september 1870* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1870), and can be found in Appendix B in Protocol 17, October 6, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Author's Italics.

beautiful pages was written in Sweden's cultural history. This year is also engraved above the entrance to our new temple; encouraging memories to be attached to this year, not only for us, my fellow brothers in faith, but also for all friends of the fatherland, for every friend of humanity, for every friend of justice and truth!²⁸⁷

Although not created as a result of the emancipation, the synagogue stood as a physical reminder of the year Jews became Swedish citizens with equal rights. Louis Ludwig Lewysohn's speech was praised in the local press as a 'lovely and lively lecture,' 'beautifully considered and well-spoken' and 'noble,' executed with 'a beautiful and also rather truthful moral.'²⁸⁸ *Dagens Nyheter* complemented the rabbi's 'ex tempore' style, admiring his speaking qualities.²⁸⁹ The journalists specifically paraphrased, with impressive accuracy, the chief rabbi's hope for a humanity united in peace and love, emphasising his concluding prayer for the fatherland, Swedish politicians and all gathered.

The performative nature of Louis Ludwig Lewysohn's sermon, the liturgical elements and the musical pieces during the inauguration ceremony should not be understated. This was, after all, the first time Jews in Stockholm celebrated their belonging to the Swedish nation together with non-Jews. The invited non-Jewish guests – members of Stockholm's political, economic, religious and social elite – sat at the front, fully visible. Current and former cabinet ministers, members of parliament, city mayors, prominent engineers, police commissioners, vicars, barons and counts – a total of 84 men – found their spots in the never-before used pews.²⁹⁰ So did Jewish community members too, of course, as well as invited representatives from the Jewish communities in Gothenburg, Norrköping and Karlskrona. Several newspapers noted the Jewish men's 'covered heads,' and the 'dressed-up women' on the balconies. The synagogue was packed, and those who had not managed to get a seat in the synagogue gathered outside of it.²⁹¹ The Jewish presence thus stepped out onto the streets, turning the quietness of the narrow *Wahrendorffsgatan* into a never-before witnessed spectacle.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Den nya synagogan,' *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (September 17, 1870), RLS; 'Invigningen af den nya Synagogan,' *Stockholms Dagblad* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁸⁹ 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

²⁹⁰ Plan of procession and list of invited guests in Appendix P in Protocol 17, October 6, 1870, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁹¹ 'Invigningen af nya synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

The 'beautiful,' 'solemn,' 'impressive' and deeply touching' ceremony included an organ-accompanied procession of the *Torah* scrolls,²⁹² their placement in the *Aron Hakodesh* and the lighting of the eternal light. The synagogue was filled with communal hymns in Swedish, cantatas, arias, and solo and choir performances by famous Swedish-Jewish musicians,²⁹³ some written specifically for the inauguration ceremony, some perceived by reporters as 'church-like' or 'psalms.' Similar to the universal God proclaimed by Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, the hymns praised God as eternal, wise, graceful, peaceful and holy, creator and shepherd, worthy of humanity's worship. The mention of 'Jacob' in the cantata was the clearest allusion to the Jewish God but did not exclude the Christian God either.²⁹⁴

The Mosaic Congregation's carefully staged inauguration clearly expressed the universal values of their religion, while they simultaneously did not avoid Judaic rituals typical for the ceremony. By stressing Judaism's role in fostering moral and educated citizens, the Mosaic Congregation used to Wahrendorff Synagogue to present a Jewishness compatible with the Swedish national identity. Although the newspapers discussed the synagogue's exterior grandeur in relation to the non-Jewish architect, and criticised its geographical position, the ceremony itself was represented in a positive light, mostly echoing the Jewish community's wish to be viewed as both Swedes and Jews. This latter element was emphasised towards the end of *Stockholms Dagblad's* (Stockholm's Daily Paper) article:

It deserves to be mentioned, that two moneyboxes were exhibited at the send-off service in the old synagogue for acceptance of contribution of money for this year's sick and wounded in battlefield during the war. These moneyboxes would hereafter be exhibited for some time in the new synagogue.²⁹⁵

The referenced war was the Franco-Prussian war, and due to the closeness between Swedish and German cultures, it can be assumed that the money box must have aided German soldiers. Perhaps emphasising Louis Ludwig Lewysohn's statement that Jews were now Swedish citizens,

²⁹² The Jewish community's elite walked in this procession of 34 men, for example chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn, rabbi Moritz Schönthal from Norrköping, the current Mosaic Congregation's chairman and doctor Jacob Levertin, as well as board members Axel Lamm, Henrik Davidsson, Adolf Schück, Albert Abraham (Elias) Valentin and Levi Salomon, former cantor.

²⁹³ Music shop owner, composer and the Mosaic Congregation's organist John Jacobsson wrote the last song, and Jeanette Jacobsson, not a relative to John Jacobsson despite the shared last name, performed it.

²⁹⁴ All lyrics can be found in the inauguration programme, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

²⁹⁵ 'Invigningen af den nya Synagogan,' *Stockholms Dagblad* (September 17, 1870), RLS.

taking on the challenge to transform the world into a better place, the journalist painted a picture of a generous and socio-politically concerned community, practically engaged in helping humanity when needed, thus communicating the Mosaic Congregation's staged self-perception.

With the construction of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, the Jewish population in Stockholm finally established a visible home for their religion, which clearly argued for its belonging in the city's landscape. Inner-communal disagreement on the nature of this visibility, however, prolonged its construction, showcasing the Jewish community's careful and divergent considerations on both their social position in the Swedish pre-emancipatory society and their religious orientation. The inner-communal power struggle will be further investigated in the next chapter, but this first case study exemplifies the existence of several ideas of Jewishness within the pre-emancipatory Jewish community. As has been shown, extreme viewpoints on both aspects were ignored, and the board opted for the half-hidden location on *Wahrendorffsgatan* and an inspired, but not fully adopted, Reform expression. At the time of the inauguration, the Jewish community, now as Swedish citizens with equal rights, continued to perform a Jewishness that was partly ritually Judaic and partly adopted to the Swedish society.

The employment of non-Jewish architect Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander was a strategic decision to enhance the anticipated Swedish-Jewish public representation on the 'frontier.' While his voice became vital currency used by the different groups involved in the inner-communal discussions to enhance their arguments, the Mosaic Congregation simultaneously did not regard his opinion as highly as those of the sub-groups. Although the non-Jewish writers reporting from the inauguration ceremony articulated some antisemitic prejudices and advocated for the synagogue's value as purely architectural, they simultaneously circulated the Mosaic Congregation's narrative of the sacred place as a location for the fostering of universal morality and Swedish patriotism. This case study thus points towards the Mosaic Congregation board's sense of Swedish belonging and their success in engaging non-Jewish actors to articulate and circulate this self-understanding.

2.3 The Construction of the Orthodox Synagogue: Non-Jewish Role for Jewish Multiplicity

The needs of orthodox practitioners were, however, not fully realised in the new Wahrendorff Synagogue. Unable to attend a synagogue with an organ, some members of the Jewish community were forced to find new locations for their ritual practices. The *minyán Adat Jisrael*, therefore, emerged in 1871, and moved to *Södermalm*. The area, as described in the introductory

chapter, was, although increasingly rebuilt into fire-proof tenements, largely a home to industries and wooden slums. The 'building biographies' of *Adat Jisrael's* synagogues showcase the community's social adaptability and spatial opportunism, both needed in this physically changing urban district. Professional relations with non-Jewish actors were important features in the construction and use of the locations in first, a Pietist girl orphanage and second, a former cinema.

2.3.1 The Pietist Orphanage: Jewish-Christian Co-Existence

The Pietist orphanage was created by pastor Petrus Murbeck in 1747, financially aided by likeminded philanthropists.²⁹⁶ 16 institutions for orphaned or destitute children existed in Stockholm at the turn of the 20th century, of which seven were designed for girls only.²⁹⁷ Most of these orphanages did not have a religious orientation stretching beyond morning prayers and church attendance on Sundays, making the religious orientation of Murbeck's orphanage rather unique.²⁹⁸ It provided accommodation and school for 20-30 orphaned girls born in legal marriages, and was one of the largest orphanages in Stockholm at the time.²⁹⁹ Just like the other orphanages, it aimed to train girls for a future domestic occupation, providing courses on handicrafts such as sewing, weaving and cooking. The combined orphanage and school moved between different locations on *Södermalm* until a building on *Sankt Paulsgatan* (Saint Paul's Street) 17 was bought in 1822, see figures 24 and 25.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ Statement from Eric Vassuer written on October 9, 1966, SE/SSA/2269A/F_1/1, The Murbeck Foundation, SCA.

²⁹⁷ Ingrid Söderlind, *Barnhem för flickor: Barn, familj och institutionsliv i Stockholm, 1870-1920* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 1999), 12.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 53, 160–161.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, 34; Newspaper article (undated) in *Stockholms Dagblad* under heading 'En välsignerik stiftelse' (A blessed foundation), SE/SSA/2269A/F_1/1, The Murbeck Foundation, SCA.

³⁰⁰ Information on the construction of the original house on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 17 is limited. Individuals have owned the plot since 1730, with professions ranging from wine dealer and cloth cutter to shipping agent and master mason. The variety of professions and the surroundings suggest that the building existing on the plot is used as storage or industry. Diplomat Pehr Olof von Asp, who was sent as the royal envoy to Denmark, the Netherlands, England and Finland during the 18th century, bought the plot a year before his death in 1808. It passed through a wholesale merchant before Murbeck's orphanage bought it. See: 'Property Paris 3, 4, Maria församling,' The Property Register, SCA; Erik Naumann, 'Pehr Olof Asp, von,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 2 (1920): 383, accessed November 9, 2016, URL: <www.sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=18884>.



Figure 24. *Sankt Paulsgatan*, 1900-1909.³⁰¹

The orphanage was perceived by Pietist leaders as a place where lives of destitute girls were turned from darkness to light through religious education and the emphasis on an individual encounter with God. The girls were supposedly gradually transformed from destitute orphans upon arrival, into pious Christians with employment by the time they moved out again. The actions of philanthropy performed within its walls stood for more than materialistic aid: they were religious acts.³⁰² The building became a physical location where material needs were met, and metaphysical journeys were made. These transformations were intrinsically linked to the location. And it was within this sacred building on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 17, *Adat Jisrael* found the first location for its synagogue.

³⁰¹ Kasper Salin, 'Sankt Paulsgatan österut från Ragvaldsgatan. Sankt Paulsgatan 11, 9, 7 och 5. Nummer 11 är Monteliuska huset från 1757,' (1900-1910), F 3666, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/17625>.

³⁰² The speech by E. J. Nordenson at the 100 years' celebration in 1847, published as a small pamphlet, described the orphanage in sacred term, a place that turned destitute girls into pious women. See pamphlet 'Tal och berättelse vid Murbeckska inrättningens sekularfest,' SE/SSA/2269A/F_1/1, The Murbeck Foundation, SCA.

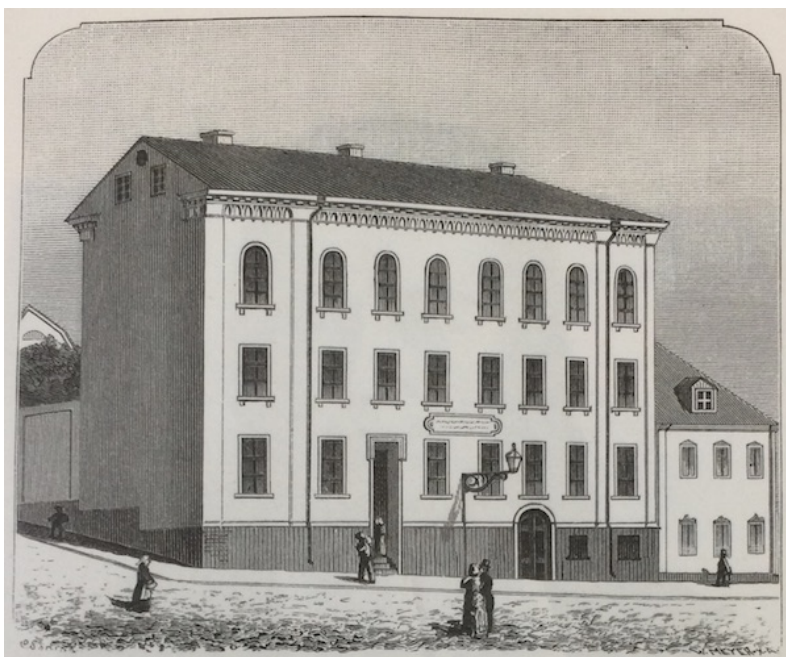


Figure 25. Murbeck's orphanage, 1847.³⁰³

Pietism, a Christian revival- and laymen movement, focused on the individual experience of salvation as a reaction to the exclusive intellectualism of Swedish Church priests, gathering in homes to sing, pray and discuss despite being forbidden to do so by the Conventicle Act in 1726.³⁰⁴ Leaders of the movement argued for people's spiritual freedom and right to be educated in the Christian theology. The German Pietist movement in the 17th and 18th centuries was 'obsessed' with Jews and, for example, debated with Lutherans on increased Jewish rights in the public press.³⁰⁵ On the other hand, while some Pietist expressions of philo-Semitism viewed the Jewish population as God's chosen, other Pietist leaders argued that Jews had gone astray and, therefore, had to be re-educated and converted.³⁰⁶ The historical Pietist-Jewish relationship was clearly not entirely based on mutual acceptance, and could indeed involve religious and social friction. On the other hand, Stockholm had been a setting for previous wholesome Christian-Jewish relationships. The old synagogue was after the inauguration of the Wahrendorff Synagogue sold to the Church of Mission for Seafarers, and the communities together made sure that the Jewish-constructed pulpit was donated to the Nordic Museum in Stockholm when the

³⁰³ Image of *Sankt Paulsgatan 17* in *ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Klas Lindberg, 'Pietistiska föregångsmän i Sverige: Två pietistiskt influerade präster i väckelsens tjänst i Sverige under 1700-talet,' *Herrnhuts Brödrmission* 3 (2016): 14–18.

³⁰⁵ Lucinda Maryin, 'Tolerance, Anti-Judaism, and Philo-Judaism in the Pietist Periodical *Bau des Reichs Gottes*,' *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*, 48, 3 (2012): 301–316, quote from 301.

³⁰⁶ Peter Vogt, 'Connectedness in Hope: German Pietism and Jews,' in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1600-1800*, ed. Douglass H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 81–115.

synagogue/church was converted into a police station in 1890.³⁰⁷ The mutual coexistence of Jews and Pietist orphans in Murbeck's orphanage, however, demanded daily encounters between Christians and Jews.

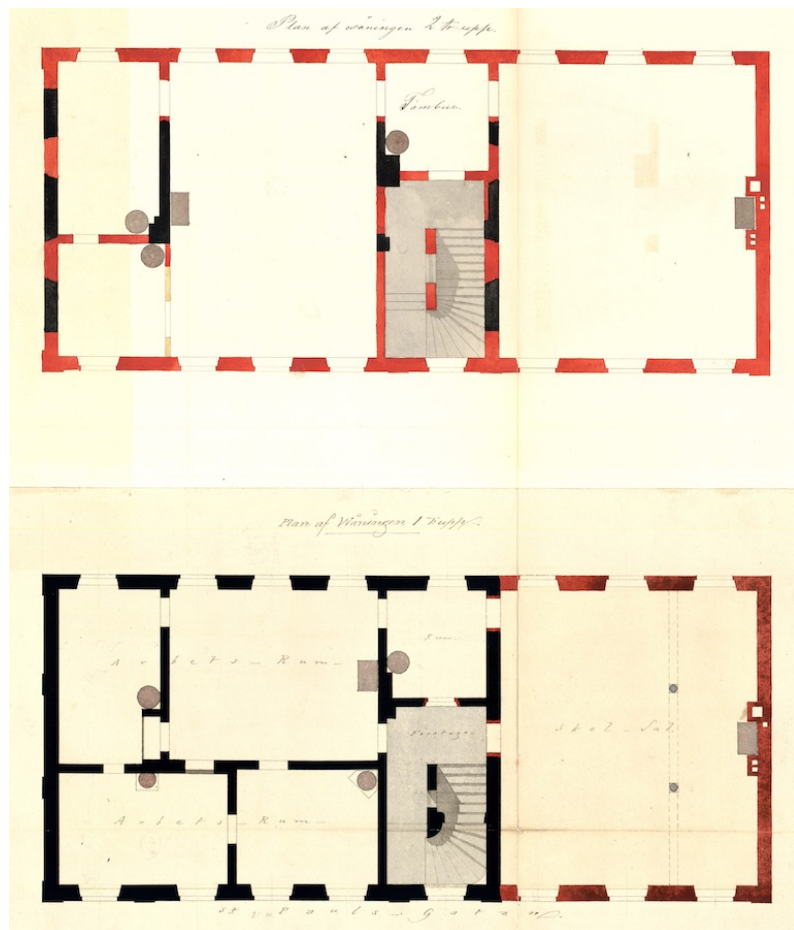


Figure 26. Plans of second and first floors of *Sankt Paulsgatan 17*, 1859.³⁰⁸

The first and second floors of the orphanage were renovated in 1859, see figure 26.³⁰⁹ While the cellar housed a bakery, woodshed, washroom and lavatories, the first floor was renovated into schoolrooms on the left-hand side and one bigger school venue to the right. It can be assumed that the ground floor held at least a kitchen and canteen, and maybe even some offices. The second floor had two big, open rooms with one tile stove each with two smaller rooms on the

³⁰⁷ *Jewish Museum in Stockholm*, 'Själågårdsgatan 19: Synagogans historia,' unpublished report (2019), 10.

³⁰⁸ NS037-BN-1859-837, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA.

³⁰⁹ The plan of the ground floor is missing from the application to Stockholm City's Building Committee, presumably because no changes were proposed for it.

left-hand side, and this was presumably the big bedrooms, perhaps guarded by employees sleeping in the smaller rooms.

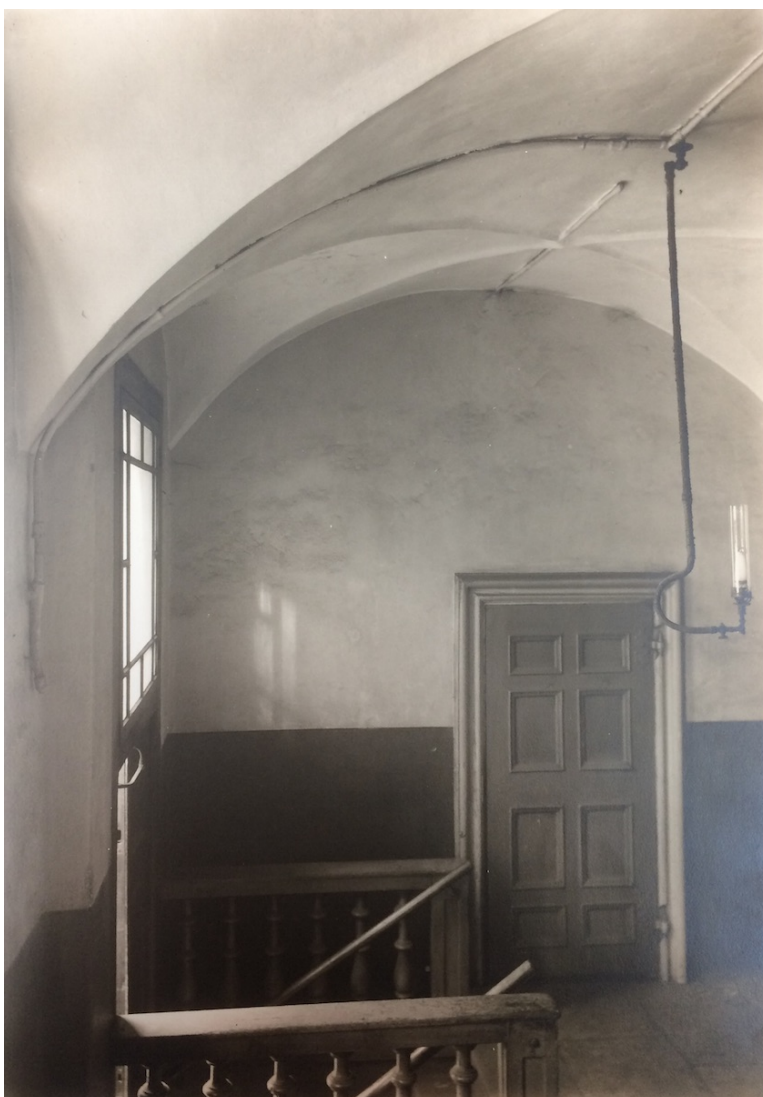


Figure 27. A vestibule in Murbeck's orphanage, 1900-1930.³¹⁰

From 1871 onwards, *Adat Jisrael* rented the big room to the right on the first floor.³¹¹ The orthodox rituals performed in the synagogue included morning and some evening prayers, and

³¹⁰ Picture of the orphanage's interior, SE/SSA/2269A/F_1/1, The Murbeck Foundation, SCA.

³¹¹ When the orphanage moved to the suburbs in 1899 and the big bedrooms were turned into schoolrooms, an exterior fire exit was built up to the second floors, past the workrooms on first floor. The businessman who utilised the building applies to have this staircase removed in 1918 and the Fire Station Officer in Stockholm approves since 'the public assembly hall, for which this staircase poses as a second emergency exit, has ceased and the venue will be designed into lodgings.' The timing fits with *Adat Jisrael*'s transfer from *Sankt Paulsgatan* 17 to *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 in 1917, further implying that these exact rooms

were still part of the synagogue's practices in 1926.³¹² Exiting the staircase, standing on the verge to cross the threshold into this sacred Jewish place, would have looked somewhat similar to figure 27. Moreover, the signature 'A V-n' – a reformed or non-observant Jew – described the synagogue like this in 1905:

I go through the doorway, pass a wall, which does not reach the ceiling, and which separates a part of the room into a vestibule, and I am inside the sanctuary. The venue is decoratively simple and offers little room for fantasy [...]. A balcony is on the western wall across from the entrance, and a staircase leads to it from the middle of the room, and the women of the congregation have their place there.³¹³

The article, published in the national newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, reveals not only the Jewish writer's prejudice, but also their curiosity about the orthodox practitioners and their rituals. The writer condescendingly ridicules and excitingly exoticizes the *shabbat* service, as can be seen in the following segment:

Two of the congregation's members read 'kaddish,' the prayer for a deceased relative; they go up to the platform, one on each side of the lead singer's pulpit. They have their talles [a *tallit* is a shawl used during religious services] hanging like capes over the backs, and now they place them over their heads, because they are particularly pious men, who do not want to stand in front of the highest one with uncovered faces. They read the prayer with fierce waddles and bow with their backs towards the congregation. They turn around, and now I see these two shapeless figures with head and a bigger part of the body covered by the white-blue striped shawl, and I feel closer to the Orient when they slowly, murmuring waddle to and fro. There is something mystic, something ancient about it all, which makes me feel, despite the fact that I should find it all ridiculous, partly moved by these ceremonies, which the faithful have kept for centuries

were used as synagogue. See: 'Adat Jisraels historia – en sammanfattning,' (2007) *Adat Jisrael*, accessed November 10, 2016, URL: <www.adatjisrael.se/historia/historia-2/>; Application for building approval, 234D2/18, SE/SSA/0174/F_1, The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office, SCA.

³¹² Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to Arthur Fürstenberg, October 4, 1926, SE/RA/720483/5/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

³¹³ 'De rättrogna,' *Dagens Nyheter* (March 5, 1905), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

despite oppression, persecution, ridicule and contempt, ceremonies that might have been performed by my own forefathers some millenniums ago in Salomon's own temple. But as I get back to the vestibule again, I am yet again in the 20th century. The electric tram turns down the street, and unabashedly, I light my cigarette, even though it is Sabbath.³¹⁴

The ending compares *Adat Jisrael* and her members to modern life in the city, emphasising their incompatibility. But, as the historiography exemplifies in the introductory chapter, the modern European city was home to heterogeneous religious expressions. Although the origin of the Pietist-orthodox Judaic relationship has not been captured by any surviving material, it serves as an example of how different religious minorities could aid each other's sacred places. Pietists and observant Jews were not only two groups adhering to two different religions; they were also obeying traditions, laws and lifestyles that were distinct within their own religion. This was the most orthodox Jewish location in Stockholm, and it shared location with a Christian group whose revivalist beliefs contradicted the Swedish church in the 18th century. Both groups were noticeably divergent from the religious mainstreams, yet – or perhaps because of it – they shared space on *Sankt Paulsgatan 17*.

No rental agreements or invoices have been found that can inform on the nature of the relationship between the two groups. Still, Jewish men presumably entered the building every morning and afternoon, ascending one level of stairs to reach the doors to the left, entering their synagogue. The girls surely must have witnessed the Jewish journey from the building's main entrance into the rooms. Some might even have met them in the staircase, mingling the Christian character of the orphanage with Orthodox Judaism. Their coexistence implies that the pietist ideals of Murbeck's orphanage were not threatened by sharing their sacred place with *Adat Jisrael*. Maybe the Jewish group secured a reliable income, maybe they were perceived as too different for conversion, maybe the pietists saw an opportunity to explore their philo-Semitism, or maybe the coexistence was marked by friction: the sources do not reveal the nature of their relationship. Either way, the fact that *Adat Jisrael* and the pietist orphanage co-existed on this sacred site for 28 years demonstrates that it was a functioning arrangement.

³¹⁴ Ibid. My translation from Swedish.

2.3.2 The Cinema: From a Modern Temple to a Sacred Temple

Adat Jisrael moved to *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 in 1917. It is noteworthy that these two locations are located less than 50 metres from each other. The closeness to the first synagogue in Murbeck's orphanage suggests that this group of Jews, if the choice was given, preferred to stay within the same area. On the way to street number 13, they would have passed a building from 1730, which was used as a factory for photographic plates at the end of the 1910s, as well as the church assembly hall and pastoral meeting place for the parish congregation *Maria Magdalena* located just behind the building.³¹⁵ The new synagogue still resided in close vicinity to a place of Christian worship, which meant that the two congregations shared the same public space outside the buildings. The 'building biography' of *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 is, however, different from the orphanage as it housed both factories and entertainment linked to technological and modern innovations before being transformed into a synagogue in 1917. Together with the story of a shared, pietist-Jewish sacred site on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 17, this 'building biography' demonstrates the flexibility and adaptability of the orthodox community's process of place-making.

The plot on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 was bought by the social club *Wälgörande och Wänskap* (Friendship and Beneficence) in 1820.³¹⁶ Club member Nils Sommelius, a well-travelled, future oil industrialist, signed an application to Stockholm's City's Building Committee in 1820, asking for permission to build a stone house designed by F. Carlberg, portrayed in figure 28.³¹⁷ As can be seen in these drawings, the house was planned with the club's social needs in mind. The two-storey building, covered in grey fair-faced plaster, had a number of facilities for the club's members; a dancing saloon on first floor, a balcony for musicians and dining rooms.³¹⁸ *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 was a building designed for social and cultural events, for talking, dancing, mingling and celebrating, and was used as such by an exclusive group.

³¹⁵ 'Östergötland 20,' *Katarinaberget: Examination and Conservation Proposition*, Working Group for Katarinaberget (1972), SCA; 'Saturnus 11,' *Building Inventory: Södra Maria, del av Högalid* (1974-1975), SCA.

³¹⁶ An inventory of the club reveals that it consisted of 89 'knights' and another 64 people of different ranks in 1818. The members pay fees, and in turn the society pays for, for example, embroideries, a headwaiter's uniform, cups and decorational orders. The inventory suggests that *Wälgörande och Wänskap* is a societal, exclusive club, a sort of Masonic Order lookalike, where the members are awarded ranks. Member Nils Sommelius, a well-travelled, future oil industrialist, signs an application to Stockholm's City's Building Committee in 1820, asking for permission to build a stone house designed by F. Carlberg. See: Inventory and application to Stockholm City's Building Committee, SE/SSA/4180, The Society Friendship and Beneficence, SCA.

³¹⁷ Mattias Andersson, 'Sommelius, släkt,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 32 (2003-2006): 654, accessed June 5, 2016, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6124>>; 'Property Laxen 4, Maria församling,' The Property Register, SCA; Application for building approval, 1820:47, SE/SSA/0174/F_1, The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office, SCA.

³¹⁸ Arkindus, *Synagogan Adat Jisrael. Kv. Närke, Stockholm* (2014), accessed on June 13, 2019, URL: <www.arkindus.net/pdf/Synagogan%20soder.%20R%202014.2.%20Bilaga.pdf>.

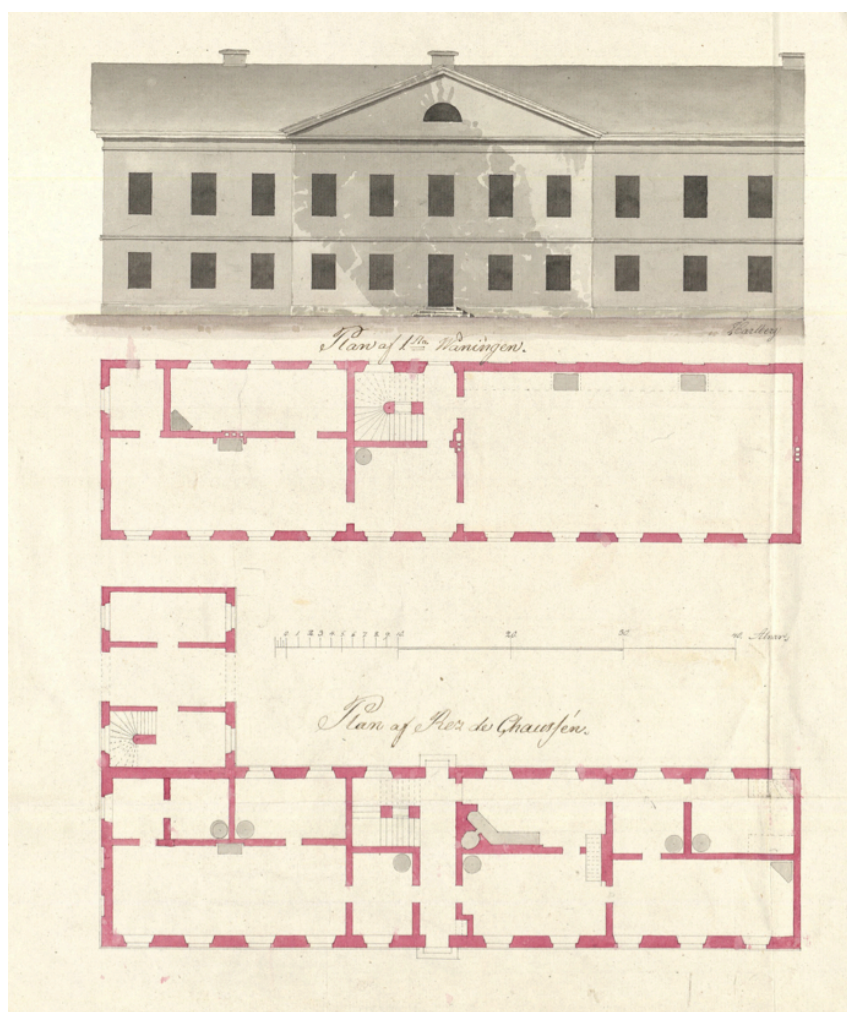


Figure 28. The architectural design for the façade, first floor and ground floor of *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13, 1820.³¹⁹

Wänskap och Wälgörande, however, ceased to exist in 1830, and the building's intended use was forgotten. It was instead used as an industrial site by the Jewish silk merchant, future financial investor of Stockholm's banking industry and the Mosaic Congregation's chairman Lesser Meyerson,³²⁰ whom we met in the introduction, and his son-in-law, and then later on by another

³¹⁹ NS037-BN-1820-49, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA.

³²⁰ Together with his wife Sofie Schück, Lesser Meyerson expanded his textile business into adjacent buildings in the block in 1849, and added another storey to the back building on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 in 1855, shaping the immediate physical surroundings. Meyerson was just one of several Jews in Sweden establishing textile industries that developed revolutionary techniques of, for example, colour dying in the 19th century. He signed off the company to his Jewish son-in-law, and future bank mogul and politician Henrik Isac Davidson and Joseph Elliot in 1953, and they bought the building from him in 1956. See: 'Östergötland 21,' *Katarinaberget: Examination and Conservation Proposition*, Working Group for Katarinaberget (1972), SCA; NS037-BN-1855-24, Stockholm's Older Building Designs, SCA; 'Property Laxen 4,

silk merchant, non-Jewish Knut August Almgren.³²¹ *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 became a manufacturing site, producing commodities, a process that was typical of the industrial revolution that transformed Sweden in the 1870s-1980s.³²² The advance of modernity did not, however, only change the occupants and usage of the building,³²³ but also transformed the building's architectural structure. The temperance society *De förenade bröderna* (The United Brothers) redeveloped the venue on first floor to a cinema with space for 225 people. It opened on Christmas Day in 1904.³²⁴ This was one of the very first permanent cinemas in Stockholm.

Many theorists view the cinematic experience as synonymous with modern life in the city.³²⁵ Although some scholars have argued against the idea that the development of early cinema needed an urban setting,³²⁶ the city at the turn of the 20th century offered a wide spectrum of entertainment. The cinema was sure enough not the only new form of visual entertainment and

Maria församling,' The Property Register, SCA; Erik Vennberg, 'Henrik Isac Davidson,' 10 (1931): 343, accessed May 31, 2016, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=17297>>.

³²¹ N. Forssell, 'Knut August Almgren,' *Dictionary of Swedish National Biography*, 1 (1918): 430, accessed May 31, 2016, URL: <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=5681>>.

³²² Mark B. Sandberg, 'Effigy and Narrative: Looking into the Nineteenth-Century Folk Museum', in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, eds. Leo Charney, and Vanessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 324.

³²³ Apart from being used as a venue for the secondary school *Södra Gymnasiet* (The Southern High School) for 20 years at the end of the 19th century, *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 houses various industries. One of them is the company *Aktiebolaget Mekaniska Verkstaden Rapid* (CO Mechanical Workshop Rapid), who buys the property in 1898. It achieved to procure the patent for the production of the machine Rapid that was supposedly able to cork bottles in a new, innovative manner. See: Arkindus, *Synagogan Adat Jisrael. Kv. Närke, Stockholm* (2014), accessed on June 13, 2019, URL: <www.arkindus.net/pdf/Synagogan%20soder.%20R%202014.2.%20Bilaga.pdf>; 'Laxen,' volume 13, SE/SSA/0140/02/01/D_1_A/13, Stockholm's Hustings Archive, SCA; Registration for the company *Aktiebolaget Mekaniska Verkstaden Rapid*, SE/RA/420209/01/E_3_A/168, Swedish Patent and Registration Office, SSA.

³²⁴ The cinema changed names throughout the years from *Flora-teatern* (The Flora Theatre) to *Söderbiografen* (The Southern Cinema) in 1905, *Kinograf* (Kinograph) in 1914, *Södra Kvarn* (Southern Mill) in 1915, *Excelsior* in 1916, and lastly *Mariabiografen* (The Cinema of Maria) in 1917. The temperance society likely rented the venue from the company *Aktiebolaget Express Separator* (CO Express Separator) that owned the building between 1904 and 1906, and later on from Anders Andersson. See: Kurt Berglund, *Stockholms alla biografer: ett stycke Stockholms historia från 90-tal till 90-tal* (Stockholm: Svenska turistföreningen, 1993), 26, 255; H. Lallerstedt, 'Biografer,' Address Calendar 1908-1920, SCMA; 'Laxen,' volume 13, SE/SSA/0140/02/01/D_1_A/13, Stockholm's Hustings Archive, SCA.

³²⁵ Developed at the turn of the 20th century, the cinema became 'a crucible for elements already evident in other aspects of modern life;' it was not only created by modernity, but is in itself a component simultaneously narrating and constructing the chaotic, urban street life. See, for example: Murray Pomerance, 'Introduction,' in *Cinema and Modernity*, ed. Murray Pomerance (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 4-10; Leo Charney, and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 'Introduction,' in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, eds. Leo Charney, and Vanessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 10.

³²⁶ Annemone Ligensa, 'Urban Legend: Early Cinema, Modernization and Urbanization in Germany, 1895-1914,' in *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History*, eds. Daniel Biltereyst, Richard Maltby, and Philippe Meers (New York: Routledge, 2012), 118; Åsa Jernudd, 'Spaces of Early Film Exhibition in Sweden, 1897-1911,' in *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History*, eds. Daniel Biltereyst, Richard Maltby, and Philippe Meers (New York: Routledge, 2012), 20.

corporal experience in the urban landscape; the world's first open-air museum *Skansen* opened in Stockholm in 1891. It offered spectators another opportunity to distract themselves from their everyday lives.³²⁷



Figure 29. *Östermalmsbiografen*, 1905-1920.³²⁸

The arrival of moving pictures in Sweden took place a year after the Lumière brothers' exhibition of the world's first film in Paris in 1895. Temporary cinemas were set up in shops, cellars, warehouses, cafés, breweries and venues used by popular movements such as Free Churches, temperance societies and labour movements. As work rights developed and free time grew, the cinema offered labourers the spectacle of a dream world at a low price.³²⁹ Stockholm had four cinemas in 1904, three within the city centre and one on the industrial and slum suburb of *Södermalm*.³³⁰ This was *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13. The number of cinemas in Stockholm grew

³²⁷ Sandberg, 'Effigy and Narrative,' 349–353.

³²⁸ 'Grev Turegatan 22 och Östermalmsbiografen i nr 20,' (1905-1920), C 1971, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/1782>.

³²⁹ These cinemas showed short films and documentaries about royalties, sport events and life abroad during the first half of the 1910s, but the repertoire evolved into scenes from city life and silent movies accompanied by gramophones at the end of the decade. See: Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige*, 12–33.

³³⁰ Berglund, *Stockholms alla biografier*, 25–26.

expansively from 17 cinemas in 1908, to 57 in 1915.³³¹ Cinemas became visible, prominent parts of the urban landscape in the 1910s as centres of the new cultural life, created by a mixture of technological advances, urbanisation and mass consumption. The cinema on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 must have had a similar spatial feeling to that of *Östermalmsbiografen* (The Cinema of Östermalm) in figure 29, enclosed within an unspectacular building, advertising its existence only through a sign on the façade.

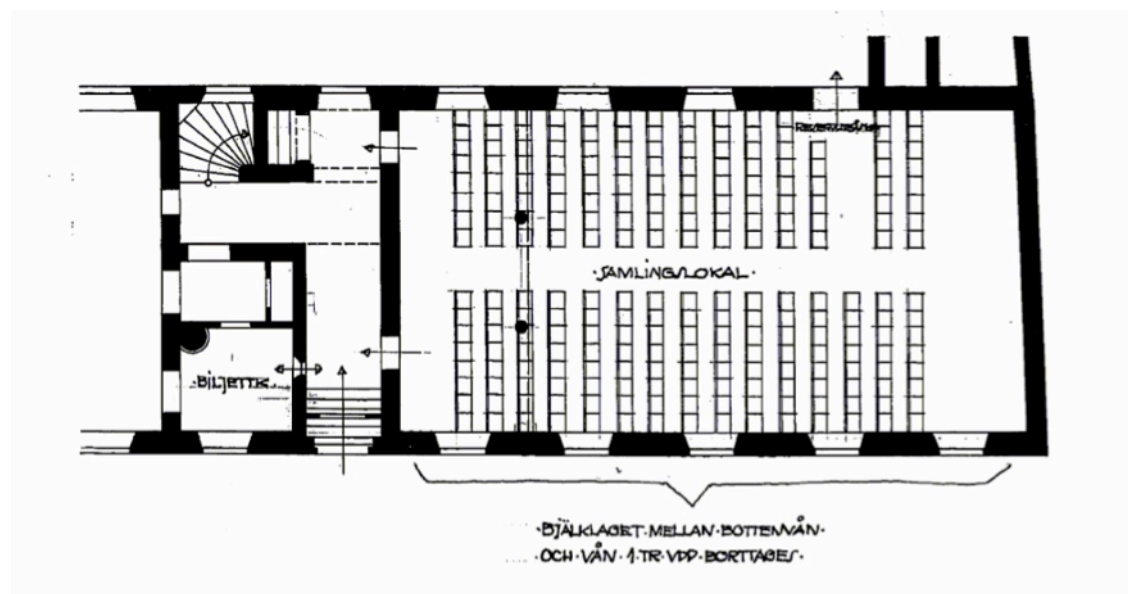


Figure 30. The architectural design of *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13, ground floor, 1911.³³²

Considering the development of cinemas in the 1910s, it is no wonder that the assembly room in *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 was extensively rebuilt in 1911 to continue to attract visitors. As can be seen in figures 30 and 31, the architectural plans proposed to remove the ceiling between the two floors, as well as the partition walls on the ground floor.³³³ A balcony was created in the eastern corner of the first floor, reached from the staircase in the middle of the building. The cinema was re-opened in March 1912, opening to an audience of 300 people.³³⁴ By rebuilding, it seems as if

³³¹ Lallerstedt, 'Biografer.'

³³² Application for building approval, 346/1911, SE/SSA/0174/F_1, The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office, SCA.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid; Kurt Berglund, *Stockholms alla biografer*, 255. They showed the Swedish drama *Samhällets dom* (Judgement of the Society): 'Samhällets dom,' (1912) *Svensk Filmdatabas*, accessed: November 18, 2016, URL: < www.sfi.se/sv/svensk-filmdatabas/Item/?itemid=3261&type=MOVIE&iv=Comments>. The film was on unreturned love and family conflicts set in Stockholm, southern Sweden, New York and on the steamship Lusitania, accompanied by a live orchestra in the cinema

the cinema on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 reclaimed its position as a permanent place of entertainment within the urban landscape.

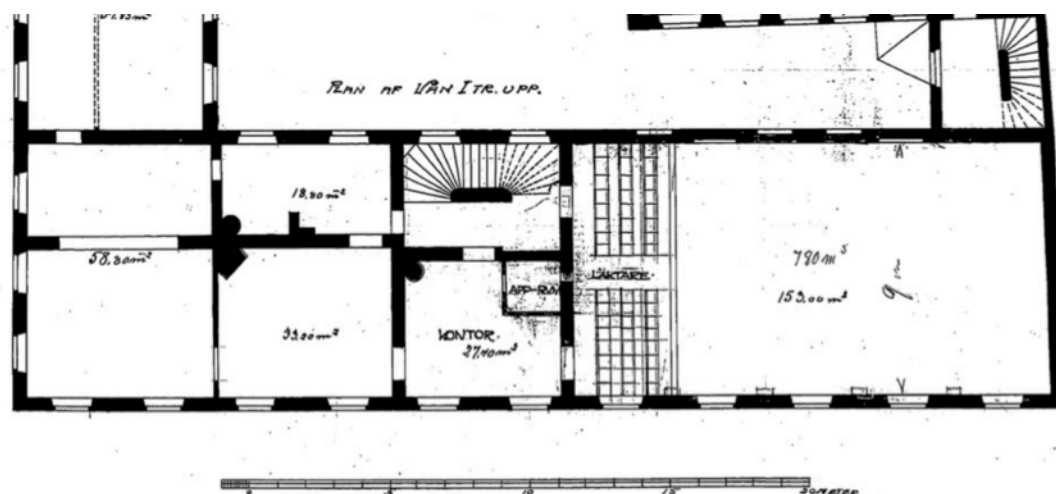


Figure 31. The architectural design of *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13, first floor, 1911.³³⁵

The position of the cinema's balcony is significant, not because it mattered to either the owner of the building or the audience, but because it was of importance to *Adat Jisrael* when they moved into the building in 1917, and started transforming it from a modern temple into a Jewish, sacred place. *Aktiebolaget Förenade Svenska Tobaksfabriker* (CO United Swedish Tobacco Industries) bought the property in 1912, and signed a rental agreement with a group of lower and upper Jewish traders, born in Russia, Denmark and Sweden, the majority living north of *Old Town*, on June 11, 1917.³³⁶ It allowed *Adat Jisrael* to utilise the assembly hall, ticket office, heating room, light fittings and the music balcony, as well as make any interior adjustments they deemed necessary. As the company was put into liquidation in 1917, its representative Knut Hauffman served as a middleman, applying to Stockholm's City's Building Committee on July 17, 1917 for the right to renovate the cinema into a synagogue.³³⁷

³³⁵ Application for building approval, 346/1911, SE/SSA/0174/F_1, The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office, SCA.

³³⁶ The men were: Herman Elliot (wholesale merchant, living on *Tegnérgatan*), Julius Levy (Trader, living on *Floragatan*) Herman Levin Zacharias (trader, born in Suwalki, living on *Hornsgatan*), Copenhagen, agent Heyman Nathan (agent from Copenhagen) and possibly Jacob Axel Marcus (agent from Norrköping, living on *Davidbergsgatan*): Rental agreement from October 1, 1934, SE/RA/420543/085/E_1_A/4, Swedish Mail Archive, SSA. The quarterly rent was 1,000 *kronor*. Calculated to approximately £2,500 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

³³⁷ Application for building approval, 194D2/17, SE/SSA/0174/F_1, The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office, SCA.

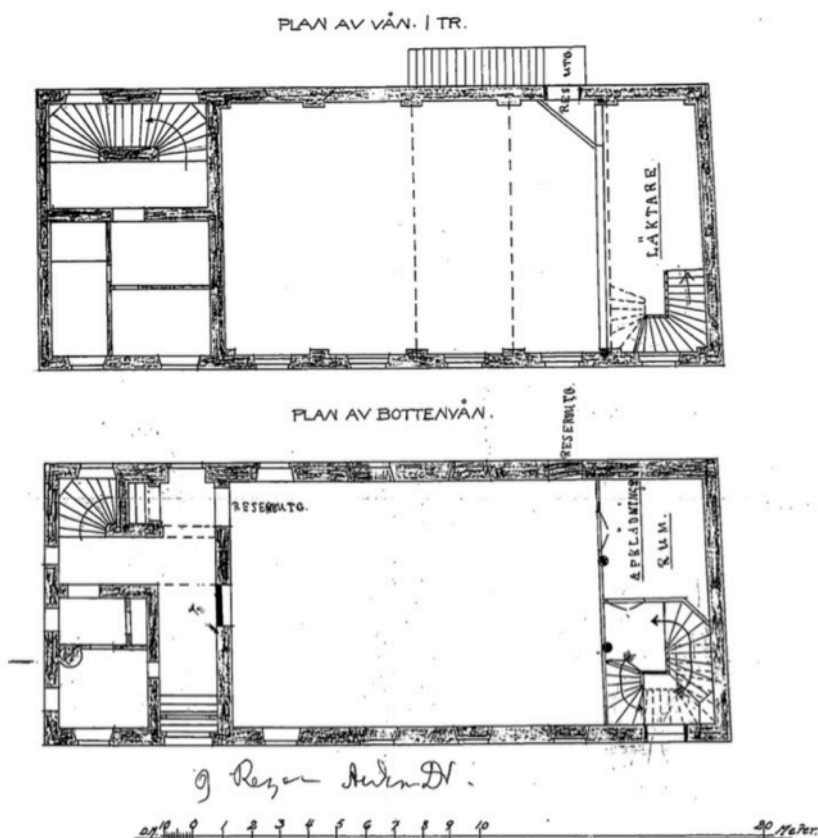


Figure 32. The architectural design of *Sankt Paulsgatan 13*, 1917.³³⁸

The cinematic plan of an open ground floor with a balcony suited the orthodox community perfectly for the traditional gendered division during services. Services held in a Jewish, religious venue must, however, face Jerusalem, which in Stockholm's case is towards the east. The position of the balcony in the cinema was, therefore, at the wrong end and had to be reversed into the western corner of the building, to allow visitors on the balcony to face east, as seen in figure 32. Stockholm's City's Building Committee supported the architectural plan quickly and without any objections. As seen in figure 34, the *bimah* was placed in the middle of the room and no organ was installed, the synagogue clearly expressing orthodox customs. The synagogue was inspected and approved by the local authorities on October 18, 1918.³³⁹

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.



Figure 33. *Sankt Paulsgatan 13*, 2016.³⁴⁰



Figure 34. The interior of *Adat Jisrael* on *Sankt Paulsgatan 13*, 2016.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ My photograph (2016).

³⁴¹ My photograph (2016).

The role of Knut Hauffman was vital for the building's conversion into a Jewish, sacred place. He was responsible for the application to the Swedish state institution, but there are unfortunately no archival materials that inform on the relationship between *Adat Jisrael* and Knut Hauffman. He was not a member of the Mosaic Congregation, which suggests that the civil engineer was non-Jewish.³⁴² The gentile professional was important for the creation of the synagogue, and no disagreements between the companies, or the City's Municipality, and the orthodox group seemed to exist. Following the flexible nature of the building itself, the process of finding a communal home for the group practicing Orthodox Judaism, turning *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 from a secular place to a Jewish place of sacredness seemed straightforward, aided by non-Jews. The building was sold to *Kungliga Postverket* (The Royal Postal Service) in 1920, and the original rental agreement was renewed every year until another room was added in 1928.³⁴³ It shows, yet again, the apparently unproblematic relationship between orthodox Jews and non-Jewish actors - individuals, companies or state officials – in the construction of Jewish sacred homes.

Although the architectural sources do not inform on the personal relationships between *Adat Jisrael* and non-Jewish actors, this case study still suggests that the Jewish process of orthodox place-making in Stockholm was aided by individuals from the surrounding gentile society. The Pietist-orthodox Judaic relationship and the middleman Knut Hauffman exemplify *Adat Jisrael's* success in navigating the ever-changing urban landscape of *Södermalm*, seizing opportunities of available venues to secure a home for their orthodox rituals. By providing a spatial home for *Adat Jisrael*, non-Jewish actors furthermore aided the emergence of Jewish religious and spatial multiplicity in Stockholm. The architectural perspective of the 'building biographies' of *Adat Jisrael's* synagogues thus reveals a peaceful place-making process, ultimately ensuring the group's spatial aspirations and their belonging to the heterogeneous social landscape of the southern suburb.

2.4 Jewish Elite Funerals: The Performance of Public Sacredness

The visits to the two synagogues in Stockholm and the subsequent exploration of their building biographies have revealed the intrinsic role of non-Jewish involvement in their construction and

³⁴² 'Hanson – Hellstrand' (1915) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

³⁴³ Rental agreement from October 1, 1934, SE/RA/420543/085/E_1_A/4, Swedish Mail Archive, SSA. The quarterly rent was simultaneously lowered to 875 *kronor*. Calculated to approximately £2,100 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

maintenance, the Mosaic Congregation's spatial performance of the compatibility of the Jewish religion and Swedish national identity, the centrality of urban belonging in choice of geographical location, and the emergence of Jewish sacred diversity. The following section investigates how the Wahrendorff Synagogue was continuously used as a temporary site for the negotiation of the Swedish-Jewish elite's position in the Jewish community and the Swedish society. Aiming to 'walk' with the funerals from the services in the synagogue, through the streetscape with the funeral processions, to the services at the chapel, grave or crematorium in the cemetery, located at the Northern Cemetery in the northern suburb of *Solna*, this section starts by walking away from *Adat Jisrael*, across *Riddarfjärden* (Knight's Inlet) via *Old Town* and onto *Norrmalm*. The following scenery greeted the urban inhabitant in Stockholm on September 25, 1906:

It was quite a funeral day yesterday, gloomy and misty, autumn cold and grey. One bitterly and heavily felt that the summer yet again had ended, now enter the dark times, one felt more alone than usual, and the forthcoming event did not help. The thoughts went by themselves to him, the poet of smouldering colours and the wistful singer of death wish, whom would now be carried to his last rest.³⁴⁴

On this Tuesday, Jewish poet Oscar Levertin was buried. Despite the terrible weather, a considerable crowd gathered on the streets to participate in the funeral procession and pay their last respects. Indeed, 20 Swedish-Jewish funerals from a small, exclusive minority in the Jewish population in Stockholm captured the interest of the non-Jewish, local press between 1870 and 1939, generating longer, often emotionally invested, articles.³⁴⁵ The deceased individuals were exclusive members of the social, cultural and economic Jewish male elite: they were poets, painters and composers, professors and book publishers, manufacturers and bankers, economists and philanthropists, parliament officials and diplomats, as well as board members and chairmen of the Mosaic Congregation, see appendix I for a thematic analysis of each deceased's funeral. Widely known by the gentile population, but also demonstratively located in the Jewish world,

³⁴⁴ 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

³⁴⁵ Using the digital search engine at the *National Library of Sweden* in 2018, 353 texts concerning Jewish funerals between 1870 and 1939 have been found. Approximately 88 per cent are short notices, while 41 texts are longer articles where newspapers sent their journalists to physically attend bigger ceremonies, reporting from a total of 20 funerals. If the same ratio is applied to the notices, they reported on 156 unique funerals. With a population growing from about 800 in 1870 to some 7,000 in 1939, the presumed total of 176 funerals reported on in the newspapers clearly did not reflect the actual number of Jewish funerals during this period. The practice of funeral notices must, therefore, have been associated with Jewish individuals who enjoyed a financial stability and social circle that benefited from such a practice.

their funerals in the Wahrendorff Synagogue and at the cemetery functioned as temporary, public spaces for the expression of various identifications through the performance of religious rituals and music, some more and some less influenced by Judaic, *bourgeois*, Christian, national and modern elements.³⁴⁶ While previous studies on the modern era have portrayed Jewish participation in public funeral processions as a strategy for social and national acceptance,³⁴⁷ this section argues that funerary rituals and musical practices demonstrated the Swedish-Jewish elite's construction of both their individual sense of Jewishness and its sequential compatibility with and belonging to the Swedish society.

The participation of non-Jewish composers, soloists, musicians and eulogy speakers invited non-Jews into Jewish sacred spaces. Performing both religious and secular music, non-Jews were intrinsically involved in the construction of each individual's chosen Jewishness. Studying musical developments within Jewish modernism, Philip Bohlmann explains that the contemporary discourse of the individual's emerging self-consciousness urged European-Jewish communities to find local expressions.³⁴⁸ Jewish music has, moreover, been conceptualised as fundamentally linked to an individual's self-understanding and its historical context, creating, in Philip Bohlmann's words, 'a collectivity of narrators.'³⁴⁹ His findings confirm musicologists' assertion that a fragmentation of sensory experiences and musical performances is firmly associated with modernity.³⁵⁰ Viewing musical practices as 'a social construct rather than a reflection of social realities,'³⁵¹ this section argues that the music performed during Swedish-Jewish elite funerals

³⁴⁶ The terms are used to define cultural influence on rituals and music during Jewish elite funerals: 'Judaic' refers to religious expressions; '*bourgeois*' refers to inclusion of cultural practices linked to the emerging upper middle-class; 'Christian' refers to influences from Christian hymns and rituals; 'national' refers to performances linked to the Swedish national identity; and 'modern' refers to inclusions of practices linked to modern practices not linked to religious institutions.

³⁴⁷ François Guesnet, 'From Community to Metropolis: The Jews of Warsaw, 1850-1880,' in *Warsaw. The Jewish Metropolis: Essays on Honor of the 75th Birthday of Professor Antony Polonsky*, eds. Glenn Dynner, and François Guesnet (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 143–151; Aline Schlaepfer, 'The King is Dead, Long Live the King! Jewish Funerary Performances in the Iraqi Public Space,' in *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, eds. Sasha R. Goldstein-Sabbah, and Heleen L. Murve-van den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 185–204.

³⁴⁸ Philip V. Bohlman, 'Introduction: The Transcendent Moment of Jewish Modernism,' in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 2–8.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, quote from 16; Jonathan L. Friedmann, 'Introduction,' in *Emotions in Jewish Music: Personal and Scholarly Reflections*, ed. Jonathan L. Friedmann (Plymouth: University Press of America, 2012), 2; Amnon Shiloah, *Jewish Musical Traditions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 78.

³⁵⁰ Andy Bennett, 'Music, Space and Place,' in *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*, eds. Sheila Whiteley, and Andy Bennet (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 2–3; Veit Erlmann, 'But What of the Ethnographic Ear? Anthropology, Sound and the Senses,' in *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sounds, Listening and Modernity*, ed. Veit Erlmann (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 3–5; Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 13–26; Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 48–52.

³⁵¹ Tasaw Lu Hsin-Chun, 'Performativity of Difference: Mapping Public Soundscapes and Performing Nostalgia Among Burmese Chinese in Central Rangoon,' *Asian Music* 42, 2 (2011): 21. See also: Martin

represented the deceased individual's 'ideal soundscape,'³⁵² each musical expression fundamentally involved 'in the politics of place, the struggle for identity and belonging, power and prestige.'³⁵³ Despite previous argumentations for the 'dangerously' good conditions for social, cultural and economic integration in Sweden,³⁵⁴ the rituals and music practiced in the synagogue and the streetscape and at the cemetery, for and with non-Jews, suggest not only the communal fragmentation on the meanings of Jewishness among Stockholm's Jewish elite, but also the deceased individuals' communal construction of a temporary coexistence of Jewish distinctiveness and Swedish national belonging.

The 41 longer articles on 20 Jewish funerals were published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Stockholmstidningen* (The Newspaper of Stockholm) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (The Swedish Daily Paper).³⁵⁵ Some funerals were covered by more than one newspaper, and some articles published

Stokes, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music,' in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 2–5.

³⁵² R. Murray Schafer, 'Soundscapes and Earwitnesses,' in *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 4.

³⁵³ Sara Cohen, 'Sounding Out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, 4 (1995): 445. See also: Thomas Solomon, 'Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia,' in *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*, ed. Jennifer C. Post (London: Routledge, 2006), 311–312.

³⁵⁴ Meyerson, *Judiskt liv i Europa*, 355.

³⁵⁵ The 41 articles used for this study are: 'Jordfästningar,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 22, 1895); 'Oscar Levertins jordfästning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 25, 1906); 'Oscar Levertins jordfästning,' *Stockholmstidningen* (September 26, 1906); 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906); 'Ernst Josephsons begravning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (November 26, 1906); 'Ernst Josephsons jordfästning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (November 26, 1906); 'Bankdirektör Louis Fraenckels jordfästning igår,' *Dagens Nyheter* (August 25, 1911); 'Louis Fraenckels jordfästning. En enkel, men imponerande sorgeakt,' *Stockholmstidningen* (August 25, 1911); 'Louis Fraenckels sista färd: En sällsynt imponerande sorgeakt. 800 kransar, den sista hyllningen från in- och utlandet,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (August 25, 1911); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (February 7, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels jordfästning,' *Stockholmstidningen* (February 8, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels sista färd. Jordfästes på onsdagen i Mosaiska kyrkan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 8, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels sista färd. Imponerande sorgehögtiden i synagogan,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (February 8, 1912); 'Abraham Nachmansons jordfästning: En gripande högtidlighet,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 21, 1912); 'Prof. Kleins jordfästning. En högtidsakt i synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (April 9, 1914); 'Professor Kleins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (April 10, 1914); 'Professor Kleins jordfästning. En högtidlig sorgeakt i synagogan på torsdagen,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (April 11, 1914); 'Grosshandlare Wilhelm Josephsons jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (July 5, 1917); 'Jordfästning. Hovintendenten Bendix,' *Aftonbladet* (August 23, 1916); 'Hofintendenten Bendix jordfästning. En högtidlig akt på Mosaiska kyrkogården i går,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (August 23, 1916); 'Isaak Hirschs begravning. En högtidlighet i Synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 10, 1917); 'Isaak Hirschs sista färd. En sorgeakt i synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 11, 1917); 'Isaak Hirschs jordfästning. Ett gripande griftetal av rabbinen dr Ehrenpreis,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 11, 1917); 'Professor K Valentins begravning,' *Aftonbladet* (April 3, 1918); 'Prof. Karl Warburgs jordfästning. En högtidlig sorgeakt på onsdagen,' *Aftonbladet* (September 19, 1918); 'Karl Warburgs jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 19, 1918); 'Professor Warburgs sista färd. En imponerande och högtidlig sorgeakt på Mosaiska kyrkogården i går,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 19, 1918); 'Grosshandlare Georg Levys griftfärd,' *Aftonbladet* (February 4, 1921); 'Dr Raphaels jordfästning. Ägde rum i middags i Mosaiska gravkapellet,' *Aftonbladet* (December 4, 1921); 'Axel Raphaels jordfästning. En högtidlig akt under enkla former,' *Dagens Nyheter* (December 5, 1921); 'Axel Raphaels jordfästning. En stämningsfull högtidlighet på söndagen,' *Svenska Dagbladet*

drawings and photographs from the funerals. Long lists of wreath donors, and speeches by rabbis and Swedish political and cultural individuals were often included. Moreover, the writers described the events at the funeral services in minute details, enabling the extraction of Jewish ritual and musical performances.

The anonymous non-Jewish middleman between the performances and the researcher, however, poses a methodological problem. Although journalists generally aimed to report the events as straightforwardly as possible, some articles do not provide as much details as others. This is especially true for the descriptions of rituals performed at the grave, where many Jewish traditions are not included in the texts. It is difficult to know if this is an accurate picture of the burials, or if it is due to disinterest in or lack of knowledge of Jewish traditions, or non-attendance for this specific part of the service. Writers similarly used various labels to describe the rituals and music connected to Judaism, visibly trying to connect Christian vocabulary to the performances to aid the audience. As an example, the words *kör* (choir) and *psalm* (psalm) seem to refer to both Jewish liturgical songs in Swedish, sometimes performed with soloists and/or organ, and national non-liturgical songs. It can also be difficult to determine if the term 'liturgical songs' denotes Hebrew prayers, or choir songs performed in Hebrew, or if the journalists even knew the difference between them. The organ accompanying the choir songs is sometimes described, but not always, again posing the question whether the organ was indeed not used or if some journalists thought it too obvious to mention.

The second methodological problem revolves around the agency of the cultural elements performed during the funerals. The communal institution *Chevra Kadisha* was traditionally responsible for organising Jewish funerals according to customs. The ritual and musical content of the 20 elite funerals in Stockholm was, however, fragmented, adopting the modern trend of personalised funeral services.³⁵⁶ A few articles note that the deceased asked for no flowers or speeches, which demonstrates that the deceased was engaged with the planning of the funeral before his passing. The different choices of funerary performances among the deceased

(December 5, 1921); 'Bokförläggare Isidor Bonniers jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (August 18, 1925); 'Isidor Bonniers jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (August 19, 1925); 'Bankdirektör J. Nachmansons jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (June 18, 1927); 'Joseph Nachmansons jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (June 18, 1927); 'Joseph Nachmansons jordfästning. Ägde rum i går under stor tillslutning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (June 18, 1927); 'En gripande sorghögtid i synagogan. Ingenjör Oscar Hirsch vigd till griftero,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (February 6, 1931); 'Axel Wahrens jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (November 6, 1931); 'Barnensdagsgeneralens stoft vigd till griftero: Stora högtidligheter,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932); 'Folkskolebarnen hyllade Barnens dags-general,' *Dagens Nyheter* (January 28, 1932); 'Livmedikus A. Fürstenbergs sista färd,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (October 29, 1936). All from KLS.

³⁵⁶ Agneta Lundin, ed., *Till minne av livet: Kyrkogårdar och begravningsplatser i Stockholms stift* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2012).

individuals can, furthermore, be understood as expressions of personal characteristics – an important feature in the *bourgeoisie*'s public display of economic and moral competences for the legitimisation of their societal status.³⁵⁷

The archival material does not reveal whether the performances were chosen by the deceased or his family, but studies have shown that *bourgeois* funerary practices in the 19th century were aimed at safeguarding the family's honour and economic activities,³⁵⁸ thus fusing the identity of the deceased and his immediate family. Indeed, 'it is at the time of death that embodied persons disappear from view, that their relationships with others come under threat; that the unfolding of their affairs and their influence may cease. Emotionally, socially and politically [...] much is at stake at the time of death.'³⁵⁹ Music and ritual performances during Swedish-Jewish elite funerals can, consequently, be viewed as parts of the family's and the deceased's memorialisation process of the individual. The family or the deceased hoped to control people's lasting memories of him by performing a unique combination of *bourgeois*, national, Judaic, Christian and modern elements believed to represent him. The funerals were thus performative, public events, constructed by conscious agents and aimed at producing a specific 'mental representation'³⁶⁰ of the deceased.

2.4.1 The Synagogue: A Sacred Home for Public Performances

Although traditionally not a Jewish tradition,³⁶¹ seven funerals took place in the Warendorff Synagogue between 1870 and 1939. Bank director Henrik Davidson, industrialist and member of parliament Eduard Fränckel, philanthropist Oscar Hirsch and court physician Arthur Fürstenberg were Mosaic Congregation's board members, and Gottlieb Klein was the Mosaic Congregation's chief rabbi between 1883 and 1914, suggesting that the utilisation of the synagogue was linked to the individuals' position within the community. All seven individuals were, on the other hand, well known throughout Stockholm, and had socio-political and economic prestige during their lifetimes. Funeral attendees included royalty, famous artists, philanthropic society members, local and national politicians, and related business colleagues. Journalists reported over 1,000 visitors

³⁵⁷ Hedvig Schönback, *Det svenska städernas begravningsplatser, 1770-1830: Arkitektur, sanitet och det sociala rummet* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2008), 261.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, 261–263.

³⁵⁹ Elizabeth Hallam, 'Introduction: Remembering as Cultural Process,' in *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, eds. Elizabeth Hallam, and Jenny Hockey (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001), 4.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 3.

³⁶¹ Petr Zupanc, 'Nutida judisk begravningsssed,' in *Gravstenar berättar: Judiskt liv i Stockholm, 1775–1875*, ed. Yvonne Jacobsson, Gabriel Herdevall, and Petr Zupanc (Stockholm: Helgraf Media, 2018), 40.

to some of the funerals.³⁶² The decision to use the synagogue as a location for these seven funerals must, therefore, not only have been a practical solution, but also linked to the prestigious positions in both the Jewish communal world and the larger society.

Although the funerals marked a deviation from Jewish traditions, the synagogal setting simultaneously communicated a distinct Jewishness to the large non-Jewish audience. It was, for example, reported from Henrik Davidson's funeral on February 21, 1895 that

The Mosaic synagogue was [...] the scene for a celebration, which was unique in two different ways. Never before had a funeral taken place there, and it was beyond doubt one of the biggest funerals the city had seen for a very long time. [...] The electrical flames candelabras electrical flames stood out sharply against the light of the day, which still shot through the opaquely polished windows. A strong, almost deafening scent of oranges hit one when entering. [...] Colossal wax candles burnt on each side of the pulpit. Tall palms expanded their leaves over the chancel. Their stems were enfolded in crape, and the candelabras were also wrapped in crape.³⁶³

The synagogue provided a setting of familiarity and exoticism. It was a familiar scene of solemnity and grief, highlighted by the candles, the chancel and the black crape, also features of Christian funeral tradition. The synagogue simultaneously offered unaccustomed funeral scents and plants, the oranges and palms transporting the reader to the Mediterranean and, of course, Palestine.³⁶⁴ Philanthropist Axel Eliasson's funeral, depicted in figure 35, portrays the use of Swedish student caps and the Christian custom of flowers, but also palms and the symbol of *Magen David*, announcing that Jews were both similar and dissimilar to the Christian majority.

³⁶² For example: 'Folkskolebarnen hyllade barnens dags-general,' *Dagens Nyheter* (January 28, 1932), KLS.

³⁶³ 'Jordfästningar,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 22, 1895), RLS. My translation from Swedish, minor changes to the tempus have been made to ease the reading.

³⁶⁴ An amplified exotic representation was published in *Stockholmstidningen* the following year, when an anonymous writer visited the Wahrendorff Synagogue during *Yom Kippur*. Although 'everything in there is different to what the protestant is used to,' the solo songs, performed by the cantor and the female choir, were 'pleasant,' and the 'ancient Hebrew melodies' – a probable allusion to prayers – had a 'distinct charm.' The community responded 'sudden(ly)' during the prayers, while the 'beautiful and expressive' speech by current Chief Rabbi Gottlieb Klein was 'only marginally (different) from other religious speeches.' The uninformed visitor used positive words when approaching Klein's speech in Swedish and the solo songs, which had psalm-like formats. The Hebrew prayers were, on the other hand, condescendingly referred to as charming. The journalist was specifically 'reminded (...) of the fact that he is situated amongst a people, that once saw themselves as "God's chosen," but are now dispersed and homeless.' Using further stereotypical and anti-Semitic images throughout the article, the writer described the Jewish community as alien to the Swedish landscape. Despite Christian-like performances, the article implicitly claimed that Jews were not integral to the Swedish identity. See this article: 'Hos judar och proselyter,' *Stockholmstidningen* (September 18, 1896), RLS.



Figure 35. Axel Eliasson's funeral in the Wahrendorff Synagogue, January 27, 1932.³⁶⁵

Some performances during funeral services in the synagogue were connected to Judaic traditions, either through liturgical prayers, or musical compositions by communal and international organists and composers, see table 7. One or more liturgical prayers were performed during six of the funerals, sung by cantors Felix Saul and Leo Rosenblüth. Half of the prayers were explicitly denoted as *El Malei Rachamim* (אל מלא רחמים /God Full of Mercy), the prayer for the dead.

³⁶⁵ Photograph from article: 'Barnendagsgeneralens stoft vigtt till griftero: stora högtidligheter,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932), RLS.

Chapter 2

Innovative versions of *El Malei Rachamim* were created from the middle of the 1920s as examples of modern and Christian influences on Jewish traditions: Leo Rosenblüth rearranged the prayer to honour Arthur Fürstenberg, while it was accompanied by the organ during the funeral of publisher Isidor Bonnier, whose mother had planned the philanthropic auction for the new synagogue in 1863.

Table 7. The distribution of performed songs during Swedish-Jewish elite funerals,

1870-1939.³⁶⁶

	Synagogue	Chapel	Grave	Crematorium	Total
Liturgical prayers	8	4	4	0	16
<i>A Capella</i>	6	3	4	0	13
<i>Organ</i>	2	1	0	0	3
Choir hymns	13	4	0	0	17
<i>Hebrew</i>	2	4	0	0	6
<i>Swedish</i>	11	0	0	0	11
Classical music	13	9	0	7	29
<i>Organ</i>	12	1	0	4	17
<i>Chamber</i>	1	8	0	3	12
National choir tunes	0	9	10	5	24
<i>German</i>	0	6	4	2	12
<i>Swedish</i>	0	3	6	3	12
Total	34	26	14	12	86

Choir hymns were sung during all funeral services in the synagogue, performing further Judaic, but also Christian and national, elements. Only two were sung in Hebrew: *Adonai* (אדוני/God) and *Enush Kechezir* (אנוש כחציר/Humans Are Like Hay) during Gottlieb Klein's and Oscar Hirsch's

³⁶⁶ Based on the 41 newspaper reports, listed in footnote 355.

funeral services. The rest were performed in Swedish, seven as *a cappella* songs and four with an organ. The Jewish community had adopted Swedish as the administrative language for board meetings already in 1839 as a way to portray their belonging to the Swedish nation.³⁶⁷ The utilisation of the Swedish language for religious choral lyrics from 1870 could initially have been aligned to the same purpose, but must have evolved into a natural part of Jewish-religious life over time. Still, at the funerals, the national language helped to bridge the religious gap for non-Jewish audiences.

The Jewish community's organist Erik Åkerberg, as well as European-Jewish famous synagogue composers such as Louis Lewandowski and Eduard Birnbaum, created some of these choral performances. Louis Lewandowski was renowned as one of the first Jewish organists to create a mixture of Eastern European and Northern-German, Jewish sounds by merging the improvisational style of Judaic traditions with classical music.³⁶⁸ He composed religio-national hybrids and when performed on the organ, they sounded like Christian hymns.³⁶⁹ To further the relationship with the gentile world, three choral pieces included solos. Non-Jewish, nationally and world-famous opera singers such as Matilda Taube and Davida Hesse-Lilienberg were invited into the sacred place and participated in the performance, communicating the deceased's familiarity with the national music scene.

Affiliation with the Swedish nation and the *bourgeoisie* was, furthermore, expressed through classical arrangements accompanying entry and exit marches. While Erik Åkerberg's organ compositions *Sorgetoner* (Tones of Grief) and the musical arrangement for king Oscar II's death in 1907 were played at the funerals of Gottlieb Klein, philanthropist Isaak Hirsch and Isidor Bonnier, organ arrangements of musical pieces by famous composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven, Frédéric Chopin, Johann Sebastian Bach and Franz Schubert were performed during the other funerals. The incorporation of Arthur Rubinstein's classical music at Oscar Hirsch's funeral in 1931 was the only time the organ was not played during the marches. It marked a historical shift from the use of the Christian-inspired organ to the inclusion of the *bourgeois*-endorsed classical music scene. The Jewish elite, for example, used business and familial networks to mobilise their resources of 'social prestige and cultural capital' towards the donation of 43 per cent of the total sum collected for the construction of Stockholm's Concert Hall at the beginning of the 20th

³⁶⁷ Patric Joshua Klagsbrun Lebenswerd, 'Jewish Swedish in Sweden,' *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, eds. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Bunin Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 434.

³⁶⁸ Jascha Nemtsov, "'Kol Rinnah u-T'fillah",' in *Louis Lewandowski: 'Liebe Macht das Lied unsterblich!'*, eds. Jascha Nemtsov and Hermann Simon (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, 2011), 34–38.

³⁶⁹ Tina Frühauf, 'Introduction,' in *Jewish-German Organ Music: An Anthology of Works from the 1820s to the 1960s*, ed. Tina Frühauf (Middletown: A-R Editions, 2013), ix–x.

century. Since one of the purposes of the Concert Hall was to democratise high culture for the urban masses, Jewish participation became a way to approach questions of national belonging.³⁷⁰ The introduction of orchestral arrangements during Oscar Hirsch's funeral, therefore, reflected the Jewish elite's endorsement of *bourgeois* ideals as part of their Swedish belonging.

While organ arrangements, choir hymns in Swedish, non-Jewish opera singers and *bourgeois* music were invited into the funeral services, the ritual structure was not tempered with to the same degree. Speeches beyond the rabbi's sermon were on principal never allowed. One exception was Oscar Hirsch's memorial speech for Gottlieb Klein in 1914, during which Oscar Hirsch emphasised the chief rabbi's contribution to the Jewish community and its spiritual welfare. The Municipality of Stockholm City, however, asked the Mosaic Congregation in early 1931 if they could thank Oscar Hirsch for his public services in the synagogue before the exit march. After deliberation with the current Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis, the board replied on February 4 that they would

with respect to the forthcoming specific circumstances and the contemplated speaker's official position, make an exception and meet the [...] proposition, providing that the principle that the synagogue is reserved exclusively for religious functions is distinctively enforced.³⁷¹

The board added that their initial hesitation did not stem from 'a prejudiced character' against the non-Jewish population. Exhibiting apprehension about being misunderstood by the political leaders, the Jewish lay leaders consciously trod the fine line between social inclusion, if eliminating Jewish customs, and possible societal antagonism, if not permitting the City's Municipality access to the sacred stage. This juxtaposition occupied the Jewish elite in the 1930s, some arguing that intermarriages and an abandonment of Judaism would end antisemitism and complete the Jewish integration.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Kuritzén Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet*, 195–199, quote from 199. My translation from Swedish.

³⁷¹ Letter from Arthur Fürstenberg, Marcus Ehrenpreis and Max Hüttner to the Municipality of Stockholm City on February 4, 1931, SE/RA/730128/1/A/A_1/A_1_a/101, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

³⁷² Svante Hansson, 'Antisemitism, assimilation och judisk särart. Svenskjudisk elitdebatt vid Hitlers maktövertagande 1933,' in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988), 307–327.

The situation problematises the harmonic sharing of sacred places proposed in the two earlier sections. The board's reply suggests that the Mosaic Congregation would have preferred the non-inclusion of the gentile speaker. Hesitant to create tensions, they nonetheless allowed the Municipality to share the stage, thus avoiding conflict. Stockholm's Governor Henning Elmquist held a short eulogy, during which he thanked the deceased for generous philanthropic donations. While Oscar Hirsch's Jewish identification was expressed through liturgical prayers and choir arrangements in Swedish and Hebrew, his affiliation with the national milieu was thus also emphasised. By including the governor's eulogy in the funeral service, the distance between Jews and non-Jews thus diminished, the synagogue offering a space for their coexistence, albeit at the cost of the Mosaic Congregation's religious integrity.

The Wahrendorff Synagogue's dual position as both a sacred and public location was particularly negotiated during the Jewish elite's funerals. While distinct aspects of Judaism were portrayed through its interior design, liturgical prayers, choir arrangements in Hebrew, and the largely strict funeral schedule, sacred rituals were also influenced by modern, Christian and national cultures. The organ, the choir and the use of Swedish portrayed influence from the Christian-Swedish culture but did not necessarily portray a lack of religious integrity: they were accepted parts of Reform Judaic rituals. The adaptation of classical music during the entry and exit marches, the inclusion of non-Jewish soloists in the choirs, as well as the singular gentile eulogy, communicated the individuals' belonging to the *bourgeoisie*, and therefore, in the Jewish understanding, their position as Swedes.

As unique events, the deceased individuals presented unequal attachments to the Judaic, national, Christian and *bourgeois* elements. For example, no classical arrangements were played at Henrik Davidson's funeral and no choir songs were sung at Arthur Fürstenberg's ceremony. These different memorialisation practices were performed in front of a partly non-Jewish audience, with some non-Jewish participation, making the Wahrendorff Synagogue a temporary public space on the 'frontier.' In this particular space, the Judaic elements were specifically emphasised. On the other hand, the synagogue allowed for an increased innovation and flexibility in the choice of performed religious hymns and classical music for the last constructed memory of the deceased.

2.4.2 The Streetscape: A Public Space for Sacred Practices

The streetscape offered a space on the 'frontier' with a reversed situation: here, the negotiation between the Jewish and the Christian-Swedish group largely concerned the former's choice of

bringing Judaic traditions into the public street, as well as the latter's willingness to get involved in Jewish public performances. The Jewish elite's funerals became publicly noticeable through the coffin's procession from the synagogue to the Northern Cemetery. The exit procession from the synagogue at Isaak Hirsch's funeral can be seen in figure 36, the coffin carried towards the hearse. Funeral processions are mentioned in relation to the funerals of Oscar Hirsch, Isaak Hirsch and Literature Professor Karl Warburg, with longer reports given from the funerals of Henrik Davidson and Oscar Levertin. Gottlieb Klein's coffin travelled from the resort and villa suburb *Saltsjöbaden* to the synagogue, while the transportation of coffins from unclear starting locations are simply noted in other examples. The processions exemplified the permanent presence of Jews in the city, transferring Judaism, which was normally assigned to the private home or the synagogue, into the streets to coexist with the Swedish national identity. Since public performances becomes sites of liminality, interrupting and affirming cultural networks,³⁷³ the Jewish presence actively challenged the narrative of the Swedish national identity, proclaiming its belonging.

Six individuals were honoured with corteges and mentioned in the newspapers.³⁷⁴ They had made definite marks on the Jewish community, the city of Stockholm or the Swedish nation – if not all three. Most of the funeral processions took place before or during the 1910s, when hearses were still in daily use.³⁷⁵ Over 200,000 people allegedly turned up for non-Jewish poet Gustaf Fröding's funeral procession in 1911,³⁷⁶ and the passing of Jewish individuals also inspired urban crowds. Although a procession was not mentioned in relation to Axel Eliasson's funeral in 1932, the reporter described the event as a state funeral with flags on schools and Stockholm's City Hall lowered to half-mast, publicly proclaiming the loss of a Swedish citizen.³⁷⁷ As a mark of respect, the city of Norrköping allowed textile manufacturer Herman Wahren's coffin on February 12, 1892 to be transported with their hearse,³⁷⁸ but such privileges were not mentioned in the Stockholm examples.

³⁷³ See, for example: Elin Diamond, 'Introduction,' in *Performance and Cultural Politics*, ed. Elin Diamond (London: Routledge, 1996), 6–7.

³⁷⁴ The fact that only six corteges are mentioned between 1870 and 1939 poses the question if the journalists did not attend the processions of the other funerals and thus did not write about them, or if further processions simply did not take place. If the latter, Jewish funeral processions were even more infrequent public events, reserved only for the absolute elite.

³⁷⁵ Axel Cronquist, *Ekipage* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1952), 90–98, 181–182.

³⁷⁶ Jacob Wiberg, 'Frödings sista färd,' *Populär Historia* 2 (2011), accessed December 13, 2018, URL: <www.popularhistoria.se/kultur/konst/konstnarer/frodings-sista-fard>.

³⁷⁷ 'Barndagsgeneralens stift vikt till griftero: stora högtidligheter,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932), RLS.

³⁷⁸ 'Högtidlig mosaisk begrafning,' *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (February 15, 1892), RLS.



Figure 36. Isaak Hirsch's funeral on September 9, 1917.³⁷⁹

The modern Jewish hearse in Stockholm was constructed in the 1840s from black-painted wood, equipped with roof and tassel-decorated black curtains, and adorned with golden motifs. The five metres long and almost three metres tall hearse had wood-sculptured images of stone tablets with Hebrew inscriptions on the longer sides of the roof, see figures 37 and 38. Below, on the sides of the body, the *Magen David* was surrounded by calla lillies, symbolising the purity of the deceased's soul. Hearses belonging to churches had, on the contrary, golden decorations of crosses and cherubs. Non-Jewish people on the streets must have noticed the *Magen David* and the, to them, illegible Hebrew inscription three metres up in the air. The hearse, therefore, notified the observant onlooker about the Jewish presence in the public landscape.

³⁷⁹ Photograph from this article: 'Isaak Hirschs sista färd. En sorgeakt i synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 11, 1917), RLS.



Figure 37. Stone tablet on Jewish hearse in Stockholm.³⁸⁰



Figure 38. *Magen David* on Jewish hearse in Stockholm.³⁸¹

On the day of Henrik Davidson's funeral, people gathered around the Wahrendorff Synagogue long before the start of the service at 2 pm. Policemen patrolled the street and the entrance. The 'impressive' funeral procession began at 3.30 pm.³⁸² Over 50 carriages travelled through the city, the hearse with Henrik Davidson's body at the front and the three following hearses covered in flowers and wreaths. The procession passed the central park *Kungsträdgården* and central streets such as *Norrlandsgatan* (North Country Street), *Tegnérgatan* (Tegnér Street) and *Drottninggatan* on its way to the Jewish cemetery. Similarly, despite the awful autumn weather, crowds formed in the vicinity of the synagogue during Oscar Levertin's funeral:

³⁸⁰ Jewish hearse, SSM 26407, SCMA. My photograph (2018).

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² 'Jordfästningar,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 22, 1895), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

Already in our city, around *Gustav Adolfs Torg* [Square of Gustav Adolf] and in *Kungsträdgården*, one could notice from the many top hats, having been brought out of storage despite the rainy weather, and from the black gloves and the white neckerchiefs, that something hieratic is about to happen, something that is not festive. A train of young women joins the dispersed groups of solemnly dressed men on *Norrtullsgatan*, carrying their simple flowers to the grave of the poet. The stream passes the gates of *Haga*, where Stockholm's Student Union, Uppsala's Student Union and university teachers and students rally with banners.³⁸³

The last journeys of Henrik Davidson and Oscar Levertin were intrinsically linked to the urban landscape of Stockholm. People were dressed up, carrying flowers and banners, joining in as the procession passed them, adding to the spectacular aspect of the corteges. The city centre buzzed and thronged on early afternoons in the middle of the week, respectfully quietening down as the coffin left the synagogue, was put on the hearse and transported to the cemetery.

As the northbound journeys of hearses travelled through the city at the turn of the 20th century, they performed the Jewish community's belonging to the Swedish society. Although an uncommon and infrequent practice, the funeral procession allowed Stockholm's non-Jewish population to experience Jewish practices linked to an already famous person, this connection serving as a bridge between the two groups. While Jews had experienced antisemitic attacks on Stockholm's streets in 1838,³⁸⁴ the funeral processions delivered a deliberate negotiation of the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship in the urban landscape. Although the Jewish presence challenged the authoritative Swedish-Christian national identity, the temporary funeral processions were allowed to become a visible feature in the city. The Jewish identification was during these instances compatible with the national identity and could, therefore, also invite non-Jews to participate in processions linked to the religiously Jewish and nationally Swedish individuals. The Jewish elite's private Jewishness was merged with the public's Swedishness in this space on the 'frontier,' allowing their temporary co-existence.

³⁸³ 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

³⁸⁴ Hess, 'Eine Fussnote der Emanzipation?,' 65–87.

2.4.3 The Cemetery: A Temporary Space for Public Performances

A journalist described 'the snow blanket laying dazzlingly white'³⁸⁵ when the procession with Henrik Davidson's coffin got closer to the Jewish cemetery, located within the boundaries of the Northern Cemetery. The newspaper painted a quiet, soft scene, which stood in stark comparison to the rush of people, sounds and scents during the synagogue funeral and the procession. The cemetery – its chapel, graves and crematorium – were, however, not noiseless places but locations for well-attended funerals. The majority of funeral services happened in or just outside the chapel and it was used three times for the *Kaddish* prayer after the internment of coffins. Two thirds chose to be buried, and one third were cremated in the 1910-1930s, something that was highly unusual for its time.³⁸⁶

The Jewish cemetery has been conceptualised as both a marginalised experience and an extension of communal space. Avriel Bar-Levav argues that space is a minor factor in the Jewish socio-ritual experience of death, while simultaneously portraying the cemetery's potential function as a 'stage' for rituals and customs.³⁸⁷ Comparing the cemetery to the integrational and public status of the synagogue, Andreas Gotzmann describes the former as a space of 'communal unity' because of its secluded location, relationship to deceased members, and inevitable assembly of all Jews.³⁸⁸ But the Jewish cemetery in the Northern Cemetery was not only a location for burials, but also a space on the 'frontier.' Since non-Jews were often included as audience and performers in Jewish elite funerals, the cemetery served as a public space for the negotiation of the relationship between the two groups, although on Jewish terms.

Travelling from the cemetery's entrance to the chapel, Oscar Levertin's coffin was surrounded by 'compact rows [of] men of literature and science, representatives from the press, politicians and businessmen, as well as a significant number of ladies.'³⁸⁹ Ernst Josephson's funeral pulled 'a big crowd of his friends and admirers.'³⁹⁰ Similar crowds attended the funerals of, for example, composer Karl Valentin, Karl Warburg and bank director Joseph Nachmanson. Newspaper drawings and photographs show long lines of umbrellas from funerals caught in rain, groups holding flags and banners, and people in solemn clothes – men in coats and top hats or white

³⁸⁵ 'Jordfästningar,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 22, 1895), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

³⁸⁶ Two internments were not accounted for in the articles in this study.

³⁸⁷ Avriel Bar-Levav, 'Jewish Attitudes Towards Death: A Society Between Time, Space and Texts,' in *Death in Jewish Life: Burial and Mourning Customs Among Jews of Europe and Nearby Communities*, eds. Stefan C. Reif, Andreas Lehnardt and Avriel Bar-Levav (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 3–15; Avriel Bar-Levav, 'We Are Where We Are Not: The Cemetery in Jewish Culture,' *Jewish Studies* 41 (2002): 15–46.

³⁸⁸ Gotzmann, 'Out of the Ghetto, Into the Middle Class,' 150.

³⁸⁹ 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

³⁹⁰ 'Ernst Josephsons begrafning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (November 26, 1906), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

student caps, and women with plume hats and face veils – at the funerals of Oscar Levertin, bank director Louis Fraenckel and Axel Eliasson. Only a lonely *tallit* in the left-hand corner, see figure 39, and chief rabbi Gottlieb Klein’s papal-inspired attire signalled the Judaic element of the funerals to the audience.³⁹¹



Figure 39. Axel Eliasson’s funeral procession at the cemetery, January 28, 1932.³⁹²

Less concealed was the chapel, constructed in 1857 by Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander and renovated in 1925.³⁹³ It had four impressive pillars at the entrance, which held up a squared roof lined with

³⁹¹ As can be seen in photograph from this article: ‘Louis Fraenckels jordfästning: en enkel, men imponerande sorgeakt,’ *Stockholmstidningen* (August 25, 1911), RLS.

³⁹² Photograph in ‘Barndagsgeneralens stift vigt till griftero: stora högtidligheter,’ *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932), RLS.

³⁹³ Partly due to a generous donation from Oscar Hirsch, see: ‘Stora donationer till mosaiska församlingen,’ *Aftonbladet* (January 29, 1926), RLS.

Magen David, Hebrew inscriptions and symmetrical adornments. It presented a Jewishness connected to the architectural style of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, see figure 40. It was used as the main location for funeral services in the cemetery. Many photographs in the newspapers depict funeral services situated directly outside as well, the coffin on the upper steps of the stairs leading into the chapel, surrounded by palms, banners, massive flower wreaths and vegetal garlands. Clearly, the chapel provided an impressive and visible Jewish location for solemn occasions.



Figure 40. Louis Fraenckel's funeral service at the cemetery chapel, August 24, 1911.³⁹⁴

The music performed in this setting was divided between liturgical songs, religious hymns, national choir tunes and orchestral arrangements, as seen in table 7. Three quarters of the funeral services in the chapel used different variations of hymns and Hebrew prayers. *El Malei Rachamim*, 'liturgical' songs, 'prayers,' and 'normal rituals' are mentioned in the articles, as well as Louis Lewandowski's and Eduard Birnbaum's traditional-classical hymnal hybrids, such as *Al Taschlicheni* (אל תשליכני/Do Not Cast Me Off). Only one of the traditional prayers was accompanied by the organ, thus emphasising the chapel's role in memorialising the deceased closely to the Judaic tradition.

³⁹⁴ Photograph from 'Louis Fraenckels sista färd: en sällsynt imponerande sorgeakt,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (August 25, 1911), RLS.

Similarly, only one third of the funerals in the chapel included national choir tunes and/or orchestral productions, although when played, a large number of songs would be sung. The vocal pieces were performed during the 1900-1910s by student choirs or double quartets, consisting of famous opera singers such as John Husberg and Bror Arrhenius. They sang tunes written by Swedish composers Erik Gustaf Geijer and Jacob Axel Josephson, the latter converted from Judaism to Protestantism. The most popular song was, however, a translated version of German Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming's *Integer Vitae*, indicating the closeness between Swedish and German cultures. Orchestral pieces were performed in the 1920-1930s, marking the shift of the Jewish elite's musical taste. Compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach, Frederic Chopin, Georg Friedrich Händel and Swedish Adolf Wiklund were played mostly as entry and exit marches, but also as violin solos during the services.

Lastly, non-Jews were invited to hold eulogies during the funerals of philanthropist Abraham Nachmanson and Karl Warburg. Four speeches were made at Karl Warburg's funeral by his colleagues from the University of Stockholm: he was described as a 'leader of our Swedish literature,' and honoured by the student union as 'our first and foremost connoisseur.'³⁹⁵ Compared to the funeral services at the Wahrendorff synagogue, the performances at the chapel were arranged to produce a stronger belonging to the national culture and the *bourgeoisie*. They, furthermore, invited a larger number of non-Jews to use the stage to sing, play or vocally perform the deceased's choices, suggesting that the Jewish/non-Jewish relationship was much more compatible at the chapel.

The number of eulogies dramatically increased when the coffin was carried to the grave for internment. Speeches by mainly non-Jewish colleagues and friends dominated almost half of the burial services. For example, 11 people spoke at the grave of Axel Eliasson, making many attendees leave before the coffin's internment.³⁹⁶ Several of the speakers highlighted, appreciated and praised the deceased people's contribution to either Swedish culture or societal institutions, thereby confirming their national belonging. Famous writer Verner von Heidenstam described Oscar Levertin as 'our great Swedish poet,' *Svenska Dagbladet* emphasised the 1,000 Swedish *kronor* Isaak Hirsch donated to the state church of S:t Clara for its impoverished members, and Emil Norlander, the editor of the historical society *Stockholmsgillet* (Guild of Stockholm), assured that Axel Eliasson was the best Stockholmer there ever was.³⁹⁷ Several

³⁹⁵ 'Karl Warburgs jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 19, 1918), RLS.

³⁹⁶ 'Folkskolebarnen hyllade barnens dag-generalen,' *Dagens Nyheter* (January 28, 1932), RLS.

³⁹⁷ 'Barndagsgeneralens stoft vigt till griftern: stora högtidligheter,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932), RLS.

impoverished men and women were also present for the burial of Isaak Hirsch. The internment of the coffin was indeed not a closed occasion for families but a public event. Not able to hear the rabbi during the funeral service at the chapel, the huge audience at Oscar Levertin's funeral

withdrew [...] towards the adjacent grave. It spontaneously formed a wide circle, which was shortly filled with the arriving procession. There was a moment's scramble as the coffin was carried forth, but the throng settled soon enough.³⁹⁸

Non-Jewish involvement was also emphasised through national choir tunes. Just like the funeral services at the chapel, double quartets with opera singers and boys' choirs sang *Integer Vitae* and *Stilla skuggor* (Peaceful Shadows) by Erik Gustaf Geijer, as well as a translation of German Ferdinand Möhring's *Gute Nacht*, and well-known Swedish tunes by Carl Michael Bellman and Adolf Fredrik Lindblad, both part of the national canon. The lyrics of Carl Michael Bellman's *Fjäril vingad syns på Haga* (Winged Butterfly can be seen in Haga), written in the 18th century, even explore *Hagaparken* (Park of Haga) located next to the Northern Cemetery. The song mentions birches, pine trees, small bogs and granite – common natural features in Stockholm – and geographical locations like the local bay *Brunnsviken* (Bay of Well). Butterflies, swans, horses and farmers inhabit the park, brought to life by the warming sun. Carl Michael Bellman celebrates the park's beauty and buzzing life, and by ordering the performance of the song at his funerals, Axel Eliasson proclaimed his belonging to this northern part of the city. In alignment with the contemporary music genre *romanser* (romances) in Sweden,³⁹⁹ the performed song explored the relationship between the Swedish landscape and the deceased, using imagery of the celebratory summerscape to situate Axel Eliasson in a local, Swedish setting.

The choir arrangements were performed right before, during or after the internment of the coffin, emphasising the deceased's attachment to the national landscape and identity. Prayers and a 'Hebrew funeral song' were, apart from Oscar Hirsch's internment, never said nor sung at the burials that used national tunes. Likewise, only rabbinic prayers accompanied the internment of the coffins belonging to Henrik Davidson, Gottlieb Klein, Oscar Hirsch and textile manufacturer Wilhelm Josephson. Both practices were used throughout the first four decades of the 20th century, but their dichotomy shows how differently the deceased individuals were memorialised during their last minutes above ground.

³⁹⁸ 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

³⁹⁹ Annika Lindskog, 'On Summer, Seasons, Seas and Sweet Melancholy, Exploring Landscape in Swedish Song,' *CMC Newsletter* (October 2017): 1.

The grave is also the one location where the performance – or non-performance – of customary rituals can be analysed. The cemetery was historically a location related to the practice of Judaic traditions and Jewish customs, such as blowing of horns and burial of manuscripts.⁴⁰⁰ Modern rituals included a coffin constructed of unpainted wood, without metallic nails; processional prayer stops on the way to the grave; male relatives and close Jewish acquaintances throwing dirt three times on the coffin when it had been lowered into the grave; the grave being filled straight away in the presence of attendees; and the *Kaddish* being read at the grave or in the chapel directly after the burial. During the Jewish elite funerals in Stockholm at the turn of the 20th century, one or more of these rituals were executed at 50 per cent of the burials, see appendix I for specifics. Equivalently, over 60 per cent of the funeral or burials services at any of the three locations in the cemetery included, either through liturgical prayers or religious hymns in Hebrew or Swedish, a strong association to Judaism. Although none of the funerals adhered to all the traditions, the percentage suggests a continued appreciation of traditions among the Jewish elite, expressed publicly.

The choice of cremation was, however, an easy way to rid the ceremony of traditional features. Grave internment was the Jewish custom and used throughout the whole period of this study's temporal scope. The emerging modern burial custom, however, endorsed cremation because of hygienic and spatial issues.⁴⁰¹ Aligned to this trend, seven individuals chose cremation in the 1910-1930s. The crematorium in the Northern Cemetery was built in 1909 as a church-like facility, crowned with a cupola, and became a temporary space for Jewish ceremonies. The articles only mention the vocal presence of a rabbi at the cremation of Abraham Nachmanson in 1912, the rest of the ceremonies used national tunes and orchestral arrangements, as well as the crematorium's organ. The musical performances during the 1910-1920s were, once again, national choir tunes. Songs by Erik Gustaf Geijer and Adolf Fredrik Lindblad were performed, as well as *Feldeinsamkeit* by Johannes Brahms and *Requiem* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The orchestral music served as entry marches and recitals mainly during the 1920-1930s, and there was, once again, a range in the composers chosen. Lastly, three of the cremation ceremonies used the organ to accompany some of the orchestral pieces. Eulogies by non-Jews were given on the steps to the crematorium or in front of the cinerator on four instances, once again providing a stage for the deceased's relationship with the national society. The crematorium thus offered a stage where the individuals could largely shed the religious factor and emphasise national, modern, Christian and *bourgeois* elements of funeral rituals. Apart from the streetscape, the space offered by the crematorium on

⁴⁰⁰ Bar-Levav, 'We Are Where We Are Not,' 31–39.

⁴⁰¹ Agneta Lundin, ed., *Till minne av livet*.

the 'frontier' positioned Jews closer to non-Jewish attributes and the performances almost entirely ignored Judaic traditions. Since the crematorium was not even located within the Jewish cemetery, non-Jews attending this space might not even have contemplated the deceased's Jewish identification.

The chapel, grave and crematorium communicated different aspects of Jewish identities to the audience. While the chapel had the strongest emphasis on liturgical prayers and religious hymns, the grave and crematorium presented opportunities to exclude such traditions and perform music more linked to the Swedish national identity and the *bourgeoisie*. The cemetery provided spaces for theatrical demonstrations: for example, lit candles, colourful wreaths, black banners and green palms decorated the chapel. Some rituals were also adapted from Swedish-Christian customs. Almost all of the deceased were honoured with wreaths and two thirds of the funerals used flowers for decorations as well. Describing the overwhelming presence of flowers and wreaths at the funeral of Louis Fraenckel, *Dagens Nyheter* wrote that 'our florists must have had a hot day. No less than 50 wreaths must have been ordered from one of the biggest florists.'⁴⁰²

On the other hand, reporters also noted the ceremonial simplicity of some of the other funerals. The burial ceremonies were generally regarded as 'beautiful and emotional,' 'touching' and 'rare, impressive act[s] of grief,' but the chapel was also, despite tall palms and colourful wreaths, described as 'simple, strictly unadorned' for Axel Eliasson's funeral. Economist Axel Raphael and Abraham Nachmanson declined the donation of flowers. According to the Jewish tradition, Karl Valentin wished his funeral service to be as simple as possible, with no speeches. Attendees at Louis Fraenckel's ceremony had hoped for 'some space for a few words of appreciation.'⁴⁰³ Again, a dichotomy of performances were adopted: some appreciated the Christian-adopted custom of flowery embellishments and eulogies, while others preferred the Jewish tradition of simplicity.

The chapel, grave and crematorium allowed for various identifications to be expressed by the Jewish elite. Depending on location, they could choose to perform – or not perform – rituals and music that belonged to Judaic, Christian, *bourgeois*, modern and national cultures. While the chapel and grave allowed for an equally strong presence of both Judaic traditions and non-Jewish participation, the crematorium ensured a modern ceremony largely without religious aspects. The cemetery, therefore, offered adaptable and flexible spaces for Jews to stage their various identifications in front of non-Jews. It, furthermore, created temporary spaces for non-Jews to be

⁴⁰² 'Bankdirektör Louis Fraenckels jordfästning i går,' *Dagens Nyheter* (August 25, 1911), RLS. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. My translation from Swedish.

included in the performance of intimate and private rituals, turning the communally private cemetery into a public space on the 'frontier.'

The Swedish-Jewish elite's funerals between 1870 and 1939 became public events in modern Stockholm. They opened up temporary spaces for Jewish and non-Jewish interaction, allowing permanent places of Jewish sacredness to become public milieus and private, Jewish religiousness to enter urban landscapes. The funerals invited non-Jews into the synagogue, encouraged them to join urban processions and to step onto one of the three stages at the cemetery to perform the different identifications of the deceased individuals. The distance between the Jewish identity and the Swedish society diminished in the 'frontier' opened up by the public funeral spaces. The synagogue's public role and the street's inclusion of private identifications align with earlier studies, but the flexibility the cemetery offered to the Jewish individual, as well as the space it provided on the Jewish/non-Jewish 'frontier,' challenges its previously explained role as a communal and marginal space. This section shows that the Jewish cemetery was a stage for an interactive Jewish/non-Jewish relationship and subsequently innovative and creative identification processes; a stage shared by both Jews and non-Jews.

As a part of this intersection, the ritual and musical performances proclaimed a Jewish religion adapted to the Swedish-Christian landscape and cultural, modern trends, despite recent historiographical work on the Jewish elite's complete public integration.⁴⁰⁴ Individual ways to define the Jewish identification emerged, and it was in various degrees associated with Judaic, *bourgeois*, Christian, national and modern elements. While Swedish-Jewish historiography has often presented the Jewish experience of modernity to be linked to integrational processes and/or antisemitic discourses, this section, however, shows that Jewish individuals also negotiated their religious belonging. Overall, about half of the performed rituals and music announced an attachment to the Jewish religion. Clearly, the Jewish elite's religious belonging was as publicly noticeable as their fondness of national or orchestral music. While the Swedish-Jewish elite had access to these performative events, funerals of Jews with a less economic and socio-cultural status did not have a large non-Jewish audience, and the opportunities to use the synagogue, the street and the cemetery as a 'frontier' for Jewish/non-Jewish negotiations were, therefore, not as ample. Access to temporary public spaces that enabled the construction of an identity that expressed both religious Jewishness and Swedish elements was, observably, an experience exclusively linked to the Jewish elite.

⁴⁰⁴ Bredefeldt, *Judiskt liv i Stockholm och Norden*, 49.

2.5 Conclusion: The Public Role of Sacred Places

The social and cultural processes behind the construction and use of the synagogues belonging to the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*, as well as the cemetery, have revealed:

- the Jewish community's emerging religious multiplicity,
- the continued importance of religion,
- the dynamic incorporation of and aid from non-Jewish actors, and
- the pivotal role of urban belonging.

Discussions on the religious orientation of the Wahrendorff Synagogue before 1870 show the emerging existence of different views on Jewish practices. Ignoring the traditional and more Reform-friendly viewpoints, the Mosaic Congregation's board decided on a middle path that, however, could not be endorsed by both sides. The creation of the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael* in 1871 became the spatial and public manifestation of internal religious differences. Furthermore, the Swedish-Jewish elite performed an alignment to Jewish traditions at their funerals, portraying the continued importance of the religious element of Jewishness throughout the period studied in this thesis.

The sustained religiousness was, however, not expressed in communal, unitary forms. The dichotomised views on Jewish visibility in the urban landscape, exhibited during the construction of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, show that despite similar ethnic and social backgrounds, people supported various ideals of the Jewish status in the Swedish society. The case study on Swedish-Jewish elite funerals argue that the individuals could perform their religious identification through multiple ritual and musical practices, ranging from liturgical *a capella* prayers to Christianised hymns in Swedish, played on the organ. This chapter shows that modern religious individuality was not only performed through innovative rituals, but also through the continued practice of traditional or modernised prayers and religious hymns in traditionally sacred places, such as the synagogue and the cemetery.

The vital role of non-Jewish individual actors in the construction and use of Jewish sacred places in Stockholm has permeated the whole chapter. Architect Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander not only provided prestige to the new synagogue, but also functioned as a voice backing up the different internal views on the synagogue's visibility and religious orientation. Pietists and engineer professionals aided *Adat Jisrael's* quests for new venues, and the former even shared its sacred orphanage with the orthodox group for almost three decades. Non-Jewish soloists, opera singers and eulogists, similarly, performed the staged identifications of deceased individuals from the Swedish-Jewish elite, supporting the temporary coexistence of religious Jewishness and the

Swedish national identity. As temporary public places on the 'frontier,' the synagogues and the cemetery provided spaces for Jews and non-Jews to meet, interact and construct new identities. Aiding the construction of different sacred places and the performance of various attachments to religious traditions, the emergence of Jewish religious fragmentation and the individual performance of a heterogeneous Judaism was, therefore, encouraged on the 'frontier.'

Although the Jewish/non-Jewish interaction in and sharing of sacred places on the 'frontier' has been proved to hold elements of peacefulness, acceptance and innovation largely ignored in previous studies, the three case studies have also suggested the boundaries of its conflict-free coexistence. Despite positive reviews on the inauguration ceremony in 1870, newspapers also communicated antisemitic stereotypes and celebrated the new synagogue as solely a product by the non-Jewish architect. The request from Stockholm's Municipality for a eulogy in 1931, furthermore, portrays the Mosaic Congregation's idea of the synagogue's stage as completely connected to religious functions, and their hesitant conformity to the wishes of the local government. When turning the synagogue into a public place during elite funerals, the negotiation with non-Jewish actors clearly affected its sacred integrity.

On the 'frontier,' Stockholm's elite Jews constructed and performed a Jewish identity they considered compatible with the city's urban landscape, the Swedish nation and its *bourgeoisie*. The choice of the geographical location of the Wahrendorff Synagogue was linked to the community's understanding of the shifting mental properties assigned to the different urban districts and their desire to situate their sacred home in close relationship to what they perceived as the most national urban elements in Stockholm: the statue of Gustav II Adolph and the Royal Palace. It was, in the end, hidden on a side street, but its architecture was feasibly embracing the European-*bourgeois* trend of Orientalism. *Adat Jisrael* located their synagogue in the evolving urban district of *Södermalm*, negotiating societally marginal buildings or repurposed venues housing new modern innovations. Many of the Swedish-Jewish elite funerals, lastly, merged liturgical prayers, orchestral music and tunes by Swedish cannon writers, presenting the religiously Jewish, nationally Swedish, culturally *bourgeois* identity for large non-Jewish audiences.

Their constructed and performed ideal was, however, not accepted by the larger gentile society. The increasing intolerance against presumed biological differences in the 1930s-1940s made the Swedish-Jewish elite realise that their efforts for national belonging had failed. Families with economic opportunities prepared for trips across the Atlantic, in case of a Nazi invasion, or

installed their children in farms on the countryside.⁴⁰⁵ Others slept with packed rucksacks under the bed, pistols under the pillows or carried poison with them at all times.⁴⁰⁶ Although the physical construction of the Wahrendorff Synagogue was created through a favourable Jewish/non-Jewish relationship, and continuously presented a hope for the societal acceptance of Jews as Swedes to the urban observer, the temporal and public performances within its shell had, in the long run, little impact on the social world beyond. The communal homes of sacredness thus failed to convince the larger society of Jewish belonging to the urban world of Stockholm and the Swedish nation.

⁴⁰⁵ Hermele, *'Kommer de, så skjuter jag oss,'* 162.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 21, 164, 181-182; Per Hollander, Stockholm (November 8, 2017).

Chapter 3 Contested Sacred Homes in the City: Inner-Communal Hierarchy

3.1 Social Capital: Methodology for Inner-Communal Spatial Struggles

Although the Swedish society in the 1930s largely challenged Jewish belonging in the country, the emancipation of her Jewish inhabitants almost 70 years earlier had initiated Jewish explorations of – in Simon J. Bronner’s words – ‘at-homeness’ in the urban landscape. The last chapter explained how the construction and usage of synagogues was enabled by non-Jewish actors, arguing that Jewish sacred places were intrinsically linked to the social outlook of Stockholm, and even altered the physical appearance of the streetscape. Having viewed Jewish Stockholm from above, and visited its effect on the physical outlook and public usage of the streetscape, this chapter turns towards to the spatial expression of Jewish religious multiplicity during the first four decades of the 20th century, investigating the inner-communal negotiations on its belonging in Stockholm.

Looking at the example of other European cities studied by scholars in Jewish history, themes on inner-communal religious differences and the subsequent negotiation between different groups on the existence and usage of religious institutions emerge, and Stockholm was not different. As Sarah Wobick-Segev argues, Europeans in the 19th and 20th centuries increasingly promoted their personal desires, resulting in the creation of new Jewish communities,⁴⁰⁷ making inner-communal differences on religious practices a natural development. Natan Meir declares the communal identity of Kiev’s Jews between 1859 and 1914 to be ‘almost impossible to pin down’ due to its various social, religious, political, linguistic and ethnic elements.⁴⁰⁸ Likewise, the Jewish population in the Great Duchy of Lithuania constructed prayer houses linked to various religious, social, professional, philanthropic and political groups.⁴⁰⁹ Despite the power struggle erupting between

⁴⁰⁷ Wobick-Segev, *Homes Away from Home*, 2–3.

⁴⁰⁸ Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis*, 11.

⁴⁰⁹ Vladimir Levin, ‘Synagogues in Lithuania: A Historical Overview,’ in *Synagogues in Lithuania*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, Sergey Kravtsov, and Vladimir Levin (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2010), 25–28.

Haskalah-inspired and observant Jews in Copenhagen, communal cohesion was maintained through the synagogue's alignment with the 'middle path.'⁴¹⁰ Riga's non-Jewish society's preference for self-proclaimed Jewish lay leaders rather than official leaders, turned, on the other hand, into public debates on kosher meat taxations in 1905.⁴¹¹ Clearly, the story of Jewish religious practices and places is, as Natan Meir suggests, 'a story [...] about power,'⁴¹² where the agencies of the individuals involved, and the places where these agencies are acted out, are the subject of this chapter.

The struggle for sacred diversity in Stockholm between smaller groups, led by individual leaders, and the Mosaic Congregation was, as shall be demonstrated in the case studies in this chapter, largely dependent on elements outside the religious field, such as social status, class and ethnicity. The possibility for spatial multiplicity in Kiev was, for example, restricted through the elite's and *bourgeoisie*'s construction of civil institutions that corresponded to their own self-perception.⁴¹³ The small community in Swansea was religiously divided into different synagogues and *minyanim* according to ethnic and social differences, but, due to the smaller groups' financial difficulties, they never separated into disconnected communities.⁴¹⁴ As Malgorzata Hanzl argues in her study on Jewish urban spatiality in pre-Second World War Poland, 'individual decisions were made, following individual preferences and systems of values, as well as the outset preconditions, such as economic capacities.'⁴¹⁵ Hence, individual desires for a prayer house with practices aligned to the individual's specific socio-cultural and religious background were entangled with the community's social structure.

This is 'what makes the game of society'⁴¹⁶ not based on chance but a set structure of constraints, as Pierre Bourdieu writes. He interlinks class belonging and individual socio-cultural status, extending Max Weber's suggestion that a person's position in society is not only defined by economic possibilities, but also by social status, expressed through a particular lifestyle.⁴¹⁷ Using

⁴¹⁰ Thorsten Wagner, 'Port Jews in Copenhagen: The Sephardi Experience and its Influence on the Development of a Modern Jewish Community in Denmark,' *Jewish History and Culture* 7, 1/2 (2004): 49–60.

⁴¹¹ Felix Heinert, '(Re)Locating Jewishness and Representing Jewish Community in Riga Before and After 1905: Urban Elites, Local Politics, Cultural Self-Presentations, and Intracommunal Conflict,' in *The Russian Revolution in 1905 in Transcultural Perspective*, eds. Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal, Frank Grüner, Susanne Hohler, Franziska Schedewie, and Raphael Utz (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2013), 121–139.

⁴¹² Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis*, 13.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 314–315.

⁴¹⁴ Ursula R. Henriques, 'The Conduct of a Synagogue: Swansea Hebrew Congregation, 1895-1914,' in *The Jews of South Wales*, ed. Ursula R. Henriques (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 99–104.

⁴¹⁵ Hanzl, 'Jewish Communities in Pre-War Central Poland,' 231.

⁴¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital,' in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), 15.

⁴¹⁷ Max Weber's definition of class argues that it 'is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possessions of goods and opportunities of income,' while status is defined as a 'social estimation of honour,'

empirical studies to explore, for example, social hierarchies and society norms,⁴¹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu conceptualises 'social capital' as an area where status is shaped in relationship to economic capital. 'Social capital' is defined as 'actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.'⁴¹⁹ According to Pierre Bourdieu, economic wealth does not only buy cultural products and social memberships, but also allows for free time to pursue cultural competence and social relationships that increases an individual's total capital, and hence status.

Pierre Bourdieu, furthermore, argues that a group's 'totality of the social capital, which is the basis of the existence of the group, [is concentrated into] the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents.'⁴²⁰ An individual's accumulated capital can, therefore, be asserted within a group in order to gain or compete against a leading position, and once the position is reached, the total capital of the group is transferred to the agent. This internal, social power struggle is, according to Doreen Massey, always expressed in the spatial dimension. Interrelated to the social relations experienced in a city, the variations of spaces and places challenge or conform to the social hegemony, dominance, dependence, and inequality that existed within the society.⁴²¹ Building onto Doreen Massey's assertion, David Harvey, similarly, argues that economic and cultural aims go hand-in-hand. With money being the 'global and universal social power,'⁴²² the construction and maintenance of places are intrinsically linked to those with access to that power.

Conceptualising the inclusion of spatial theory in religious studies, Kim Knott, argues that sacred spaces are powerful tools linked to social relations and hierarchies.⁴²³ Lastly, Richard Bennet views the individual body moving through the city as a practice of power, expressing a 'singular voice'

where 'a specific *style of life* is expected from those who wish to belong to the circle.' Class and status belong in Weber's analysis to two different spheres, but they influence each other in an individual's pursuit of social power. See: Max Weber, 'Class, Status, Party,' in *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*, ed. Charles Lemert (Oxford: Westview, 2004), 116–120.

⁴¹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu explores, for example, the educational system's reproduction of social hierarchies in 1873, cultural reproduction and social reproduction, hierarchies between artists and institutions in 19th century France, and investigates the links between aesthetic taste and the conditioning of society norms. See: Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Field of Cultural Production,' in *The Book History Reader*, ed. Paul Duguid (London: Routledge, 2006), 99–120; Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Aristocracy of Culture,' *Media, Culture and Society* 2 (1980): 225–254.

⁴¹⁹ Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital,' 21.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 23.

⁴²¹ Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1–3.

⁴²² David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 319.

⁴²³ Knott, 'Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion,' 158–161.

against the historical Western city's expression of coherence.⁴²⁴ Walking across the urban landscape to smaller *minyanim*, members of traditional groups in Stockholm used their bodies to contradict the Mosaic Congregation's socio-religious hegemony, and their spokespeople were armed with wealth and social status, prepared for the power struggle defining the future of their sacred homes.

Studies on social strategies for Jewish inner-communal differences at the turn of the 20th century have increased in the last 10 years, and when writing about Lithuanian-Jewish religious diversity, Vladimir Levin reasons that an individual's 'belonging to a congregation reflected and sometimes even defined the status of a person as well as his group identity, since every synagogue had its own characteristics and prestige,'⁴²⁵ tapping into the very notion of Pierre Bourdieu's 'social capital.' The studies mentioned earlier are mostly satisfied with linking the existence and limits of religious multiplicity to population size and financial outlets, thereby lacking insight into the complex inner-communal struggles leading up to the creation, preservation or closure of sacred places. Some studies have attached Pierre Bourdieu's views on dominance and inequality between actors and institutions onto studies on contemporary Jewish societies,⁴²⁶ and this study extends their research by using the hierarchal spatial concept to study inner-communal power struggles on sacred spatiality within the historical Jewish community in Stockholm.

Only some 2,500 Jewish individuals lived in Stockholm at the beginning of the 20th century. Still, a variety of religious schools and *minyanim* – the latter term understood as not only the defining quorum of 10 individuals, but also the groups of people gathering in prayer rooms – were located in apartments that could not be renovated to suit the purposes of traditional or orthodox customs. Financial setbacks largely determined the longevity of both *minyanim* and the other religious places. The majority of *minyanim* leaders and school teachers, therefore, applied for financial aid from the Mosaic Congregation and the spatial visions of these agents were subsequently shaped, enabled or limited by economic realities and inner-communal hierarchies. The leaders of each smaller religious group used the social capital they had each accumulated at the time, and their success with the Mosaic Congregation's board was largely dependent on the volume of their individual capital. This chapter, therefore, not only provides insight into the religious, everyday lives of Stockholm's traditional population, but also delivers a comprehensive analysis of the complex socio-cultural hierarchal system at work within Stockholm's Jewish community as a whole.

⁴²⁴ Sennett, *Flesh and Stone*, 24–26, quote on 24.

⁴²⁵ Levin, 'Synagogues in Lithuania,' 32.

⁴²⁶ For example: Yonatan Mendel, *The Creation of Israeli Arabic: Political and Security Considerations in the Making of Arabic Language Studies in Israel* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

As shown in chapter one, religio-communal memberships were fluid and flexible in Stockholm. A member of the Mosaic Congregation was not necessarily expressing affiliation with Reform Judaism, but also showcasing their communal status as a wealthy and naturalised Swedish citizen. Furthermore, although the chief rabbi was employed by the Mosaic Congregation, he still functioned as the main overseer of all religious groups in the whole community, further complicating the latter's existence as they found themselves in need of financial aid. A Mosaic Congregational membership could, however, increase the agent's capital, provide an entrance to the lay leaders' social network, and increase the chances for the survival of the sub-group's sacred place.

This chapter will use three case studies to examine the internal power struggles that determined the shape of Jewish sacred spatiality in Stockholm. The first section demonstrates the spatial vision of *Adat Jisrael* and scrutinises the *minyanim* leaders' struggle with the Mosaic Congregation to obtain financial aid, providing a template for the attributes associated with a strong position in the community's social hierarchy. The second section on the inner-communal debate on the existence of a *mikveh* delves deeper into the social differences between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*. The last case study on the variations of Jewish afternoon schools confirms the hierarchal template suggested by the two first examples, namely that social capital derived from the identifications of the Mosaic Congregation's lay leaders largely defined the shape of religious multiplicity in Stockholm at the turn of the 20th century. Providing a model for the Jewish community's social and economic structure, this chapter also shows the inevitable interconnectedness between various religious fractions, the flexibility of memberships, and the subsequent possibility for actors to straddle several manifestations of Jewishness at the same time.

While the previous chapter visited Jewish public spaces that affected the urban outlook of Stockholm, the sacred places in this chapter are often hidden behind institutional or secular facades, their existence not dependent on non-Jewish actors but inner-communal hierarchy. Zooming in on the inner discourse shaping the construction of Jewish sacred homes in the city, this chapter thus 'walks' from one synagogue, *minyan*, community hall, *mikveh* or schoolroom to another, in order to excavate their manifestations of embedded Jewishness and the following communal contestations of their existence. Just as we ended last chapter at *Adat Jisrael*, we find ourselves at its doors once again.

3.2 Synagogues and *Minyanim*: Sacred Visions and Socio-Economic Limits of Multiplicity

3.2.1 *Adat Jisrael*: A Sacred Vision with Economic Limits

While the construction of *Adat Jisrael* was uncomplicatedly aided by friendly associations with Pietists and non-Jewish professionals, its maintenance involved the continuation of spatial visions and a dependable inner-communal relationship with the Mosaic Congregation. Stepping over the threshold into *Adat Jisrael*, the tall windows and the National Romantic plant motifs on the walls – a commemoration of the venue's time as a cinema – framed the room together with chandeliers majestically dangling from the roof. The vaulted, blue-painted roof and the four pillars of the *Aron Hakodesh* on the eastern wall welcomed every person entering the room, while the *bimah* at the centre was emphasised with further floor and desk chandeliers. The men's wooden pews were directed towards the *Torah* case and the women's balcony could be reached from a staircase at the back.⁴²⁷ It was an impressive sight, and its architecture challenged the Mosaic Congregation's Wahrendorff synagogue; the central placement of the *bimah* and the non-existent organ being the two most obvious differences. Still, from the beginning of the 1920s, *Adat Jisrael* desired and planned for an extended and more encompassing sacred place. The following section steps into this imagined, future synagogue and explores the vision attached to it.

Using the cash flow from 1936 as an example, it is possible to look into the orthodox community's financial realities and priorities, and thus extract their spatial vision. Table 8 shows that payments by members, such as pew fees, membership fees, the moneybox, *Jahrzeit* – payment for the lightning of candles to remember the anniversary of a loved one's death, and *nedarim* – in this context alluding to charity given as part of one's spiritual life – amounted to 8,098 *kronor* and over 90 per cent of the total revenue,⁴²⁸ portraying the community's financial investment in the synagogue's continued existence. No explicit membership lists have been found, but the provisional draft of members in the 1940s, mapped in the introductory chapter, included over 140, mainly male, names. Similarly, 80 men were presumed to visit the synagogue in 1932.⁴²⁹ The mapping in chapter one showed that 47.2 per cent of *Adat Jisrael*'s members belonged to the

⁴²⁷ This description is based on my own visit to *Adat Jisrael* in 2017, as well as images from the synagogue's homepage: 'Synagogan innan renovering,' *Adat Jisrael*, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.adatjisrael.se/bilder/bilder/>; and 'Lokalens historik,' *Adat Jisrael*, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <adatjisrael.se/historia/lokalens-historik/>.

⁴²⁸ Based on: *Adat Jisrael*'s cash flow in revenue report from 1936, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/106, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴²⁹ As described by Jacob Ettlinger in a letter to the Mosaic Congregation, written on August 26, 1932, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/102, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

occupations related to a strong social status, while 11.8 per cent, almost three times of the percentage in the overall population of 1935, paid the largest taxation sums. The synagogue clearly had wealthier members who were happy to pay larger sums to keep the synagogue standing, its survival being of outmost importance.

Table 8. *Adat Jisrael's* revenue, 1936.⁴³⁰

	Pews	Money-box	Member-ship Fees	Nedarim	Jahrzeit	Interest Account	TOTAL
Kronor	4,332	257	30	3,032	447	631	8,729

Table 9. Gifts to *Adat Jisrael*, 1923-1939, in *kronor*.⁴³¹

Date	Donator	Usage	Gift
June 9, 1923	Moritz Hirsch	Fund for new venue	10,000
January 22, 1925	Herman Asch	Fund for new venue	25,000
January 22, 1925	Levin Namovitzky	Fund for new venue	4,625
January 13, 1937	David Tabachovitz	For members' spare time	Books
December 7, 1937	B. Maziewsky	One-time sum	500
April 17, 1939	Maria Liwschitz	One-time sum	1,000

The financial gifts to *Adat Jisrael* strengthen this argument. The largest testimonial donations or commemorations of someone deceased were, as can be seen in table 9, provided for funds set up towards the relocation to a new venue. It is difficult to assess these people's activity in the

⁴³⁰ Based on: *Adat Jisrael's* cash flow in revenue report from 1936, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/106, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴³¹ Based on: account reviews in SE/RA/720483/3/4 & SE/RA/720483/3/7 and SE/RA/720483/5/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA; Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to Maria Liwschitz, April 17, 1939 in SE/RA/720483/3/7, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

synagogue's daily practices, but their gifts suggest a solid sense of belonging to the orthodox community. For example, Maria Liwschitz's gift upon the financial commemoration of her late husband received this response from *Adat Jisrael's* chairman Jacob Ettlinger in 1939, proposing the deceased's strong position within the community:

He was an ornament to our *schul*, and each and every one in our community, who was in touch with the deceased, have had much respect for him, for his sharp intellect, for his Jewish feelings and for his goodness. We will eternally keep the memory of your late husband!⁴³²

The funds from Herman Asch, Moritz Hirsch and Levin Namovitzky were set up in the 1920s when the reconstructed synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 had only been in use for less than 10 years. Despite this purposefully renovated place, the orthodox community was not satisfied. Furthermore, the three women Jeanette Ettlinger (wife to *Adat Jisrael's* chairman), Ida Davis and Elsa Sealtiel complained about the crowds on the balcony and the pending danger of potential fires.⁴³³ The orthodox synagogue was, moreover, overcrowded during Holy Days in 1926.⁴³⁴ With the majestic Reform synagogue as the only local reference, *Adat Jisrael* possibly wanted an equally impressive building suited for yearly celebrations executed with an orthodox liturgy.

Table 10 shows the accumulated capital of the three funds in 1936. The sum from 'The Building Fund' derived from money collected in the 1910s, also reserved for a new synagogue. Through the financial support of Herman Asch, Moritz Hirsch and Levin Namovitzky, as well as the anonymous contributors to 'The Building Fund,' *Adat Jisrael* managed to amass 136,766 *kronor* for the purpose of creating a new Jewish, sacred place.⁴³⁵ The group's other funds, not linked to the construction of a new synagogue, amounted to less than 2,000 *kronor* in the same year.⁴³⁶ It is,

⁴³² Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to Maria Liwschitz, April 17, 1939, SE/RA/720483/3/7, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁴³³ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger, Ida Davis and Elsa Sealtiel to *Adat Jisrael's* board, December 21, 1932, SE/RA/720483/5/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁴³⁴ Numbers provided by chairman Jacob Ettlinger, writing to Arthur Fürstenberg, SE/RA/720483/5/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Exaggerations should be considered. Another member even calculated the number to over 900, but this number seems highly unlikely. See: Letter from Josef Katz written on August 4, 1930, Protocol 14, August 29, 1930, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/40, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴³⁵ Calculated to approximately £360,000 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁴³⁶ Cash report of 1936 from *Adat Jisrael* to the Mosaic Congregation, sent on October 1, 1937, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/107, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

therefore, abundantly clear that members deemed the ownership of a plot, where a sacred building for a specific Jewish purpose could be constructed, of upmost importance. Still, the combination of visionary desire and financial possibility seemed to belong to only a few members. Only three people established the funds that secured this remarkable sum, and the contributors to 'The Building Fund' were anonymous and their numbers unknown. The dream of a new sacred place was seemingly largely upheld by a few agents within the group.

Table 10. *Adat Jisrael's* funds for the construction of a new synagogue, 1936, in *kronor*.⁴³⁷

Fund	Accumulated capital	Interest	Total amount
Herman Asch	77,071	1,519	78,590
Moritz C. Hirsch	17,458	344	17,802
Levin Namovitzky	6,875	135	7,010
The Building Fund	33,382	-	33,382
Total	134,786	1,998	136,784

It, however, seems to have been a dream the community as a whole held on to, since a plot on *Björngårdsgatan* (Bear Farm Street) 15 was bought in 1939.⁴³⁸ It did not take a long time to walk the few blocks from *Adat Jisrael* to this plot, see figure 2. Once again, the community chose to stay within the urban neighbourhood. The original plan was to demolish the existing building, but *Adat Jisrael* had even bigger ideas. Besides the construction of a synagogue, they proposed to add apartments, living quarters and a nursery.⁴³⁹ They carried a vision for a permanent Jewish centre where sacred rituals and everyday activities were combined; a place that united the sacred and secular Jewish worlds. Even material for the renovation of the new building was chosen: the entrance would, for example, be solemnly dressed in granite, a neon sign with the address number would be placed above, and staircases and window sills would be ordered in marble.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Letter to Stockholm City's Building Committee, November 1944, SE/RA/720483/5/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁴³⁹ See letters in *ibid*; Report from Nachman Foundation to lawyer Sam Nisell, SE/RA/730128/01/F/F_18/F_18a/13, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

The building would have been buzzing with life, a visible statement of Jewishness in the streetscape, easily observed by urban walkers.

But nothing was built in the 1940s. The Second World War seemingly inhibited the plans to develop a new synagogue.⁴⁴¹ An apartment house was built in 1952, and as of 2019, *Adat Jisrael* still rents the former cinema on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13, apparently having laid all their desires and vision of a new sacred place on ice. Over 30 years of bequeathed savings, collected money, created funds, accumulated capital, the purchase of a plot, and plans for the outlook and usage of the new building – all phases in place-making – were discarded and forgotten. It is, until today, a lost, Jewish orthodox, spatial dream.

As this section travels back in time and space to the original synagogue in the 1930s, *Adat Jisrael*, however, still strived towards this, in hindsight, impossible dream. While managing significant amounts of capital linked to its spatial vision, the group, however, experienced financial difficulties on an everyday basis. Using the example of 1936 again, *Adat Jisrael's* income of 8,729 *kronor* was not sufficient to reach the 12,000 *kronor* of the annual budget goal, and such a deficit had been noticed already in 1931.⁴⁴² Chairman Jacob Ettlinger, therefore, wrote a letter to the Mosaic Congregation on August 26, 1932, to explain the predicament and argue for the Congregation's obligation to provide financial aid to all its members:

According to §2 in the statutes, the Congregation has the right and duty to levy and cover the expenses of the community members for 'the common good or specific needs.' [...] Furthermore, this is also a logical action since one cannot request that the conservative part of the community should alone cover all of, or the majority of all, the expenses that fall upon the community as a whole. Two main strands exist in all Jewish communities around the world, the liberal and the conservative-traditional. Because of this, two strands of services exist, which are [...] funded by the main community [...], regardless if the majority is liberal or conservative. [...] As we cannot find another way out, and since the right to such a request is fully legitimate, we hereby request a grant to cover annual expenditures of 3,000 kronor, for this year and the coming years. We believe that this amount is very modest in comparison to the real facts, as well as the

⁴⁴¹ Letter to Stockholm City's Building Committee, November 1944, SE/RA/720483/5/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁴⁴² Report from Jacob Ettlinger to the Mosaic Congregation, written on August 26, 1932, Appendix 17 in Protocol 10, September 14, 1932, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/102, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

fact that we all these years, despite believing that we have the right to request it, have never asked for grants.⁴⁴³

Here, Jacob Ettlinger highlights the core of one of the main characteristics of the Jewish community in Stockholm: the individual's membership to both Reform and traditional communities. As shown in table 3, 57.3 per cent of *Adat Jisrael's* proposed members in 1935 were members of Mosaic Congregation. Jacob Ettlinger himself was a wealthy businessman from Germany, living in the modern areas of *Östermalm*, and member of the religious school board and the poor relief board, both run by the Mosaic Congregation. An in-depth analysis of Jacob Ettlinger and his personal strategies for making Stockholm a home for his family will follow in chapter four, but his role as an intermediary between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael* will be analysed in this chapter.

Referring to this Jewish-Stockholman phenomenon, Jacob Ettlinger argues for the orthodox community's right to get financial aid from the Mosaic Congregation. His tone in the letter is argumentative, assuredly proclaiming *Adat Jisrael's* – and his own – rightful position within the Mosaic Congregation. *Adat Jisrael's* members saw themselves as a small but vital part of the Jewish group in Stockholm, upholding traditional customs and delivering the second religious strand within Judaism. As such, they deemed it their right to receive financial aid and the Reform-Jewish majority's duty to provide it. Agreeing with, or convinced by, Jacob Ettlinger's arguments, the Mosaic Congregation granted 3,000 *kronor* in September 1932.⁴⁴⁴ *Adat Jisrael* continued to annually apply for the grant, and apart from questioning the necessity of the grant in 1934 and requesting cash flows from 1937 onwards, the Mosaic Congregation did as they were asked.⁴⁴⁵ The enthusiasm and vision of *Adat Jisrael* was not enough: without the Mosaic Congregation's supply of 3,000 *kronor*, a fourth of the total annual revenue, this sacred place would not have survived, despite the strong social and economic position of its members. Thus, although not sharing *Adat Jisrael's* sacred vision, the Mosaic Congregation ensured the continued existence of a sacred place linked to one of the traditional minorities in Stockholm.

The Congregation's annual bursary to *Adat Jisrael* was, on the other hand, most likely obtained through Jacob Ettlinger's argumentative qualities, his social network within the Mosaic

⁴⁴³ Ibid. Underlining by author. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁴⁴ Protocol 11, September 28, 1932, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/102, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. Calculated to approximately £8,000 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁴⁴⁵ For more insight into these conversations, see SE/RA/720483/5/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Congregation's lay leadership, and the dual memberships held by more than half of *Adat Jisrael's* members. The social capital accumulated by Jacob Ettlinger and many of the other members was, therefore, vital currency in their quest for spatial survival. Drawing attention to the similar membership attributes between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*, Jacob Ettlinger – himself a part of both networks – managed to shrink the social differences between the two sacred places, and thus made sacred multiplicity possible in the streetscape.

3.2.2 *Minyanim*: The Limits of Sacred Multiplicity

Walking on to the next sacred place, this chapter finds itself outside the apartment building on *Bondegatan* (Farmer Street) 4, see figure 41. A prayer house was installed somewhere in the building in 1905 for the 'Mosaic believers on *Söder* (South),' receiving economic help from the Mosaic Congregation to set up interior decorations, which most likely included an *Aron Hakodesh*, *Torah* and *bimah*.⁴⁴⁶ Most members were manual labourers with small incomes and as the number of visitors dwindled, they could no longer cover the annual rent of 1,200 *kronor*. The group was represented by the two businessmen Mates Levin and Kalman Bikoff, residing less than 500 metres from the *minyan*. They applied to the Mosaic Congregation in 1922 for a funding of 600 *kronor* towards the 'for us so dear prayer house, our meeting place, in which we have invested so much energy, time and money.' To them, their sacred place was in 'a state of emergency,' 'threatened to completely dissolve' and awaiting an 'impending ruin.'⁴⁴⁷

The emphatic words and the personification of the *minyan* reflect the intimate relationship between the practitioners and the prayer house. The building was, of course, not on the verge of demolition, but Mates Levin and Kalman Bikoff used this metaphorical language to stress the seriousness of the situation: the impending loss of their sacred place. Describing his childhood home in the Jewish philanthropic apartment house for impoverished Jewish families on *Klippgatan* (Rock Street) 19 for impoverished Jewish families, Boris Beltzikoff similarly used spatial metaphors to enhance its importance. He referred to the building as the only place in Stockholm that resembled 'a sort of ghetto' or an Eastern European *shtetl*.⁴⁴⁸ It was an 'ideal' milieu for Jewish immigrants, a place

⁴⁴⁶ Letter from Mates Levin and Kalman Bikoff to the Mosaic Congregation, written on June 8, 1922, Appendix 8 to board meeting on June 8, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁴⁸ Boris Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka: Essäer ur ett liv* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1994), 14. My translation from Swedish.

‘removed from east and replanted into the Swedish soil [housing] a group of people, uprooted from places their forefathers had lived in for hundreds of years and where most things were as different as can be from normal Swedish city life’.⁴⁴⁹

It was a secluded space where the culture, customs, traditions and language of their *shtetl*-world were kept. Similar feelings of ‘at-homeness’ can, due to Mates Levin’s and Kalman Bikoff’s literary style, be ascribed to the *minyán* on *Bondegatan*. The prayer house was a vital component in making Stockholm their home, and to this cause the Mosaic Congregation offered a grant of 300 *kronor* in 1922.⁴⁵⁰ Nothing else is found on the *minyán*’s existence in the archive, suggesting its demise.



Figure 41. *Bondegatan* 4, 2016.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 21.

⁴⁵⁰ Board meeting on June 8, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. Calculated to approximately £650 in today’s currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, ‘A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.’

⁴⁵¹ My photograph (2016).

Chapter 3

The *minyanim*'s role in offering immigrants a physical location of religious and social familiarity in the Swedish streetscape becomes more visible as this chapter walks some 20 minutes south-west to *Havregatan* (Oat Street) 7. Located on a newly constructed street in a swiftly developing area of the city since 1915, see figure 42, *Havregatan* became another site for the continuation of rituals connected to Eastern European Jewish homelands. As its leaders Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski applied for financial aid from the Mosaic Congregation, they described the *minyana* as a 'shelter' where 'the needs of the soul' were met through the practice of 'Polish rituals'.⁴⁵² The particularities of these rituals were not further explained, making it difficult to define the liturgical strand of this *minyana* and indeed whether the Polish particularity was liturgical, social or cultural. It is, however, clear that this was not only a room where people with common identifications gathered; it was a sheltering fortress, a secure place where the well-known rituals of the *minyana*'s largely impoverished 35 members could be safely executed out of sight from the Swedish-Protestant society and other Jewish establishments.



Figure 42. *Havregatan* 7, 2016.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² Letter from Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski to the Mosaic Congregation, written on October 13, 1932, Appendix 2 in Protocol from November 3, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/104, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁵³ My photograph (2016).

In their letter to the Mosaic Congregation on October 13, 1932, Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski wrote that

this *minyan* has up until now been kept on its feet mainly through the selling of *matze*, *matze* flour for *Pesach*, besides voluntary gifts from those who have been interested and are interested in the survival of this *minyan*, in order to provide members and their families an opportunity to pray to their God as they have done in their homeland. Last *Pesach* revealed that the profit from *matze* and *matze* flour is very little, almost nothing.

To further explain the situation, we ask to mention that Mr Ettlinger considers this *minyan* superfluous since the members can visit the synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan*. As a reply to this we want to emphasise that the *minyan* on *Havregatan 7* is as different from the synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan*, as the latter is different from the synagogue on *Wahrendorffsgatan*.

If you, due to the contemporary, difficult times, grant the synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan* financial support towards its maintenance, to which quite a few wealthy members belong, it would be even more suitable to give allowance to this *minyan* on *Havregatan 7*. We believe that if the Mosaic Congregation in such a grand way provides funds worth 3,000 *kronor*, it would only be fair if the same amount, or even just 25 per cent, 750 *kronor*, was given to *minyan* on *Havregatan 7*.⁴⁵⁴

The *minyan* on *Havregatan*, with less than half the numbers of visitors going to *Sankt Paulsgatan*, employed the strategy of comparison between itself and *Adat Jisrael* to convince the Mosaic Congregation of its right for survival. Three aspects on traditional life in Stockholm emerge from their letter: the proposed liturgical differences, the different social identifications, and the internal hierarchy within the traditional community itself.

Although Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski clearly argued for differences between the traditional rituals on *Sankt Paulsgatan* and *Havregatan*, the nature of that difference, however,

⁴⁵⁴ Letter from Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski to the Mosaic Congregation, written on October 13, 1932, Appendix 2 in Protocol from November 3, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/104, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

eluded the argument. Its liturgy is, furthermore, hard to investigate with no other material than the discussion between the *minyan* and the Mosaic Congregation's board available. Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis paid a visit and described that the solidarity and sacrificial will of those belonging to 'the little prayer house made an excellent impression' on him.⁴⁵⁵ His conviction was, nonetheless, that the Mosaic Congregation could not financially contribute to all *minyanim* that mushroomed in the urban landscape,⁴⁵⁶ actively and explicitly arguing against the existence of spatial sacred multiplicity. The incomprehension or disregard of the differences among traditional Jews could stem from his general hesitance towards public conspicuous Jewishness. It has, for example, been argued that he was apprehensive about the arrival of refugees from Nazi Germany, believing they would create gentile antagonistic feelings towards the Jewish community as a whole.⁴⁵⁷ As mentioned in the introductory chapter, he was, furthermore, educated at the rabbinic seminars linked to Reform Judaism, thus possibly less knowledgeable of the liturgical differences in Orthodox Judaism. When Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski complained that Marcus Ehrenpreis during his short visit after *mincha*, the afternoon service, misled them by falsely expressing happiness about the *minyan*'s existence, the chief rabbi responded on January 16, 1934, that

I cannot [...] from a religious point of view – and it is only of this I can speak – find any demanding, religious reasons that would support an annual grant from the congregation's general taxation revenue. I cannot find any liturgical differences between the services conducted in the *minyan* on *Havregatan* and the synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan*, although I do not want to contest that there might be psychological reasons that to some extent can explain the concerned people's interest in this *minyan*.⁴⁵⁸

Although convinced of their particularity, the *minyan* on *Havregatan* failed to persuade Marcus Ehrenpreis of its liturgical specificity and did not receive any financial support from the Mosaic Congregation.

⁴⁵⁵ Letter from Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation's board on March 2, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/103, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation's board on January 16, 1934, Appendix 6 for board meeting on February 23, 1934, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/103, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁵⁷ Åmark, *Att bo granne med ondskan*, 508–510; Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*, 118–121.

⁴⁵⁸ Letter from Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation's board on January 16, 1934, Appendix 6 for board meeting on February 23, 1934, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/103, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

When explaining their members' impoverished positions, and thus hoping to gain sympathy, Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski underlined the second aspect of traditional everyday life: the different class belongings. While more than half of *Adat Jisrael's* members matched the requirement of Swedish citizenship and could afford to pay membership fees to the Mosaic Congregation, only five of *Havregatan's* 35 members had employment and income. Willy Jacobson, an executive manager living in the city centre, and Abraham Svirski, a trader owning two plots next to a lake located in the southern suburbs, must have been two of the five.⁴⁵⁹ The social differences between these two sacred places was pointed out by the *minyan's* leaders, adding yet another dimension to their division. The *minyan* on *Havregatan* was not only a place where the execution of their specific religious strand could be performed: it was also a site where a group sharing a historical past, ethnic background, and financial status could meet. Although Jacob Ettlinger invited them to the services at *Adat Jisrael*, the social inequalities could have made it difficult for *Havregatan's* members to feel at home.

Willy Jacobson's and Abraham Svirski's argument for a differentiation between their prayer house and *Adat Jisrael* could, therefore, be read as a resistance to the stronger status of *Adat Jisrael*. By emphasising their and Jacob Ettlinger's dissimilar views on the liturgical stand of their Polish rituals, they tried to engage with and oppose the internal hierarchy within both the traditional community and the Jewish community in Stockholm as a whole. Despite being two individuals with good volumes of social capital, the *minyan's* leaders did not have a group to draw more capital from as Jacob Ettlinger did. Not agreeing with Jacob Ettlinger's solution for them to join *Adat Jisrael*, Willy Jacobson and Abraham Svirski, therefore – on behalf of their *minyan* – publicly resisted him by attempting to problematise the Mosaic Congregation's image of traditional Judaism as one homogenous strand. As has been described, they did not succeed.

3.2.3 The Community Hall: The Effects of Hierarchy on Sacred Multiplicity

Inner-communal debates on space for traditional activities also took place on *Norrmalm*. Walking across all of *Södermalm* to the community hall next to the Wahrendorff Synagogue, a visit to celebratory services in the 1920s provides an in-depth example of the hierarchy within the Jewish community. Although having problems reaching a *minyan* for the morning- and afternoon prayers, *Adat Jisrael's* small synagogue was visited by 200-240 people on Holy Days in 1926, and

⁴⁵⁹ 'J-Jeppsen and Svenson, N-Söyland' (1930), Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

subsequently in need of a bigger venue.⁴⁶⁰ The Mosaic Congregation allowed *Adat Jisrael* to use the community hall for extended traditional services on holidays such as *Yom Kippur* – the Day of Atonement, and *Rosh Hashana* – the Jewish New Year, in 1928. The application two years later was signed by Josef Katz, born in a *shtetl*-like community in Lund in southern Sweden and married to a non-Jew.⁴⁶¹ He emphasised the inability for traditional practitioners to attend a synagogue with organ music – in other words, the Reform Wahrendorff Synagogue – as reason for the necessity of extended traditional services in the community hall during *Yom Kippur*, *Rosh Hashana*, and *Sukkot* – the autumnal celebration of harvest.⁴⁶² Asked for an expert opinion, Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis argued that since

there are currently no indications of the establishment of a parallel service during the big autumn festivities in the community's big hall, he wants to commission the hall, as was the case last year, to also this year be used by the group of applicants, who under own responsibility planned to arrange services on the new year festivities and the Day of Atonement. This can be done with the conditions that the organisers guarantee that both the service and everything connected to it (not the least the official announcement), would take place under appropriate and worthy forms.⁴⁶³

Despite being the overseeing rabbi of all religious groups, Marcus Ehrenpreis wrote from the perspective of the Reformed-influenced activities linked to the Wahrendorff Synagogue. He positioned the spatial needs of the Reform community before *Adat Jisrael*, and Josef Katz's application was only approved because the former had no need for the community hall. Situated in the shade of the Wahrendorff Synagogue, the community hall, therefore, housed traditional festivities, while Reform celebrations took place some twenty metres away in the synagogue.

Applications for seats in the Wahrendorff Synagogue increased during the coming two years, making the Mosaic Congregation's board unsure if the seats would be enough for *Sukkot*. At the same time, three men – merchants Osias Schnabel and Leopold Friedmann, together with Mates

⁴⁶⁰ Numbers provided by chairman Jacob Ettlinger, writing to Arthur Fürstenberg, SE/RA/720483/5/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Exaggeration should be considered. Another member even calculated the number to over 900, but this number seems highly unlikely. Letter from Josef Katz, August 4, 1930, in Protocol 14, August 29, 1930, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/100, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁶¹ Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Protocol 14, August 29, 1930, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/100, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. Marcus Ehrenpreis's underlining. My translation from Swedish.

Levin⁴⁶⁴ – applied to use the community hall for personal celebrations of *Sukkot*, unlinked to any of the other traditional communities.⁴⁶⁵ Osias Schnabel also lent his signature to an application by the private religious teacher Jacob Marcus for a position in the Jewish afternoon school that very same year.⁴⁶⁶ As we shall see later on in this chapter, Jacob Ettlinger did not endorse Jacob Marcus. It seems likely that the group was at odds with the leaders of *Adat Jisrael* at the moment of their application. Not wanting to celebrate the festivities with *Adat Jisrael*, they were hoping to use the community hall as a sacred place outside the authorities of both the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*. They were, however, not successful.

Three conclusions can be reached from this event: first, as the spatial needs of the Wahrendorff Synagogue increased, its Reform community was given priority. Second, *Adat Jisrael*'s parallel service in the community hall did not manage to encompass the needs of all traditional practitioners, proving again that the traditional community was fragmented. Furthermore, when the Mosaic Congregation needed to choose between the established *Adat Jisrael* and the smaller group represented by Osais Schnabel, Leopold Friedmann and Mates Levin, they chose the former. In the communal hierarchy, the Mosaic Congregation had the strongest social capital and less established groups had the lowest volume, with *Adat Jisrael* placed in the middle. This partly explains Jacob Ettlinger's success, and Mates Levin's, Kalman Bikoff's, Willy Jacobson's and Abraham Svirski's failure to succeed financial aid for the survival of their sacred places.

The leaders' social differences are compared in table 11. As can be seen, *Adat Jisrael* had more than double the number of members belonging to either of the two other *minyanim*, but the Mosaic Congregation never cited the lack of members as a reason for not providing economic contributions to prayer houses. Although a possible underlying motive, the socio-cultural identifications of the leaders played an important part in the Mosaic Congregation's decision-making. All of the traditional leaders were involved in the trade sector, but only Jacob Ettlinger and Willy Jacobson belonged to the more prestigious upper trade category. Buying suburban plots, Abraham Svirski, on the other hand, used his economic success to settle into the landscape of Sweden, a strategy adopted by many Jews, as shall be seen in the next chapter. Apart from Jacob Ettlinger, all of the *minyanim* leaders were from Eastern Europe. Lastly, all but Abraham Svirski were members of the Mosaic Congregation, although Jacob Ettlinger's volume of social

⁴⁶⁴ Letter from H. Levin to the Mosaic Congregation, written on September 11, 1932, Protocol 11, September 28, 1932, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/102, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Certificate från Osais Schnabel to *Talmud Torah*'s chairman, December 26, 1932, SE/RA/720483/5/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Chapter 3

capital widely extended the others through his intensive engagement within the Mosaic Congregation's institutions.

Table 11. A comparison between spokespeople for traditional communities.⁴⁶⁷

Name	Community	Origin	Employment	Other roles	Urban district
Jacob Ettlinger	<i>Adat Jisrael</i> (80-150 members)	Germany	Executive manager	Member of the Mosaic Congregation, Board member of the Congregation's societies on religious school and poor relief	<i>Östermalm</i>
Mates Levin	<i>Minyan on Bondegatan</i>	Russia	Trader	Member of the Mosaic Congregation	<i>Södermalm</i>
Kalman Bikoff	<i>Minyan on Bondegatan</i>	-	Agent	Member of the Mosaic Congregation	<i>Södermalm</i>
Willy Jacobson	<i>Minyan on Havregatan</i> (35 members)	Poland	Executive manager	Member of the Mosaic Congregation	<i>Norrmalm</i>
Abraham Svirski	<i>Minyan on Havregatan</i> (35 members)	Lithuania	Trader	-	<i>Södermalm</i>

⁴⁶⁷ Since Willy Jacobson and Abraham S. Svirski wrote that all members of *Havregatan* were Polish, it has to be assumed that they were too. The other information is gathered from: 'J – Jeppsen,' 'Larson, K – Linander,' 'Svenson, N – Söyland' (1921), 'Bergkvist – Bjuke,' (1930), Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

As mentioned earlier, Jacob Ettlinger administrated the Jewish community's religious education and poor relief in the 1920s-1930s. Both of these areas were directed towards Jacob Ettlinger's traditional conviction; he argued for a more extensive, traditional curriculum at the religious school, and the continuation of Jewish rituals and laws at the Jewish orphanage.⁴⁶⁸ Still, his association with the Mosaic Congregation's board put him in a different position than the other four men. His social network included the Mosaic lay leadership, and just like the integrated Jewish families, Jacob Ettlinger had a German background. Living in the city centre and with a position as an executive manager, Willy Jacobson enjoyed an equally strong social status. Still, the differences between Willy Jacobson and Jacob Ettlinger – their diverging ethnicities, Jacob Ettlinger's social connection to the board and *Adat Jisrael's* before-mentioned bigger social capital – solidified Jacob Ettlinger's social capital and arguably influenced the Mosaic Congregation's decision to provide long-term financial aid to *Adat Jisrael* only.

Despite the differences between the five spokespeople for the three sacred places associated with traditional practices, they were all dependent on the Mosaic Congregation. The Reform community had the economic stability and social status to pick and choose which sacred places to financially invest in, thereby shaping Jewish presence in the urban landscape. Despite traditional spatiality being defined by complex webs of hierarchal relationships, the case study also portrays the strength of religion within the Jewish community in Stockholm. The traditional leaders are individual examples of how people were interested and economically involved in religious matters. Although not visited in this 'walk,' further *minyanim* existed in Stockholm,⁴⁶⁹ accentuating the picture of a religiously fragmented and diverse Jewish community, which in turn indicates that Stockholm's Jews endeavoured to create places that corresponded to their ideals and sense of belonging, constructing sites where they personally felt at home. Financial difficulties, and individual and group levels of social capital, however, determined the limits of this desired multiplicity.

⁴⁶⁸ See, for example, conversations among the board members of the Mosaic Congregation in 1925 and 1931, SE/RA/730128/A/A_1/A_1a/95 and SE/RA/730128/A/A_1/A_1a/101, SSA.

⁴⁶⁹ As discussed in: 'Avsnitt 3: Kärleken och traditionen,' *Aarons nya land* (August 12, 2015), Swedish Television Channel 1, accessed November 29, 2016, URL: <www.urskola.se/Produkter/189894-Aarons-nya-land-Karleken-och-traditionen>; Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka*, 2; *Dagen Nyheter* (August 30, 1918), for example, announced the temporary establishment of a *minyan* on Tunnelgatan (Tunnel Street) 19 aimed 'to help the, by the war, destitute Jews.' The services were limited to the celebrations of *Rosh Hashana*, *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkot*, but might have offered a temporary place of comfort and 'at-homeness' for newly arrived Jews, rendered homeless by the First World War. The central position of the *minyan* was probably useful for attracting visitors. Thanks to Patric Klagsbrun Lebenswerd for providing this material.

3.3 The *Mikveh*: The Struggle for Sacred Traditions

As described in chapter one, *mikveh* was deemed an important part of religious life in 1869, but not necessary enough to be enclosed within the walls of the Wahrendorff Synagogue. Despite recognising its ritual function, the Mosaic Congregation, nonetheless, did not economically aid the existence of a ritual bath during the coming fifty years.⁴⁷⁰ On January 18, 1922, a group of 53 individuals applied to the Mosaic Congregation's board for economic aid to sustain the ritual bath in Stockholm. 94 per cent of the applying group were taxed by the Mosaic Congregation, and 88 per cent were allowed to vote.⁴⁷¹ The numbers speak for themselves: this group had a strong relationship with the Mosaic Congregation. As the GIS-mappings in the introductory chapter showed, this group was an economically, socially and spatially mixed group, although consisting of people with a mainly Eastern European background. They estimated that about 1,800 people had used the ritual bath during the last five years.⁴⁷²

At this time, the *mikveh* had been located for 10 years on *Badstugatan* (Sauna street) 4 in the public bath *Södermalms Tvätt & Badinrättning* (Södermalm's Institution for Laundry & Bath), situated some blocks away from *Adat Jisrael*. The bath institution had cleaning facilities for first-, second- and third-class citizens, and was installed with 96 bathing huts, sauna, hot-air rooms, pools, a café and a barber. The *mikveh* was positioned in a bathroom with two bathtubs and a pool, located in the basement with an own entrance.⁴⁷³ Figure 43 from the bath institution's fifty year's anniversary pamphlet, however, shows a less private and less comfortable venue, constructed in a cramped cellar. In accordance with the Talmudic law, the *mikveh*'s water was to be drawn directly from a natural stream, not bypassing any other container.⁴⁷⁴ Walking towards the bath, the visitor passing the traffic junction '*Slussen* in the lantern light of an evening [would] easily [notice] the word BATH, which in big, flaming letters shine from a building at *Söder Mälarstrand*,' a sea front promenade and smaller port.⁴⁷⁵ Traditional practitioners, therefore,

⁴⁷⁰ Letter from Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation, August 30, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁷¹ Calculated from the M-22 list.

⁴⁷² Letter from Heymann Nathan and others to the Mosaic Congregation, October 12, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁷³ Rental agreement was signed between the institution and Jacob Ettlinger and lasted for three years, SE/RA/720483/5/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA; The bath institution's fifty year's celebration pamphlet, E/RA/740105/Ö_3/2, The Hollander Companies, SSA; The separate entrance is mentioned in: '*Södermalms tvätt- och badinrättning*,' *Aftonbladet* (October 18, 1914), RLS.

⁴⁷⁴ The institution had renovated parts of the venue to make sure the bath met the religious demands. The pool was also deep enough to allow the women who used it to immerse their whole bodies. See: *ibid*; Letter from Heymann Nathan and others to the Mosaic Congregation, October 12, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁷⁵ The bath institution's fifty year's celebratory pamphlet, E/RA/740105/Ö_3/2, The Hollander Companies, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

must have associated the busy intersection and the neon lights with their ritual practice in the *mikveh*, mixing the urban features of northern *Södermalm* with their Jewishness. As *mikveh*-users walked towards the bath institution, this Jewish sacred place became another feature of the ever-shifting and developing urban landscape in Stockholm.



Figure 43. The *mikveh* at *Badstugatan 4*, 1925.⁴⁷⁶

The bath institution decided to increase the rent in 1922, prompting the before-mentioned application to the Mosaic Congregation for 1,500 *kronor*.⁴⁷⁷

We take for granted that You are acquainted with the fact that ritual baths – *mikveh* – is absolutely necessary for those religious Israelites that live according to the assigned ritual. [...] The cost [is] included in the budget [...] in Stockholm, and about which you can find notes in the Mosaic Congregation's older protocols.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Heymann Nathan and others to the Mosaic Congregation, October 12, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. Calculated to approximately £3,300 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

A ritual bath exists in Stockholm at the moment, which is funded by those who sign this letter, and partly by a specific *Chevra*, which has taken it upon itself with rather large costs to maintain these ritual baths. [...] We believe that this burdensome tax, which is imposed on all members of the Congregation, and of which a significant portion befalls our lot, should be used for institutions that concern the cult and the ritual, of which the ritual bath is an important part. Chief Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreis can surely confirm the necessity of a ritual bath according to the Mosaic law.⁴⁷⁸

The strategy of demonstrating the links between the Mosaic Congregation and *mikveh* practitioners is similar to Jacob Ettlinger's argument 10 years later, and the community mentioned in the letter was indeed *Adat Jisrael*.⁴⁷⁹ Furthermore, the application was clearly signed by observant Jews from both *Adat Jisrael* and other religious groups, the latter perhaps preferring the services at either the Wahrendorff Synagogue or any of the other *minyanim*. This case study thus becomes an example of not only interconnectedness between the Mosaic Congregation and traditional members, but also the ability of different traditional groups to work together for important causes. Their largely common ground as members of the Mosaic Congregation must have helped, and this membership was, furthermore, emphasised in the application, while the religious importance of the *mikveh* was never explained: the writers instead relied on a favourable testimony from chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis.

Marcus Ehrenpreis' statements reached the Mosaic Congregation seven months later, with Jacob Ettlinger indeed having time to personally remind the board to reply. In his letter, *Adat Jisrael's* chairman argued that the ritual bath was more than a hygienic act: it was a necessary tool for any 'man or woman of another religion, who converts to Judaism.'⁴⁸⁰ Marcus Ehrenpreis, on the other hand, utilised a reformed approach to the necessity of a ritual bath. He argued that many German congregations no longer used it, devoting a third of his letter to describe the 'ancient' ritual:

⁴⁷⁸ Letter to the Mosaic Congregation, written on January 18, 1922, Appendix M in protocol from board meeting on February 26, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My own translation from Swedish.

⁴⁷⁹ Jacob Ettlinger paid the rent for and access to soap and towels at *Södermalms Tvätt & Badinrättning*. Receipts can be found throughout his archive.

⁴⁸⁰ Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to the Mosaic Congregation, written on September 8, 1922, appendix 10 in protocol from board meeting on September 18, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

The ritual women's bath is an ancient Jewish institution of partly hygienic and partly symbolic nature, which is not directly ordered in the Torah, but Talmudic teachers can find indirect proof in a few biblical references, notably Leviticus 15:18, 19, 21. The ancient rabbinic ritual regarded the ritual women's bath as compulsory and Jewish communities viewed the maintenance of a women's bath as their responsibility.⁴⁸¹

He not only described the ritual as historically old, but also added that several contemporary rabbis had voiced new interpretations of the necessity of an untouched route leading natural water to the bath. Using written sources from a rabbinic meeting in Frankfurt am Main in 1845, Marcus Ehrenpreis argued that water from a natural source was not necessary since 'poured water, *majim sche'ubim*, from public paths is allowed to be used as a ritual women's bath,'⁴⁸² thus allowing the use of a public bath. His last argument focused on the low numbers of Mosaic Congregation members using the *mikveh*. The Mosaic Congregation members signing this application constituted 7 per cent of the whole congregation, clearly a minority.⁴⁸³ Marcus Ehrenpreis, therefore, recommended the Mosaic Congregation to not provide any grants but, nonetheless, added that 'the desire to, from a material point of view, research the possibility of in any way meeting the application' should not be excluded.⁴⁸⁴ It is a curious last comment, showcasing Marcus Ehrenpreis' perhaps personal wish for a Jewish ritual bath to exist, when he theologically and economically could not find a reason for it. Bound by the liturgy of Reform Judaism, the chief rabbi could not condone financial aid to traditional rituals.

The Mosaic Congregation's board followed his suggestion and dismissed the application. As the issue was brought into the annual general meeting for voting on October 12, 1922, the Mosaic Congregation advised members to vote against the grant. People publicly expressed their affiliation to or disagreement with the board's recommendation during the meeting, showcasing the heated atmosphere in the room.⁴⁸⁵ Using a closed ballot, 32 people voted according to the

⁴⁸¹ Letter from Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation, August 30, 1922, appendix 11 in protocol from board meeting on September 16, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁸² Ibid. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁸³ 44 Mosaic Congregation members, of a total of 630 members, signed the application. Based on population list M-22. The calculation concerns the members with a right to vote, not the members being taxed.

⁴⁸⁴ Letter from Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis to the Mosaic Congregation, written on August 30, 1922, appendix 11 in protocol from board meeting on September 16, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁸⁵ Herman Elliot, Ferdinand Falk, Herman Lamm and Semmy Davidson expressed their affiliation with the board's recommendation during the discussion, although the minutes do not retell their arguments. Herman Elliot, Herman Lamm and Semmy Davidson were part of the Jewish elite, but Herman Elliot had

Mosaic Congregation board's advice and only 12 wanted the application to be funded. This time, the pro-*mikveh* voters, however, accounted for 27.3 per cent of the group of members casting votes. Among the Mosaic Congregation's members with strong views on religious practices, the observant minority was clearly not an insignificant minority.

With this in mind, the irritation among traditional Mosaic Congregation members can be understood. Some of them wrote a four page long emotive letter on the same day as the general meeting's decision was taken, replying to the 'annihilating criticism' of Marcus Ehrenpreis and explicitly commenting the power structure within the community:

It is not compatible with Jewish legal conception or modern liberalism to, via the motto 'power comes before right,' utilise the tactic to not bestow an ear to an inconvenient minority. Our sympathisers are not asking for a place in the sun, but would like to receive understanding for their religious worldview, and it should be possible to, without objection, demand a yearly grant of 1,500 *kronor* for the obligations of religion, consisting of the maintenance of a ritual bath. But it is highly surprising that men, who already signed the original application, have, inappropriately, been morally pressed to cross out their signatures by a few leading people. Such an act should not be compatible with liberal spirit and it reminds us of the Inquisition.⁴⁸⁶

The 'modern liberalism' and 'liberal spirit' that the group of writers bitterly assigned to the Mosaic Congregation was to them closely related to misuse of power. The Mosaic Congregation was not only accused of ignoring the voice of smaller, religiously different groups, but it was also suggested that the Congregation had tried to influence members of this minority group in order to align their opinions with Reform Judaism, forcing these individuals to either not attend the Mosaic Congregation's annual general meeting or, while there, abstaining from voting in favour of the Mosaic Congregation's recommendation. The reference to the Inquisition – internal combats against heresy within the Catholic church during the 13-15th centuries, resulting in, for example, pogroms of converted Spanish Jews and the expulsion of the whole Spanish-Jewish population in 1492 – is a telling metaphor. In this letter, the Mosaic Congregation and the traditional

also signed *Adat Jisrael's* rental agreement for the cinema in 1917. Ferdinand Falk was the Mosaic Congregation's religious teacher. *Adat Jisrael's* secretary Hirsch Nissalowitz and one Elias Friedmann argued in favour of the grant.

⁴⁸⁶ Letter from Heymann Nathan and others to the Mosaic Congregation, October 12, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

community are completely separated, with the former functioning as a ruthless and discriminatory institution, enforcing a reformed practice of relaxed religious laws upon the traditional minority by not aiding the maintenance of the *mikveh*. Hirsch Nissalowitz, *Adat Jisrael's* secretary, furthermore, sent his personal criticisms to the Mosaic Congregation the following day:

The decision taken at the general meeting on the 12th is extremely unfair and disrespectful towards the minority that wants the adaptation of the holy Torah's ordinance to be possible.⁴⁸⁷

The issue of the *mikveh* presented an opportunity for the two groups to explore the differences between them. They firmly disagreed with each other's interpretations of the Talmudic laws, but more importantly, their rhetoric created a polarised picture of the Jewish community in Stockholm, with the traditional community using emphatic phrases like 'absolutely necessary,' 'imposed [...] burdensome tax' and 'not compatible with Jewish legal conception,' and the Reform community, similarly using, phrases such as 'ancient Jewish institution.' The Mosaic Congregation portrayed the use of *mikveh* as a ritual belonging to a less-informed, ignorant past, and by association extended this verdict to the traditional community. The traditional individuals writing and arguing for this application, on the other hand, described the Mosaic Congregation's board as a law-breaking, dominant institution, enforcing morally and religiously wrongful practices upon the whole Jewish community.

The Mosaic Congregation's nonchalant attitude and the application's aggressive tone acted out in the text represent the power struggle existent within the community as a whole. As the bigger religious community and the public mouthpiece, and with its tax-induced membership and larger economic possibilities, the Mosaic Congregation held a dominant position within the Jewish community. Acting according to its endorsed Reform Judaism, the Mosaic Congregation thus ignored first, the religiously based claim that the ritual bath was integral to Jewish life, and second, the hope of the applicants – as Mosaic Congregation members – for an economic grant to uphold this ritual. Indeed, as Mosaic Congregation members, they saw themselves as part of the community's social network of high status, thus demanding influence on the economic flows. The Mosaic Congregation's lay and religious leadership, however, did not include the traditional

⁴⁸⁷ Letter from Hirsch Nissalowitz to the Mosaic Congregation, October 13, 1922, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/92, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

strand in their understanding of the community's membership, thus did not deem the *mikveh* important to finance. Despite not being an insignificant group among the religiously active members in the Mosaic Congregation, the issue with the *mikveh* reveals the traditional members' inferior status in the Jewish community as a whole.

3.4 The Religious Afternoon Schools: Spaces of Power Struggles

This chapter has 'walked' between the Wahrendorff Synagogue and *Södermalm* as locations of inner-communal struggles have been investigated, and the various religious afternoon schools, located across all of Stockholm, are the last sacred places to be visited. Their creation and contestation demonstrate the inner-communal hierarchies within Stockholm's Jewish community. The two former case studies have portrayed the social capital linked to the Mosaic Congregation's lay leaders – status, class, ethnicity and communal involvement – to be of vital importance in shaping religious multiplicity and traditional spatiality in Stockholm. This last case study on educational venues confirms the necessity for strong social capital in order to influence communal homes in the city. This section, furthermore, extends the study on literary representations of a dichotomised population, largely ignoring the interconnectedness that clearly existed. The struggle over religious afternoon schools in Stockholm, therefore, offers a 'window onto a society's self-understanding.'⁴⁸⁸ The internal debates on the shape of afternoon schools in Stockholm provide insight into the variety of identifications that existed within the Jewish population before the Second World War, and how they played with and against each other in the power struggle over the content and spatiality of educational places.

3.4.1 The Religious Afternoon Schools: Spatial Multiplicity for the Jewish Community

Louis Elliot, who voted against the use of the specific plot on *Wahrendorffsgatan* for the construction of the Reform synagogue in 1867, understood the importance of religious education for the survival of Jewishness in Stockholm. He sent a letter to the Mosaic Congregation's board 12 years later, advising on the creation of a religious afternoon school for both boys and girls. Louis Elliot wrote that it is

⁴⁸⁸ David S. Mendelsson, *Jewish Education in England, 1944-1988: Between Integration and Separation* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), xiii.

indisputable [...] that the size of our religious congregation and a warm love for this religion is not reached solely by our children becoming members through birth. No! Our children must be educated in lessons of our faith to become convinced of its truth, they must feel the comfort it provides its followers in order to subscribe to our religion with love and only at this stage become true Jews.⁴⁸⁹

Louis Elliot's letter arrived with perfect timing, as similar ideas sprung from the school board members. As a result of the decreasing numbers of students in the existent Boy's School,⁴⁹⁰ and the wishes of parents with children in Swedish schools to allow their children to receive a Jewish religious education, the Jewish school was transformed into a religious afternoon school in 1879. Swedish state schools were responsible for the provision of education to all Swedish inhabitants from 1842,⁴⁹¹ but their demand on mandatory religious education was not limited to Christianity, although the Jewish community had to finance the religious education themselves. Religious afternoon schools, state-owned schools and private schools with a Jewish profile were indeed an increasing feature in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries. Studies on British, French and Moravian schools have argued that the modern Jewish afternoon school was a place for the education of British, French and Austrian national identities.⁴⁹² As a difference, Stockholm's afternoon school was only a place for the education of Jewishness and Judaism. It did not engage

⁴⁸⁹ Letter from Louis Elliot to the Mosaic Congregation's board, written on February 7, 1879, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/49, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁴⁹⁰ The school had existed since 1835. Mainly boys from migrant families attended the Boy's School, which, apart from religious classes, offered the same courses that Swedish elementary schools did. See: The Board of Boy's School's reply to Louis Elliot, sent to the Mosaic Congregation's board, April 4, 1879, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/49, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁹¹ Gunnar Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria: Skola och samhälle förr och nu* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004), 55–75; Carl Ivar Sandström, *Utbildningens idéhistoria: Om samhällsförändringarnas inflytande på undervisningens mål och idéinnehav genom tiderna i Sverige och utlandet* (Helsingborg: Svensk Facklitteratur, 1991), 164–173.

⁴⁹² The European-Jewish schools were, as physical constructions, places for the negotiation of different national and ethnic identifications. Marsha L. Rozenblit argues that Moravian-Jewish schools were used to strengthen Jewish allegiance to German/Austrian culture and language in their Czechoslovakian habitat. Eugene Black similarly explains that Jewish schools provided classes on English language and British behaviour in order to make their student English as well as Jewish. French-Jewish schools before the separation of the church and the state in 1877 were also seen as a comfortable, homely place for teaching Frenchness. See: Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 104, 110; Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), 222, 227; Jeffrey Haus, *Challenges of Equality: Judaism, State, and Education in Nineteenth-Century France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009), 136; Marsha L. Rozenblit, 'Creating Jewish Space: German-Jewish Schools in Moravia,' *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013): 110-118, 131.

with the national Swedish identity, but rather aimed to make its students, in Louis Elliot's words, 'subscribe to our religion with love.'

Chief rabbi and religious teacher Louis Ludwig Lewysohn drew up a model for the teaching content, lessons and classes already in 1868: the 100 girls and boys expected to enrol were to separately attend one-hour long, weekly classes on Hebrew and Biblical History/Catechesis, borrowing the Christian word for religious laws. Boys were, however, educated for a longer period and in greater depth.⁴⁹³ Martin Schück, a former school board member, criticised the initial school plan for not providing enough preparation for the *konfirmation* (confirmation), again using a Christian word to describe *bar/bat mitzvah*, and wanted girls and boys to study the same amount of Hebrew – although equal studies on Biblical History/Catechesis was a notion he ignored.⁴⁹⁴ The one-hour long, weekly class 'Religious Explanations' for both girls and boys might have been a result of his criticism. Louis Elliot's suggestion to put on extra classes on 'Jewish songs' during the vacations from the Swedish schools was, however, rejected.⁴⁹⁵ Religious language and biblical history were regarded as the appropriate religio-cultural knowledge to impart on the next generation, while liturgical and/or cultural songs were deemed unnecessary.

Some fifty years later, however, boys and girls, were educated together in gender-mixed classes. The 324 students enrolled in the school year 1926/1927 were, for example, divided into five consecutive classes, with 13 to 25 boys and girls in each class, beginning their religious education at the age of six or seven.⁴⁹⁶ The students studied biblical history, Hebrew, theology, and religious culture and practices, followed by two years of preparation for the *konfirmation*.⁴⁹⁷ The three-

⁴⁹³ Only boys were, for example, taught how to translate Hebrew prayers. See: Letters from Chief rabbi Louis Ludwig Lewysohn to the Mosaic Congregation's board on June 16, 1868 and September 5, 1868, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/49, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁹⁴ Letter from Martin Schück to the Mosaic Congregation's board on August 28, 1868, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/38, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁹⁵ Protocol 10, December 12, 1880, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁴⁹⁶ This is my deduction from the 7-year programme of education the religious school offers up to the *bar/bat mitzvah*, at which boys are 12 and girls are 13.

⁴⁹⁷ The three first grades studied Judaism and *Torah's* biblical history for an hour per week, with Hebrew added in the second year. The fourth and fifth grades studied two hours per week, and apart from Hebrew and the biblical history from Joshua to King Josiah, the last class was also educated on the Ten Commandments and Jewish festivities. These five years were followed by two years of preparation for *bar/bat mitzvah*, with approximately 50 students attending each grade. The first grade's two weekly hours focus on biblical history from Jeremiah to modern times, provided space for in-depth analysis of the Ten Commandments and Jewish festivities, and closer reading on biblical texts, *Talmud*, *Hagaddah* and *Halakha*. The second grade's three weekly hours repeated the last six year's education on biblical history, allowed its students to read critical biblical passages in further depth and discuss *Shabbat* and the weekly services. The students produced five essays each throughout the year. Lastly, 50 confirmands from the last three years met up to discuss ethical issues, compare Judaism to other religions and read Jewish literature written in the *Haskalah*-period. See: Report from school year 1926-1927, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

year long post-confirmation course on ethical issues, religious comparison and Jewish literature shows that the community clearly wanted to continue the education of their children and youth for as long as possible.⁴⁹⁸ A stable percentage of students attended the afternoon school throughout these fifty years. The over 300 students enrolled in the 1920's, from a Jewish population with approximately 2,600-3,000 individuals, matched the expected 100 students from the about 900 Jewish individuals living in Stockholm in the 1870s. This threefold increase of the total number of pupils was thus equivalent to the threefold increase of the Jewish population. The desire to educate the next generation in the tradition, culture and language of the Jewish religion evidently did not falter throughout the years.

Due to the Mosaic Congregation's legal duty⁴⁹⁹ to provide religious education for Jewish children who were exempt from classes on Christianity in elementary schools – and perhaps because of an aspiration for more students – the school board approached Jewish families who had failed to enrol their children in 1912. Going through the congregation's birth records from 1897 to 1901, they found 40 non-attending children from 31 families. The spatial distribution of 30 of their fathers is mapped out in figure 44. More than half of these parents were born in Scandinavia, while a quarter came from Russia and one fifth from Germany. Two thirds belonged to the *bourgeoisie*, being wealthy merchants, diplomats, architects, surgeons and executive managers, with one-fifth being working-class members.⁵⁰⁰ While none lived on *Södermalm*, attending children lived in various different urban areas, once again proving that the interest of many Jewish parents, irrelevant of their socio-economic and urban belonging, was to immerse their children in Jewish traditions.

The Mosaic Congregation sent two letters to the families in 1912, asking and reminding the parents to either enrol their children or notify if the children received religious education in local, Christian schools.⁵⁰¹ Norwegian Louis Bauer, Polish Zelig Leib Blaustein, Paulina Hirsch's son Otto Joseph Hirsch, and architect Erik Josephson enrolled their children by 1913. Publisher Karl Otto Bonnier, cousin to Isidor Bonnier mentioned in the previous chapters, however, did not reply to either of the letters, while Olof Aschberg – Herman Asch's son and a socialist banker we will get to

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Families who failed to give their children a religious education should, according to the Education Act, be reported to the police.

⁵⁰⁰ Letter and list from Axel Raphael on the school board to the Mosaic Congregation, December 15, 1911, Appendix F in Protocol 1, February 3, 1912, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/81, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Calculated from own list created from cross-referencing the list with following sources: Communal and voting lists for 1912, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/82, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1911) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; Population list 1909.

⁵⁰¹ Letter from the Mosaic Congregation's board, December 1, 1912, Appendix M in Protocol 13, December 15, 1912, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/82, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

know better in the next chapter – provided his reply orally. Apparently, he told the Mosaic Congregation's cantor that 'no one can force him to enrol his children.'⁵⁰² Still, as the stable percentage of attending students shows, the Jewish community's general interest in religious education was continuous over time.

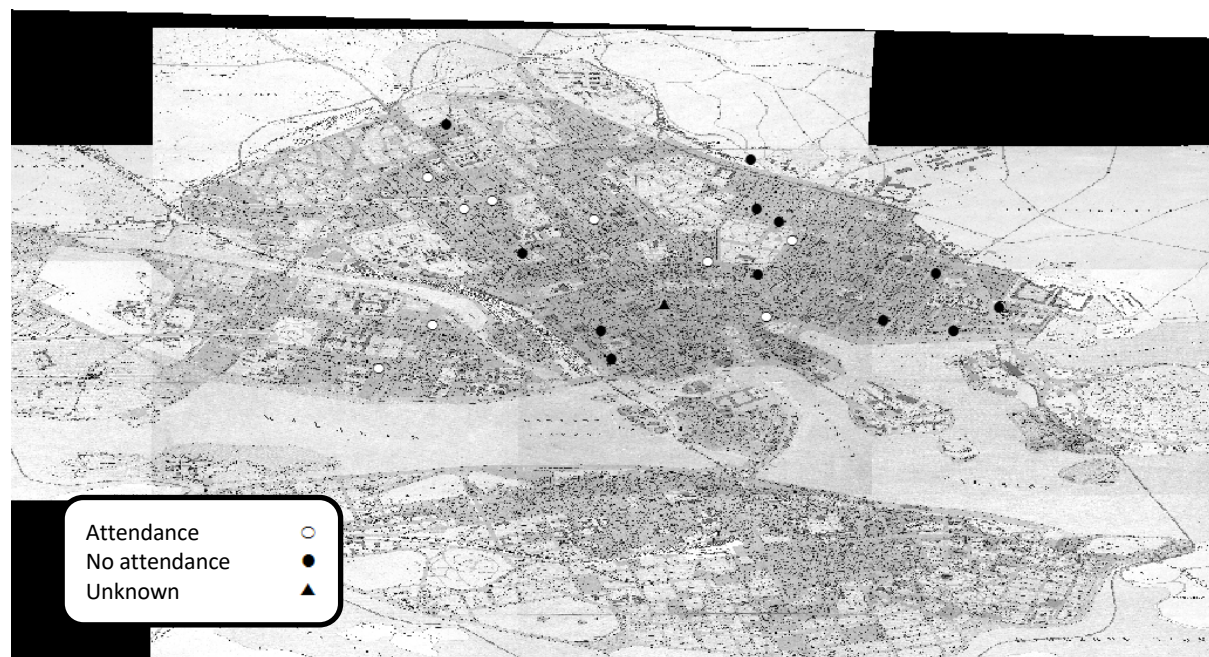


Figure 44. The distribution of parents asked about their children's attendance at the religious afternoon school, 1912.⁵⁰³

Religious classes were located in the community building on *Wahrendorffsgatan*, but was also, as a result of overcrowded conditions in the two 25-square meters small classrooms, forced during its first 45 years to use nearby school venues.⁵⁰⁴ The number of students grew during this time,

⁵⁰² Letter from Axel Raphael on the school board to the Mosaic Congregation, March 5, 1913, Appendix C in Protocol 7, March 20, 1913, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/83, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵⁰³ Calculated from own list created from cross-referencing the list with following sources: Communal and voting lists for 1912, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/82, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; (1911) Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA; Population list 1909.; Map: Alfred Bentzer, Topografiska corpsen, '1909 års karta över Stockholm,' (1862-1909), SE/SSA/0234/J_4_A:21 Karta öfver Stockholm, Bentzer 1909 (12 blad), *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 14, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/31530>.

⁵⁰⁴ They initially met up in the community house or the local Klara Elementary School on *Stora Vattugatan* (Large Aquarius Street) 16. Notices in *Dagens Nyheter* (October 28-30, 1885), RLS, and *Aftonbladet* (October 28-30, 1885), RLS, announced that religious classes took place on this address. A discussion on possible renovations of the community house or movement into another venue developed at the turn of the 20th century. The latter solution was chosen, since the planned cost of 100,000 *kronor* for a new three-floor

motivating the employment of a third teacher, Dr. Fried, in 1905. The problem of overcrowding, however, persisted. The school board wrote to the Mosaic Congregation in 1925 that

It has for many years been the constant and prioritised wish of the religious school board and teachers to get new, better school premises. The current premises are highly unsatisfactory, both in terms of space and consideration for the health and comfort of children and teachers. Since up to 60 children are often gathered in one venue, these children are presently so packed together it nearly borders to inadmissible standards. The air in the school venue is during such occasions surely anything but healthy. The teachers lack a suitable staff room, and lastly, there is a lack of public conveniences for both teachers and pupils, [a situation] which is extremely unhygienic.⁵⁰⁵

As Erik Josephson's plans on a new community house were taken into consideration, the school board offered its comments and suggestions to the Mosaic Congregation, eager to influence the physical building. They believed that the new venue should be planned for at least 120 pupils and even recommended changes on architectural details. Walls could be shifted to create new classrooms or bigger vestibules, and windows were too few and too small.⁵⁰⁶ When the building was nearly finished, the school board ordered, among other things, 88 new pulpits and chairs, three teacher pulpits, two high-backed chairs and 150 clothing racks.⁵⁰⁷ The new community house faced both the Wahrendorff Synagogue and *Berzelii Park* in 1927, now accommodated with appropriate facilities for the community's religious school.

As parents living on *Södermalm*, however, believed the route from their homes to the religious classes in the community house to be too long and time-consuming, and tearing on the children's

building, designed by architect Erik Josephson, proved too expensive. The school moved to *Arsenalsgatan* (Arsenal Street) 2 in 1900, but was relocated to *Wahrendorffsgatan* again in 1901. Notices in *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 14, 1901), RLS, and *Aftonbladet* (September 14, 1901), RLS; announced that the school is back on *Wahrendorffsgatan*. See the following sources: The architectural plans and calculations were given by Erik Josephson in his letter to the Mosaic Congregation's board on January 26, 1900; Letter from Axel Raphael, Pontus Henriques and Gottlieb Klein to the school board in a letter to Mosaic Congregation's board in March 1900, Protocol from April 13, 1900, Protocol from May 28, 1900, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/70, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; and Letter from the school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board on February 23, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁰⁵ Letter from school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board on February 23, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Letter from the school board to the Building Committee on February 11, 1927, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/49, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

shoes, they wished to have the school relocated to a venue on the southern island. The school board generously increased the scope of the spatial spread of religious school, as can be seen in figure 2. Classrooms were rented in the elementary schools *Katarina Södra Folkskola* (Katarina Southern Elementary School) on *Katarina Bangata* (Katarina Track Street) 41 and *Kungsholmens Folkskola* (Kungsholmen's Elementary School) on *Hantverkargatan* (Artisan Street) 67-69 from at least 1910, if not earlier.⁵⁰⁸ The venue on *Södermalm* changed to *Katarina Norra Folkskola* (Katarina Northern Elementary School) on *Tjärhovsgatan* (Tar Hoof Street) 15-17 sometime in the 1920s, and was rented four days a week.⁵⁰⁹ While religious classes on *Kungsholmen* were only offered until the middle of the 1920s, the rental agreement for *Katarina Norra Folkskola* increased to six days a week in 1927, and the same agreement worked at *Katarina Södra Folkskola* as the religious school moved back in 1930.⁵¹⁰ Out of the 324 children enrolled in the religious school in 1927, 73 of them, about a fifth, attended classes on *Södermalm*.⁵¹¹

The Mosaic Congregation clearly endeavoured to make religious classes accessible for all Jewish children in Stockholm. The construction of the community house portrays their emphasis on sacred practices related to Jewish religion and culture. The education of the next generation, vital to ensure their understanding and continuation of Jewish religious laws, was highly valued. The Mosaic Congregation purposefully asked the school board for input on the architectural plans, offering them an influential voice in the construction of the building. It was imperative for the Mosaic Congregation that the religious school got the space it needed, including the rental of classrooms in elementary schools on *Södermalm*. It provided a spatial diversity of classrooms, allowing each family to choose an afternoon school within the homely blocks of one's urban vicinity. Through the rental of classrooms, places related to sacred Jewishness spread across Stockholm's streetscape. Positioned in Swedish elementary schools, these classrooms, used from mid-afternoon until 7 pm, became hubs for the communication of a Jewish identification linked to religious language, law and customs in a Swedish-Christian city. They were places where Jewishness was strengthened and disseminated to the next generation, the rooms in local schools aiding the vitality and continuation of Jewish culture.

⁵⁰⁸ Rental agreement from the Stockholm's Municipality on May 26, 1911, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/71, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁰⁹ Rental agreement with City of Stockholm, August 31, 1923, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵¹⁰ Rental agreements with City of Stockholm on August 30, 1927 and September 4, 1930, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵¹¹ The school board's review over school year 1926-1927, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

3.4.2 The *Talmud Torah*: The Success of Traditional Education

Still, traditional groups within the Jewish population desired an extended, more traditional religious education for their children. After the death of Dr. Fried in 1924 and the subsequent search for a new teacher, the supposedly low intensity of religious education was internally contested. *Adat Jisrael* demanded a stronger emphasis on Judaism and its rituals, with longer Hebrew lessons. They desired a *Talmud Torah*, a centralised, supervised, committee-run version of the private, Eastern European-originated *cheder* – a religious school linked to a private teacher.⁵¹² London's native Jewry often described *chedarim* in the East End during the 19th and 20th centuries as shabby, overcrowded and unsanitary.⁵¹³ Commenting on the existence of at least four private tutors and their *chedarim* in Stockholm in 1925,⁵¹⁴ the afternoon school teacher Felix Saul similarly belittled their education as 'purely mechanical and untrustworthy.'⁵¹⁵ In London, a large number of Jewish private school students still attended *cheradim* or *Talmud Torot*, as a way for parents to attempt to control their children's religious education.⁵¹⁶ The same

⁵¹² *Chedarim* were Eastern European-originated private schools for the religious education of Jewish children. A group of about 20, mainly male, students in ages four to 13 gathered in the dwelling of a teacher, the *melamed*, studying the Hebrew alphabet, reciting prayers and commandments, reading biblical history and *Talmud*, and sometimes learning arithmetics, *Kabbalah* or philosophy, eventually graduating towards a study of commentaries such as *Mishnah* and *Rashi*. Students attended classes for two hours per day and paid fees directly to the *melamed*. The idea was to prepare the students for *Yeshiva*, a secondary school solely focused on religious education. Parents chose which teacher to attend, and apart from the insecurity of the teacher's qualifications – as well as an expert on Judaism, the *melamed* could simply have been an unemployed worker or someone looking for an extra income – the competition of teachers, resulting in students often shifting *cheder*, furthermore hampered the education. The *cheder* classes in Wielun, located east of Lodz, had, for example, over 50 pupils at the beginning of the 20th century. It was still dark outside when the students walked to school, it was reported that their parents rather paid for fees than food, and the curriculum seldom changed over time. But the students also remembered the sweets they received from their mothers as they started their education at the age of three. See: Philip Jolly, *Jewish Wielun – a Polish shtetl* (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2010), 92–94. This is a translation of Wielun's Memorial Book, which was originally published in Hebrew and Yiddish.

⁵¹³ See, for example: Isidore Fishman, *The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe: From the End of the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Edward Goldston, 1944) 17–22, 92–100; Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England*, 231–234.

⁵¹⁴ For example, Salomon Nozki Rabinowitz (born in 1865 and living on *Östgötagatan* 87 on *Södermalm*), Menacke Jankelow (born in 1851 and living on Ringvägen 135 on *Södermalm*), Herz Myller (born in 1845 and living on *Götgatan* 7 on *Södermalm*) and Hertz Benjamin (also living on *Götgatan* 7 on *Södermalm*) were labelled as religious teachers or former religious teachers in Stockholm's taxation lists of 1909 and 1935, as well as the Mosaic Congregation's membership list from 1935. Since Jacob Marcus cannot be found on either list, probably because he did not earn enough money, the existence of further *melamed* can be assumed. Information from: Mosaic Membership Book, 1855-1916, SE/RA/730128/02/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Digital search engine <www.digitalastadsarkivet.stockholm.se/Databas/mantalsregister-1909/Sok> (1909), 'J-Janson,' 'R-Rosenblüth,' 'Melin-Mörtstedt,' (1935), Taxation Records for Stockholm City, SCA.

⁵¹⁵ Congregational general meeting on January 25, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵¹⁶ Despite attending a Jewish private school, 70 per cent of students enrolled at the Jews' Free School in London also visited *cheradim* or *Talmud Torot*. See, for example: Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England*, 234-236; Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, 126.

desire can be seen in Stockholm. *Adat Jisrael*, again via its chairman Jacob Ettlinger, provided an application on January 6, 1925, asking for partly, a 'conservative' religious teacher, who would keep a traditional private life and partly, a heavier educational programme in line with an attached copy of the 1922/1923 and 1923/1924 educational plans of the Jewish Congregation of Copenhagen's religious school.⁵¹⁷ In comparison with Stockholm's educational program, the Danish-Jewish youth studied for longer hours and executed further in-depth analysis of daily practices and religious texts.⁵¹⁸ It, therefore, had a lot more in common with teachings at *Talmud Torah* than Stockholm's afternoon school.



Figure 45. The distribution of *Talmud Torah* supporters, 1925.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁷ Application from Adat Jisrael to the Mosaic Congregation on January 6, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵¹⁸ The Danish pupils studied for seven years as well, but attended, for example, two study hours per week in second grade and six study hours per week in seventh grade. Recital and translation of morning, evening and *Shabbat* prayers, dinner blessings, *Kiddush*, blessings included in festivities such as *Rosh Hashana*, and commentaries such as *Talmud* were included in the programme, as well as extensive Hebrew grammar, Palestine's geography and the Jewish calendar. Copenhagen's educational plan emphasised rituals of a religious life: daily services at the synagogue, daily prayers and blessings, and in-depth analysis of religious texts. See: Educational plans from 1922/23 and 1923/24 at the Jewish Congregation of Copenhagen's religious school, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵¹⁹ Based on population list T-25; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pählman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

The application was signed by 52 people, of which two thirds were members of the Mosaic Congregation. The signatures are difficult to read, but 33 names, of which only three were not members of the Mosaic Congregation, remain for study after cross-referencing the names with Stockholm City's taxation records from 1925.⁵²⁰ Since most of the non-members have not been found in other registers, the result must be understood as only an approximate of the whole group. As seen in figure 45, the group was spread out across all of Stockholm. Furthermore, figures 7 and 13 in the introduction portray the group's professional and national spatial distributions. Similarly, table 1 shows that 69.8 per cent of the group was employed within the lower and upper trades and that no heavy labourers or manual workers were included. As suggested earlier, the group seems to have organised itself along commercial and professional networks, their urban residential neighbourhood decreasing in importance. Perhaps the group met at one of the *minyanim*, or perhaps their offices were located in close vicinity in the city centre, aiding the creation and maintenance of their network. Over four fifths were under the age of 55, with a third below the age of 45, proving that the vast majority engaged in the question of religious education were mainly parents.

The social capital of this group should have been influential, but the proposed *Talmud Torah* was, nonetheless, resisted by both school board members, and the rabbis and teachers Marcus Ehrenpreis, Ferdinand Falk, Ernst Klein and Felix Saul. Marcus Ehrenpreis, among others, was disturbed by the application: according to him, *Adat Jisrael* was proposing a split between the Reform and traditional groups:

The congregation represents, through its larger number of members, a so-to-speak moderate-liberal direction, which is also expressed through the work of the cultural committee. The program [...] includes a tendency towards the congregation's division, a dissension into one traditional and one liberal congregation. Such a division would naturally be a great damage to such a small congregation as Stockholm. It would not only cause an inner weakness, but also gravely disturb its external esteem, which the Mosaic Congregation has procured through its 150 years. The foundation of our

⁵²⁰ Excluded are, for example, names that are readable but untraceable in Stockholm City's taxation records in 1925. Some names are semi-readable, but it has been impossible to search for alternative spellings since the taxation records are digitalised printed lists with the names of Stockholm's taxed population in alphabetical order.

congregation must be unity, around which we can all gather, and the rather special demands must be satisfied privately.⁵²¹

The language is similar to that used in the discussion on the *mikveh* in 1922; it circulates around polarised positions of the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*, a 'we' and 'our congregation' against a troublesome group. *Adat Jisrael* is portrayed as transgressor of an existing internal unity and external societal status. In the text, the orthodox synagogue becomes a dangerous sub-culture, plotting to disrupt the historically harmonious Jewish position in the Swedish society. Although this thesis has earlier proved that agreeable Jewish/non-Jewish relationships played a vital part in the construction of sacred places, their co-existence was, of course, much more complex. Antisemitic stereotypes flourished in the press and Jewish intellectuals debated strategies for national integration among themselves.⁵²² Marcus Ehrenpreis, however, constructed his own version of the history of Swedish Jews, one which was less disjointed. *Adat Jisrael's* desire for traditional education – with prayers, recitals, blessings and rituals – juxtaposed this vision of integration. Some teachers opposed Marcus Ehrenpreis' belief that *Adat Jisrael* aimed to divide the congregation, but nonetheless did not support a traditional education paid for by the Mosaic Congregation.

The meeting also discussed whether such an educational program was desired by the Mosaic Congregation's members. The school's board members and the teachers noted that many of the applicants were neither members nor parents – a conclusion that does not fit this study's above results. Felix Saul knew of only one student that had enrolled in further Hebrew lessons, but also reported on the lesser *chedarim* fulfilling this function. The shared consensus was that the Mosaic Congregation could not pay for a traditional education. Marcus Ehrenpreis continued:

Concerning the demand for a more traditional general spirit in the education: this one-sided standpoint in the education is unpedagogic and offensive. An obligatory practically ritual education would be exceptionally dangerous. This is unreservedly a thing of the home. Children from ritual homes do not need the influence of the school, such an

⁵²¹ Minutes from school board meeting on January 25, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵²² See, for example: Andersson, *En jude är en jude är en jude...*; Hansson, 'Antisemitism, assimilation och judisk särart,' 307– 327.

influence is pointless for non-ritually raised children and would turn a large amount of children away from Judaism.⁵²³

It is obvious that the men responsible for the communally organised religious education in Stockholm were extremely hesitant about in-depth teaching on Jewish rituals and religious texts. Traditional education was seen as an individual desire unnecessary for the community to fulfill, and the mere suggestion of its inclusion in the afternoon school was regarded as a potential upheaval of the unity between Reform-aligned and traditional people. The Mosaic Congregation wanted to provide a general form of religious education for all Jewish children, aiming to homogenise the new generation of Swedish-Jewish inhabitants. The apprehension of the Mosaic Congregation's lay and religious leaders of the Jewish status within the larger society fits with contemporary elite discussions on strategies for Jewish inclusion into the Swedish national identity.⁵²⁴ Although this chapter is concerned with inner-communal debates, the Jewish relationship with the non-Jewish environment should, as described in the introductory chapter, not be forgotten. Amongst the publication of antisemitic stereotypes in the press and personal experiences of antisemitism, the Mosaic Congregation's concerns with outward appearances, in themselves results from conflicting, religious institutions, can be understood.

Gunnar Josephson, head of the school board and later leader of the Mosaic Congregation, on the other hand, could see the benefits of extended Hebrew lessons. His suggestion to employ a traditional teacher became the returned proposal to *Adat Jisrael* and the recommended line of action for the voting at the Mosaic Congregation's additional general meeting on March 11, 1925. 141 Mosaic Congregation members attended the general meeting, a sharp difference to the 44 people attending the voting on support for the *mikveh* three years earlier. Only 10 of the applicants holding a Mosaic Congregation membership showed up. All but one of the individuals who were members of both *Adat Jisrael* and the Mosaic Congregation, and did not attend the annual meeting, lived on *Södermalm* or *Kungsholmen*, and five of them worked as small-scale traders or employees within trade. It is likely that, as traders, they were needed somewhere else that Wednesday, perhaps financially compelled to make work the priority. Neither of the other *minyanim* leaders attended: this was an issue raised by *Adat Jisrael* only, without communal backing from the other traditional groups. 17 people aired their opinions during, what

⁵²³ Minutes from school board meeting on January 25, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵²⁴ Internal debates among the Swedish-Jewish elite on themes of integration and Jewishness has been analysed in Hansson, 'Antisemitism, assimilation och judisk särart,' 307–327.

consequently must have been, the rather long and heated meeting. In the end, 39 people voted for the employment of a traditional teacher, with 85 voting against and 17 abstaining. About a third of those attending wanted an traditional *Talmud Torah*, once again proving that, percentage-wise, this group was not as small and insignificant among the members of the Mosaic Congregation interested in Jewish rituals, as Marcus Ehrenpreis and the lay leaders liked to imagine.

Adat Jisrael's secretary Hirsch Nissalowitz openly expressed his disappointment with the vote and wanted it noted in the minutes.⁵²⁵ As in the matter of the *mikveh*, he once again sent a letter to the Mosaic Congregation's board on March 13, writing – in lengthy, emotive sentences – that

this is clearly and simply a great danger to our, on the surface, peaceful Jewish society in Sweden, because the ever rejecting stance of the congregation's current temporary majority is exclusively a challenge, that sooner or later will not result in the country's other citizens' esteem and respect, which we conservatives also want, and despite not taking actions during our fifty years of suffering, we have only done this to as far as possible avoid dissension.⁵²⁶

Hinting at the communal frictions, Hirsch Nissalowitz argued that the Mosaic Congregation's safeguarded unity was only an illusionary public façade. He continued further down in the letter that although 'the strong minority' of *Adat Jisrael* had 'countless times stretched out its hand for peaceful cooperation in the spirit of peace and unity,' the Mosaic Congregation had replied with 'contempt and ridicule,' using 'beautiful but misleading speeches of agitation' to downplay the wishes of the traditional community. Hirsch Nissalowitz, however, also utilised hyperboles to strengthen his argument, proposing that 80 people, representing 178 children, desired a *Talmud Torah*. Neither the original application to the Mosaic Congregation nor the voting at the Mosaic Congregation's general meeting, however, supported this number. It seems that on the matter of religious education, both the Mosaic Congregation's lay and religious leaders, and *Adat Jisrael's* secretary, abandoned the uneasy agreement of unity and demonstratively positioned each other on separate ends of a spectrum. Their literary productions, and involvement in the intense annual

⁵²⁵ Additional General Meeting on March 11, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵²⁶ Letter from Hirsch Nissalowitz to the Mosaic Congregation on March 13, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

meeting discussions, perhaps more faithfully expressed the accurate tension in the relationship between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*.

A traditional teacher was consequently not employed by the Mosaic Congregation's religious afternoon school. *Adat Jisrael*'s sincerity about the creation of a *Talmud Torah* was, however, quickly demonstrated. The religious teacher Abraham Brody from former Austria-Hungary, residing on *Gotlandsgatan* (Gotland Street) 74 on *Södermalm*, continued to argue for the necessity of the school. He had a secular doctoral education from Uppsala university, as well as great knowledge in Judaism and Hebrew,⁵²⁷ thus exemplifying the Orthodox Judaism's emphasis on both religious and secular education. In the letters of exchange between him and *Adat Jisrael*'s chairman, Abraham Brody revealed his enthusiasm for a future *Talmud Torah* and its more conservative teachings. He, for example, argued that the creation of a *Talmud Torah* was a religious and moral act:

It is again and again asked whether a *Talmud Torah* school would be viable in Stockholm. The experience I have from the place is that it would not be too difficult. Our *Talmud* saying is: a city that has no Jewish school will be banished. Since not every place has the possibility to erect such a school they would, true to our saying, not be able to withhold themselves from the biggest punishment. I therefore think that your school is not only possible but essential, and that it would become a promise for the future.⁵²⁸

The possibility of a future employment could, of course, also have been a reason for Abraham Brody's strong wording. Agreeing with him and collecting over 3,500 *kronor* in membership fees, *Adat Jisrael* managed to construct a *Talmud Torah* on its own in 1926.⁵²⁹ Table 12 shows the school's cash flow, indicating that they collected the impressive sum to get the project started. As the surplus, however, dropped, annual fees of 25 *kronor* were installed in 1929, and 20 members paid 500 *kronor*.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ The verdict on the teachers' level of Hebrew and religion is made by Jacob Ettlinger, see: Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to the Mosaic Congregation, March 5, 1928, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/98, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵²⁸ Letter from Abraham Brody to Jakob Ettlinger on September 20, 1926, SE/RA/720483/5/2, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

⁵²⁹ Calculated to approximately £8,500 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁵³⁰ Letter by chairman Jacob Ettlinger, October 15, 1928, and review of *Talmud Torah*'s account 1926-1932, SE/RA/720483/5/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Fees calculated to approximately £60 in today's

Table 12. *Talmud Torah's* cash flow, 1926-1932, in *kronor*.⁵³¹

Year	Cash flow	Membership fees
1926	2,841	3,530
1927	1,664	-
1928	1,048	-
1929	471	500
1930	220	2,625
1931	117	2,385
1932	508	2,470

1929 was also the year the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael* finally came to an agreement regarding the school. Reflecting on the agreement, Jacob Ettlinger wrote that

We have to take into consideration that the Mosaic Congregation's leader and rabbi thought a new religious school with a rabbi too harmful, they were afraid of a split in the whole community, and even among our own did we fear certain opposition. The latter were of course forcefully lead on, and I am especially thinking of those who unfortunately have to receive financial support from the Mosaic Congregation. In short, the whole situation resulted in us having to come to a sort of understanding with the Mosaic Congregation, and the board has after careful consideration, and after several troublesome meetings with the leaders of the Mosaic Congregation and the school board, come to the conclusion, that we have good prospects to realise the election of a

currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁵³¹ Based on information from: *ibid*.

religious teacher, approved by both parties, at the Mosaic Congregation's board meeting.⁵³²

Not only does Jacob Ettlinger's role as an intermediary between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael* shine through in this letter, but the existence of internal strife within *Adat Jisrael* itself materialises. This division seemed to rise from different socio-economic positions. Jacob Ettlinger explained that the *Talmud Torah* members most fervently against a co-operation with the Mosaic Congregation had received grants for impoverished Jews from the Congregation's board. Non-receivers and traditional Jews with a wealth in social capital, like Jacob Ettlinger himself, did not have the dependents' experiences linked to the Mosaic Congregation. There is, furthermore, archival evidence of board members judging Jacob Ettlinger's interest in *Adat Jisrael*'s economic matters as lukewarm, perhaps portraying the existence of mistrust against their chairman within *Adat Jisrael*.⁵³³ *Adat Jisrael* clearly consisted of different phalanxes, and they were in large constructed around social status and economic stance.

Jacob Ettlinger, and his unnamed group of like-minded traditional people, succeeded in convincing the Mosaic Congregation to merge their *Talmud Torah* with the religious afternoon school, by suggesting the employment of before-mentioned Abraham Brody. Various individuals had already been employed at the *Talmud Torah* during its first two years,⁵³⁴ but neither of them had wanted to educate beginners.⁵³⁵ With his secular education, Abraham Brody, however, bridged the Reform and traditional worlds, making him suitable for the school.

The board of the religious afternoon school suggested that the Mosaic Congregation's board should employ Abraham Brody for optional further studies in Hebrew for the school year 1928/1929, on the condition that at least 10 students enrolled.⁵³⁶ The optional teaching of three

⁵³² Report from Jacob Ettlinger, October 15, 1928, SE/RA/720483/5/3, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵³³ Letter from L. Gordon to Jacob Ettlinger, May 3, 1939, SE/RA/720483/3/7, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁵³⁴ Three people were employed in 1926 and 1927: Dr. Wiesel, Dr. Munk, and Dr. Karlebach, and rabbi Hübscher is most likely involved in some of the teachings as well. See Review of accounts, 1926-1930, SE/RA/720483/5/8, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁵³⁵ Jacob Ettlinger writes: 'Despite the greatest efforts, and despite that some of these candidates are in themselves suitable and honest men, we could not reach a result with them, mostly because they were not suitable for our contemporary difficult situation. The difficulties are, among others, that the above-mentioned people did not want to educate beginners and that the establishment of a school with another member on the teaching staff would prove a too heavy weight for our financial strengths.' See SE/RA/720483/5/3, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵³⁶ Letter from the school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board, March 14, 1928, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

weekly hours of further Hebrew was planned to prepare the students for readings of the Pentateuch and prayer books. The students that attended the course also had to attend all other courses on religion and history taught at the religious school, merging the Reform and traditional educational paths.⁵³⁷ Abraham Brody's yearly salary was divided between the two communities: *Adat Jisrael* and the *Talmud Torah* paid 2,500 Swedish *kronor*, drawn from the collected membership fees, and the Mosaic Congregation paid 2,000 Swedish *kronor* towards the end of 1931.⁵³⁸ Although the number of pupils in the early days of the *Talmud Torah* should have ensured the Mosaic Congregation that 10 spots would not be difficult to fill, the school board was still surprised that over 60 students enrolled for the first year.⁵³⁹ Abraham Brody had to run four classes in a couple of months: two for beginners and two for intermediate.

Gunnar Josephson even noted the 'continued interest and regular attendance of almost all pupils.'⁵⁴⁰ Almost a quarter of the total students chose to attend Brody's classes in 1931.⁵⁴¹ Furthermore, when the teacher asked for an increased salary at the beginning of the 1930s, the school board expressed admiration for his work:

The satisfactory result can to a large part be credited to BA. Brody, and the School Board would regret to see him leave his post in the religious school. His teaching would not fully be assumed by the school's other teachers, but it would be necessary, if the education would continue, to employ an additional teacher for this purpose. Even if it perhaps were possible to find another as interested and successful teacher for a smaller fee, than what BA. Brody now desires, this teacher would have to be found abroad.⁵⁴²

The unification of the two schools proved successful and the religious afternoon school became a place of both Reform Judaism and traditional customs. The classes took place in the Mosaic

⁵³⁷ Letter from the school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board, March 23, 1928, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵³⁸ Letter from school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board, September 16, 1931, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; and list of teacher salaries employed at *Talmud Torah* in the review of account 1926-1930, SE/RA/720483/5/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁵³⁹ Ibid; Letter from school board and Gunnar Josephson to the Mosaic Congregation's board on March 4, 1929, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/99, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ 71 students out of a total of 303 students attended Talmud Torah's extra Hebrew lessons in 1931. Report on school year 1931-1932, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁴² Letter from school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board, September 16, 1931, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

Congregation's venues on *Wahrendorffsgatan* and *Södermalm* from 1929, and *Adat Jisrael* provided the less affluent *Talmud Torah*-students with scholarships for books or further education.⁵⁴³ The future of *Adat Jisrael*'s children was safeguarded, and even the Mosaic Congregation was satisfied with the education. With Jacob Ettlinger at the epicentre, the creation of the *Talmud Torah* re-established the amiable and fruitful relationship between *Adat Jisrael* and the Mosaic Congregation. As they shared and constructed religious spaces together, the former hostility was transformed into a co-operational acceptance of each other.

3.4.3 The *Melamed*: The Failure of Traditional Education

The following letter was, however, sent to the Mosaic Congregation on January 5, 1933:

Yours truly, who has practiced private Hebrew education in Stockholm for several years, respectfully request to announce, that due to the current difficult times and the falling number of pupils, mostly due to the feeless courses offered here in Stockholm, I can no longer imagine myself surviving on my salary. [...] As, according to attached documents, a large number of parents wish a parallel course, alike the one that is currently offered at the community service house, to take place here on *Södermalm* as well, where named parents live, I have reason to believe that further teachers are required. If the Mosaic Congregation would approve of the above-mentioned wish, I will respectfully ask for Your favourable assistance to employ me as a teacher for the parallel course.⁵⁴⁴

'Yours truly' was Jacob Marcus, teacher in Hebrew, Yiddish, and religious texts and prayers. He had run a *cheder* on *Södermalm* since 1922, with approximately 28-30 hours of teaching every week, but had also received economic benefits from the Mosaic Congregation since 1923.⁵⁴⁵ The

⁵⁴³ Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to the school board on May 6, 1930, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/1, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁴⁴ Letter from Jacob Marcus to Talmud Torah's chairman Jacob Ettlinger, January 5, 1933, SE/RA/720483/5/2, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵⁴⁵ Letter from Jacob Marcus to the Mosaic Congregation's board on September 12, 1928, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/98, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; for example: 400 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from April 10, 1923, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/93, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 400 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes, December 13, 1925, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/95, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 400 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from

last four years had, because of the establishment of *Talmud Torah*, seen a speedy decline in teaching hours, with only 12 hours per week left in 1933.⁵⁴⁶

This was Jacob Marcus' second letter to the Mosaic Congregation. As the *Talmud Torah* merged with the religious school in 1928, Jacob Marcus lost four students in only a month and, according to his calculations, 600 Swedish *kronor*.⁵⁴⁷ He understood it as 'a great loss, which throws my whole existence into desolation,' and paralleled Abraham Brody's position with his own, implying that the Mosaic Congregation should pay for his teachings as well.⁵⁴⁸ The school board regretted Jacob Marcus' position, but declined to take any actions to improve it.⁵⁴⁹ In his second letter, the *melamed* – the Hebrew word for a religious teacher, *melamdim* in plural – was, as explained above, even worse off, but proposed a solution. Since Abraham Brody's classes on *Södermalm* were cancelled in 1932, as most students found it easier to attend the Mosaic Congregation's school venue,⁵⁵⁰ Jacob Marcus offered to take them on by himself, solving, in his mind, both his and their problems.

Attached to Jacob Marcus' letter was six testimonies and an endorsement signed by 19 parents, addressing their aspiration to create a school in their vicinity:

December 14, 1928, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/98, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 400 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 13, 1929, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/99, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 200 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from June 12, 1931, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/101, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 400 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 16, 1932, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/102, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 550 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 20, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/103, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 950 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 17, 1934, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/104, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 1,250 *kronor* mentioned in board minutes from January 8, 1937, and 1,250 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 20, 1937, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/107, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 1250 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 29, 1938, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/108, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 1,250 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 14, 1939, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/109, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁴⁶ Letter from Jacob Marcus to Talmud Torah's chairman Jacob Ettlinger, January 5, 1933, SE/RA/720483/5/2, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵⁴⁷ Calculated to approximately £1,400 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁵⁴⁸ Letter from Jacob Marcus to the Mosaic Congregation's board on September 12, 1928, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/98, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁵⁴⁹ Letter from Gunnar Josephson and the school board to the Mosaic Congregation's board on September 21, 1928, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/98, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁵⁰ Letter from the religious school to the Mosaic Congregation's board, February 27, 1933, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

Yours truly, hereby humbly request, that an extra teaching in Hebrew in likeness with the one our children at the moment enjoy in the school in north, can be parallelly held at a suitable place here in the south/possibly in the working hut/, as it is both time-consuming and expensive to travel to the course in the north a couple of times per week.⁵⁵¹

32 per cent of them (eight of 25) were members of the Mosaic Congregation, and 28 per cent (seven of 25) were members of *Adat Jisrael* in 1935.⁵⁵² Only two people were members of both the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*, and it is noteworthy to re-mention the involvement of Osias Schnabel's, the man probably at odds with Jacob Ettlinger around this time. This application was, clearly, demanding, not only the Mosaic Congregation but also *Adat Jisrael*, to allow smaller, less established groups with less social capital to influence the development of educational venues. The reason for Jacob Ettlinger to not include Jacob Marcus, or any other *melamed*, in *Adat Jisrael's* original bid for a merged religious school is unknown, and one can only speculate about his motives. The traditional population was at least surely small enough for him to know about the existence of several private religious teachers.

As the example of Jacob Marcus shows, many parents appreciated the teachings of *melamdim*. The six testimonies attached to his application expressed fervour and support for his employment. Half of the testimonies mentioned the religious capability of Jacob Marcus, focusing on the teacher's importance for the transmittance of Hebrew. Osias Schnabel, for example, wrote that Jacob Marcus was

a most suitable and experienced teacher within his field and has skilfully provided the children with an understanding for Jewish history, and in an exceptional way allowed them to translate our prayers and the Torah, which is why there is a pleasure for me to recommend Mr. Marcus as a worthy and excellent teacher.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ Letter from parents to Talmud Torah's chairman Jacob Ettlinger, undated but sent together with Marcus application, which was written on January 5, 1933, SE/RA/720483/5/2, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁵⁵² The right to vote is calculated. Numbers taken from list J-33..

⁵⁵³ Report from Osias Schnabel to Talmud Torah, December 26, 1932, SE/RA/720483/5/2, The Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

Alike Osias Schnabel, merchant Jacob Charles Jacobowsky noted that Jacob Marcus had introduced prayer texts to his children, while merchant Selman Neuman described that his children could now read the *Torah*, put on the *tefillin* – two small leather boxes that are worn on the forehead and one the upper arm by male adults during weekday morning prayers – and recite both morning- and evening prayers. These three fathers thus emphasised the religious traditions the teacher imparted onto their children, stressing the role of Jacob Marcus as the vehicle for transferring this knowledge to the next generation. Some of the parents, however, preferred to underline only the grammatical and pedagogic qualities of the teacher, not mentioning his value in teaching traditional practices.

Apart from sending glowing reviews of the teacher's work, the parents raised two concerns with the *Talmud Torah* in the community house on *Wahrendorffsgatan*. The first was that despite exempted student fees, the price for taking the tram or bus to the synagogue was too expensive. This suggests that some of the families on the list, although not all, had meagre incomes, forcing them to choose between food or the traditions that defined their Jewishness. Table 4 and figure 11 in the introduction display that all taxed members that supported Jacob Marcus were only taxed up to 30 *kronor* a year. Comparably, 68.1 per cent of the general Jewish population in 1935 paid up to 100 *kronor* in membership taxes, while only 49.0 per cent of *Adat Jisrael's* members did. On the other hand, not all of Jacob Marcus' supporters were impoverished: executive manager Elias Tarschis, for example, lived on *Kungsgatan* (King Street) 3, one of the main streets in the city centre. He did not, however, have any children in the proper age for enrolment any longer.

The second issue raised by parents in the letter concerned the geographical position of *Talmud Torah*. They suggested the use of the so-called working hut, a community room in the philanthropic *Judehuset* (Jewish House) on *Klippgatan* 19, as a place for religious education. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was a secluded space where the culture, custom, traditions and language of the Eastern European *shtetl*-world were kept. To place the acquisition of knowledge of the Hebrew language and Jewish heritage, culture and religion in this space was not only a convenient solution, but also emphasised the importance of the place. It was located in the vicinity of some of the 33 children, see figure 46, and the request expressed a desire to develop their already familiar space to cater further communal services. In short, it was a suggestion to expand and develop the traditional sacred space on *Södermalm*.

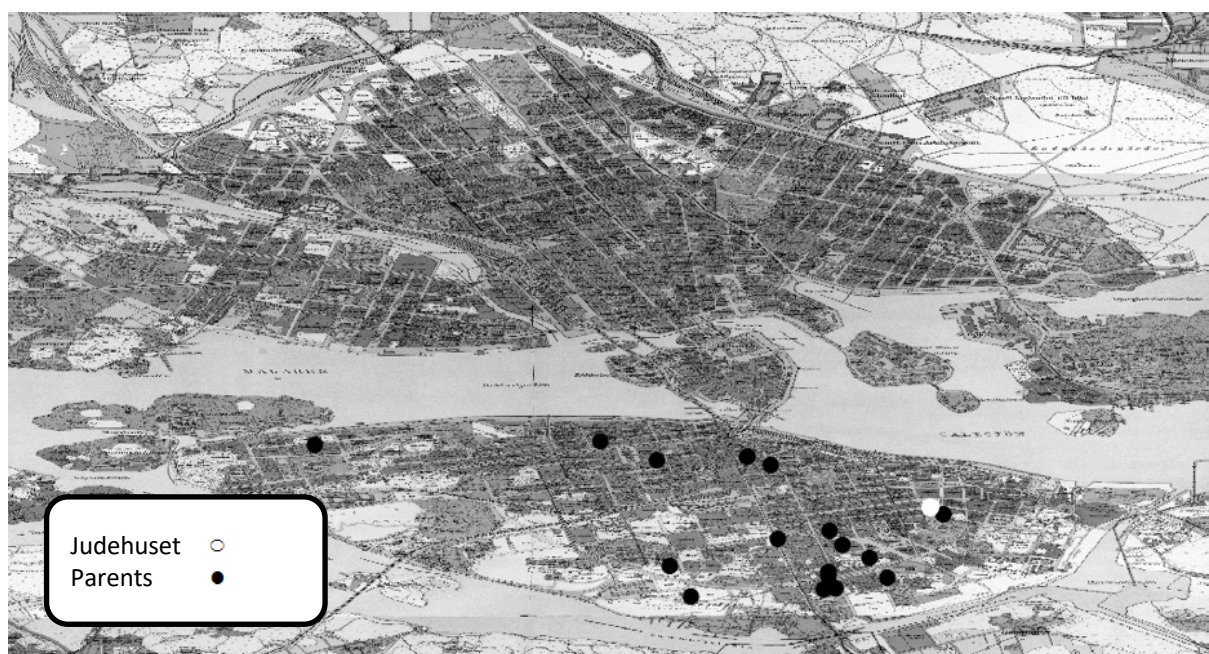


Figure 46. Parents supporting Jacob Marcus, 1933.⁵⁵⁴

Their spatial vision did not, however, appeal to the Mosaic Congregation, and the school board rejected the proposal. The board explained that they offered free tram trips for children from *Södermalm* and that the location on *Wahrendorffsgatan* was 'the place the majority of attendants can most easily get to.'⁵⁵⁵ They finished their letter by proclaiming that 'the expansion of the number of teachers in the religious school is under the contemporary situation not required.'⁵⁵⁶ The visions of Jacob Marcus and the 19 families for the sacred landscape in Stockholm were effectively ignored. Compared to Jacob Ettlinger's social capital, Jacob Marcus had no equal relationship with the Mosaic Congregation's leaders. Instead of employment, his benefits were instead raised with firstly 150 *kronor* in 1933 and then another 400 Swedish *kronor* in 1934, totalling 950 *kronor* in benefits.⁵⁵⁷ When Jacob Ettlinger's traditional alignment was the only identification dividing him from the Jewish elite in Stockholm, Jacob Marcus had no connections with them at all. The hoped-for allowance for smaller, less established groups – with members

⁵⁵⁴ Based on population list J-33; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

⁵⁵⁵ Letter from the school board to the Mosaic Congregation, February 27, 1933, SE/RA/730128/03/17/A/A_1/2, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ 550 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 20, 1933, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/103, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; 950 *kronor* mentioned in the Mosaic Congregation's board minutes from December 17, 1934, SE/RA/730128/01/A/A_1/A_1a/104, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA. The latter sum calculated to approximately £2,500 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

having little or no social capital – to influence the shape of educational venues was, therefore, not answered.

Compared to the synagogues, *minyanim* and *mikveh*, the various educational venues in Stockholm produced the most passionate involvement and response from the general Jewish population. The Mosaic Congregation's decision to build a new community hall with planned classrooms and the rentals of school venues around Stockholm shows how important religious education was deemed to be within the Reform community. Although some practices changed, of which the Christian terms used is one example, this section has argued that religious education did not diminish in importance over time but remained equally strong from 1870 to 1939. The issue with the *Talmud Torah* pushed the Jewish population to both accentuate and diminish the border between Reform and traditional communities. Although firstly sparking intense debates on the limits of public traditional Jewishness through the construction of sacred places, it later on re-established the bond and uneasy unity between the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael*, with thanks to Jacob Ettlinger, who seems to have been one of wealthiest traditional individuals in terms of social capital. The exclusion of other traditional religious teachers and possible places for traditional education, once again portrays how lower volumes of social capital – no German background, no economic wealth, no social network with the Reform community's lay leaders – hindered the construction of sacred places. The power structure at place within the Jewish community in Stockholm was clearly played out in the spatial dimension as lay and religious leaders discussed, enabled or contested the existence of various educational venues, associated with different religious strands.

3.5 Conclusion: The Significance of Socio-Economic Interconnectedness

As this chapter has 'walked' across almost all of Stockholm, visiting the synagogue, community hall, *minyanim*, *mikveh* and religious afternoon schools on *Södermalm*, *Kungsholmen* and *Norrholm*, six themes on Jewish inner-communal, religious life have emerged:

- the existence of religious multiplicity,
- the continuous interest in religion,
- the social hierarchy enabling and limiting religious multiplicity,
- the interconnectedness between different religious groups,
- the subsequent different religious meanings attached to sacred places, and
- the consequential various expressions of urban belonging.

The several *minyanim* and afternoon schools visited show that observant Jews did not just accept the creation of two synagogues; they gathered in closer vicinities, in groups where they shared religious traditions, ethnicity, social status and culture. Indeed, the multiplicity of sacred places was a physical manifestation of individual religious ideals. Stockholm's Jews mindfully and actively created physical sites to match their individual sense of Jewish belonging and 'at-homeness.'

The stable percentages of students attending religious afternoon schools reveal the Jewish community's continued interest in religious education between 1870 and 1939. Some Reform-aligned individuals were even interested in placing their children in the traditional *Talmud Torah*. The explosion of applications for financial aid from the Mosaic Congregation towards the maintenance of synagogues, *minyanim* and *mikveh* in the 1920s-1930s can similarly be attached to the growing status of individuality. Not wanting to attend a synagogue that would not hold the imbued meaning of one's own sacred ideals, religious groups instead chose to fight for their own sacred places.

The verbal conflicts between the Mosaic Congregation and smaller groups on the survival of a variety of traditional places involved the, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, 'game' of the inner-communal hierarchy. As all three case studies have proven, the Jewish community's social capital was attached to the social network of the Mosaic Congregation's lay leaders, which could be accessed through the display of as many of their identifications as possible. The leaders of each application were – consciously or unconsciously – judged against this set social structure and granted financial aid if meeting the important criteria. Religious multiplicity was, therefore, effectively shaped by the socio-economic identity of leaders of the Reform-associated Mosaic Congregation.

This chapter proves a certain fluidity across the border of accepted social capital. Although largely successful in procuring financial aid for traditional places, Jacob Ettlinger's failure to obtain financial aid for the *mikveh* in 1922 can be linked to the fact that he had only lived in Stockholm for seven years at this point and had thus not accumulated enough social capital. In the 1930s, Jacob Ettlinger's success, however, merged the Mosaic Congregation and *Adat Jisrael* into one superior institution that ignored the desires and pleas from, for example, the *minyan* on *Havregatan* and Jacob Marcus. While *Talmud Torah* became a joint place for Reform and traditional education, the interconnectedness between the different religious groups is, furthermore, exhibited through membership overlaps in applications. The borders between the different groups were blurred, allowing individuals to make personal choices about which sacred places to engage with at different times.

Chapter 3

As different religious groups merged together, one sacred place could hold several layers of meaning. As a place for Reform services, *Talmud Torah* classes and traditional *sukkot* festivities, *Wahrendorffsgatan* was imbued with both Reform and traditional meanings, albeit only the orthodox perception associated with *Adat Jisrael*. On the other hand, as some discussions on the existence and use of different sacred places erupted, the letters exchanged show multiple ideas on traditional practices. While, for example, the *minyan* on *Havregatan* associated their religious meeting place with the rituals and culture of the homeland they had migrated from, Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis and Jacob Ettlinger failed to see its particularity and importance. The map of Jewish sacred places would, therefore, be perceived and analysed differently depending on the eyes of the beholder. Practitioners would not attach the same emotions and meanings to every place, and some places would not even be considered as particularly sacred, as the example of Marcus Ehrenpreis' views on the *mikveh* shows.

A sacred place's imbued meaning was, lastly, closely connected to its geographical location in the urban landscape. Although people – as shall be seen in the next chapter – had no problem walking far to the synagogue of their choice, the urban neighbourhood it was located in became intrinsically linked to the sacred place's identity. When relocated, *Adat Jisrael* remained within a radius of some 500 metres. The *minyanim* on *Bondegatan* and in the Jewish apartment house on *Klippgatan* were largely visited by people residing in the vicinity, marking the group's identification with the local district. The parents endorsing Jacob Marcus emphasised *Klippgatan's* Jewishness in particular, but also *Södermalm's* need for traditional educational venues in general, arguing that traditional institutions should also be located where many traditional practitioners lived. The desire to fill the urban locality with places that contained sacred practices linked to one's individual sense of belonging was, therefore, a practice associated with the process of making the city one's home. Since most of the institutions were located within secular buildings, the urban landscape was not physically altered by Jewish multiplicity. The groups of practitioners and students entering flats in apartment buildings, the designated entrance at the bath institution, or Swedish state schools, however, transformed the use of the streetscape and, therefore, also the meaning of the local neighbourhood in which the sacred places were located. In this way, the existence of and struggle over Jewish religious multiplicity added to Stockholm's urban identity.

The power struggles linked to sacred places in Copenhagen, Riga, Kiev and Swansea were all linked to inner-communal hierarchies and the elite's hegemonic accumulation of economic and social capital. The example of Stockholm reveals the roles of individuality, individual agency and social structures in the maintenance of sacred multiplicity. Despite being rather small, the local hubs of religious or socio-cultural particularity emerging in different neighbourhoods engaged

with the contemporary trend of individualism, and were, therefore, expressions linked to the time and space of the modern European city. Marked by its small population size and the legal position of the Mosaic Congregation, all religious fractions were nonetheless linked together, operating in the same social structure and experiencing the same need for social capital. This enhanced the importance of individual intermediaries who could move across structural borders and engage with the struggle against communal and religious hegemony in the spatial arena. In an emerging metropolis in northern Europe, two decades before the *Shoah*, traditional institutions were still considered by Jews as vital for making Stockholm a Jewish home and thus affected the Swedish urban space as they walked across Stockholm towards their sacred places.

Chapter 4 Individual Homes in the City: Swedish-Jewish Performances

4.1 Interdisciplinary Methodologies for Individual Spaces

Looking down at Stockholm from above, this thesis began from a bird's view to analyse the Jewish population's pattern of residential home-making. Moving closer to the street level, it has 'walked' across the Swedish capital to survey how the relationship between Jews and the wider society, as well as the inner-communal hierarchal dynamics, affected the construction and uses of public, communal sacred homes. This last chapter zooms in on the Jewish individual who walked in the streetscape and used Jewish sacred places. The material available even allows the thesis to enter Jewish private homes, and thus exposes trends of individual strategies during the process of producing and performing Jewish 'at-homeness.' Approaching the residential home from this individual perspective, the thesis has moved from the population's home to collective homes to the private home. As this last chapter steps over the threshold into the private sphere, it still explores its sacred and public aspects, and how they were constructed in alignment with individual perspectives on the world.

As discussed in the introduction, the physical outlook of the modern, urban world, as well as the end of Jewish residential segregation,⁵⁵⁸ enhanced the ability to move in the public arena according to individual choice. If, where, how and with whom a person decided to place their feet in the city was a physical expression of the ideals, affiliations and preferences belonging to that specific individual. Indeed, walking is 'like talking' – a way of conveying and communicating information about oneself.⁵⁵⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan argues that people unconsciously organise their surroundings in order to feel at home and at ease. The coordinates for spatial familiarity are achieved through continuous, repeated moves within a landscape. An individual's bodily movements thus create their own spatial coordinates that infuse the city's streetscape with a 'geometric personality.'⁵⁶⁰

Interviews and new archival material linked to four Jewish families portray the different, and sometimes contradicting, 'geometric personalities' of Swedish Jewishness in Stockholm in the

⁵⁵⁸ Cohen, 'Urban Visibility and Biblical Visions,' 734–744.

⁵⁵⁹ Amato, *On Foot*, 4, 16.

⁵⁶⁰ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 12–17.

1920's and 1930's. Accompanied by insights from three autobiographies, the individuals in question range in age, gender, ethnic background, and socio-economic status, and their construction of personal, sacred and public places and spaces reveals the irregularity, unpredictability and boundaries of the shape of Jewish spatiality in Stockholm. Although this case study is based on a mixture of sources – receipts, personal letters, passport stamps, rental agreements, newspaper advertisements, interviews and autobiographies – the majority of the sources can be defined as ego-documents, since 'the researcher is faced with an "I," or occasionally a "he," as the writing and describing subject with a continuous presence in the text.'⁵⁶¹ As an individual's literary, self-fashioned representation is constructed, the ego-document provides the reader a point of contact with a past directed and manipulated by the writer.⁵⁶² Although receipts, passport stamps and rental agreements are no literary constructions *per se*, the fact that they are products of an individual's relationship with the world argue for their representational, and therefore transmissional, role of aspects of an individual's everyday practices. Similarly, memory is not a 'storehouse [of] ready-formed stor[ies but] as much about the present as the past.'⁵⁶³ The retrieved memories evoked during the conducted interviews might, therefore, not be factually accurate, but nevertheless hold truth to those who remember, presenting a narrative equivalent to an individual's current and temporary idea of self.

With the exceptions of the philanthropic women organising the auction for the Wahrendorff Synagogue and the orthodox women complaining about *Adat Jisrael's* balcony, this study has so far – through its focus on the construction and maintenance of physical sites – been forced to study male spatiality only. The struggles over synagogues, *mikveh* and religious schools largely took place on an institutional level between congregational actors. Much of the material used in this chapter, however, belonged to, or was created by, Jewish women, and therefore allows for this study to incorporate the female experience of constructing places and spaces of Jewish 'at-homeness' in Stockholm. Rather than addressing the female experience as separate and marginal, this section will combine the spatial practices of both genders, aiming to compare and contrast their opportunities of constructing their preferred 'geometric personalities.'⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶¹ Rudolf Dekker, 'Jacques Presser's Heritage: Egodocuments in the Study of History,' *Memoria y Civilización* 5 (2002): 13–14.

⁵⁶² *Ibid*, 13–31.

⁵⁶³ Abrams, Lynn, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), 79.

⁵⁶⁴ Beth S. Wenger, 'Notes from the Second Generation,' *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 14, 1 (1995): 95.

Religion often segregates and shapes women's relationship with public places, but geographical studies on female religiousness have still largely ignored gendered, unneutral spaces.⁵⁶⁵ In the Judaic example, women are traditionally exempt from the practice of daily prayers in the synagogue and the study of *Torah* in the *Beit Midrash*, their religious duties located in the domestic home and the *mikveh*. Although the Reform movement discussed the elevation of female presence in the synagogue and status in the community, women's role was largely unaltered before the *Shoah*.⁵⁶⁶ Using the German-Jewish *bourgeoisie* as a case study, Marion Kaplan shows that women's domestic and public roles were vital for the continuation of religious manifestation within the Jewish community.⁵⁶⁷ Going further back in time, female restriction from public spaces in Roman Palestine has been shown to be a non-Talmudic concept, while women in Frankfurt am Main regularly attended and supported synagogues in the Middle Ages, as did business woman Judyta Jakubowiczowa in early 19th century Warsaw.⁵⁶⁸ Clearly, the female experience of the geographical aspects of religion did not only belong to the private, domestic home. By studying the spatial practices of women and men in the private and public spheres, 'the master narrative's presumption of the uniformity of the experience of Jews in modern Europe'⁵⁶⁹ is contradicted, and the multiple ways of being Jewish – for both men and women – in modern Stockholm can be revealed.

Before examining these 'geometric personalities,' their practitioners must, however, be introduced. Jacob Ettlinger (1880-1952) was born in Mannheim, Germany as son to the Jewish merchant Meier Ettlinger and his wife Mathilde (née Michael). The family moved to Frankfurt am Main in 1888, and Jacob Ettlinger began his mercantile training at 14. In 1899, he was employed by the gravel and metal company *Beer, Sondheim & C:o*, which was co-owned by a relative. As part of his employment, he worked in Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and Italy. He was sent to Stockholm in 1915, with plans to continue his travels to America. The First World War, however, blocked trips across the Atlantic, forcing Jacob Ettlinger to stay in Sweden. He

⁵⁶⁵ As argued in: Karen M. Morin, and Jeanne Kay Guelke, 'Introduction: Women, Religion and Space-Making the Connections,' in *Women, Religion, and Space: Global Perspectives on Gender and Faith*, eds. Karen M. Morin, and Jeanne Kay Guelke (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), xix–xxi.

⁵⁶⁶ Marion A. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 64–68.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Cornelia Aust, *The Jewish Economic Elite: Making Modern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 157–166; Cynthia M. Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel: Architectures of Gender in Jewish Antiquity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 145–146; Tzvia Koren-Loeb, 'The Frankfurt a. M. Memorbuch: Gender Roles in the Jewish Community Institutions,' *Women in Judaism* 4, 2 (2007): 7–8.

⁵⁶⁹ Paula Hyman, 'Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identities,' *Jewish Social Studies* 8, 2/3 (2002): 154.

established the company *AB Metall & Bergprodukter* (Inc. Metal & Rock Products) in 1917 and became a successful businessman.⁵⁷⁰

Jacob Ettlinger's extended family was highly involved in religious affairs in Germany. Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, an emphatic endorser of Orthodox Judaism, was, for example, his uncle. With a secular and Talmudic education, rabbi Jacob Ettlinger was one of the few German rabbis working within the Lithuanian liturgical style, the *Minhag Polin*, rather than the German liturgical style, the *Minhag Ashkenaz*. As such, he created religious elementary schools and *yeshivot* – Jewish religious universities, and presided over the last autonomous Jewish court in Altona. Although a 'militant crusader' against the Reform Movement, rabbi Jacob Ettlinger preached in German and allowed his students to receive a secular education as a way of merging the traditional Jewish life with the non-Jewish environment.⁵⁷¹ Following in his uncle's footsteps, Jacob Ettlinger was chairman of *Adat Jisrael*, and aided the recruitment of rabbis and cantors as well as the access to *kosher* meat when a national law in 1937 prohibited *shechita*. Marrying Jeannette (1881-1956, née Philip) from an old Danish-Jewish family in 1917 and welcoming their three children Camilla (1918-2002), Ruth (1920-2009) and Joseph (1923-1986), the Ettlinger family kept a traditional home, inviting Jews for *kosher*-prepared meals. Jacob Ettlinger walked the four kilometres from their home in northern *Östermalm* to *Adat Jisrael* on *Södermalm* every morning and the children attended *Talmud Torah*, established by their father.

Jacob Ettlinger's largely unexplored personal records mainly hold letters and material linked to his employment as a gravel and metal supplier, and position as *Adat Jisrael's* chairman. The former theme reveals his social and Jewish network across Europe while the latter discusses *shechita*, traditional education, poor relief, economic aid and ritual baths, among other things, in relation to Stockholm's orthodox population. The records furthermore include letters to and from family members and relatives in Germany, passport stamps portraying Jacob Ettlinger's trip patterns, and invoices that can be used for the reconstruction of urban movements.

The records belonging to Julius and Irene (née Grossman) Strauss consists of over 500 receipts from the 1910s to the 1930s. Julius Strauss (1883–1939) was born in Giessen in Germany, while Irene Strauss (1886–1956) was born in Vienna. They married in 1916 in Stockholm, and their sons

⁵⁷⁰ This background information of Jacob Ettlinger and his family is based on Carl Henrik Carlsson's article on the effect of the First World War on Jacob Ettlinger's settlement in Stockholm, see Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget,' 168–171.

⁵⁷¹ Bleich, 4–55, 242–256, quote on 55.

Bertil (1917–1963) and Kurt (1920–1999) were born soon afterwards.⁵⁷² The family established a *bourgeois* home in *Östermalm*, buying, for example, kitchenware, tableware, furniture, clothes, a bicycle, an electric vacuum cleaner, a radio, a gramophone and a motor boat.⁵⁷³ Although material linked to economic activities, the receipts are methodologically approached as ‘a cultural site.’⁵⁷⁴ Using Pierre Bourdieu’s theory that the modern consumption involves the performance of one’s social status, and therefore also the establishment of differences between social groups,⁵⁷⁵ studies have shown how an individual’s *bourgeois* and Jewish identifications were consolidated through economic activities.⁵⁷⁶ The Strauss records specifically allow for an investigation of a Jewish *bourgeois* woman’s everyday spatial practices in Stockholm, using her economic behaviour to analyse her socio-cultural belonging.

Interviews also provide insight into Jewish female spatiality, as well as the Jewish working-class perspective. Henry Blideman⁵⁷⁷ and Sara Cohen⁵⁷⁸ were interviewed at their homes in the Jewish Old People’s House in Stockholm.⁵⁷⁹ In accordance with Lynn Abrams’ ‘evidential model,’ the agenda of the interviews was to find illustrative information.⁵⁸⁰ Questions explicitly linked to Stockholm’s urban space were introduced towards the end of the interview.⁵⁸¹

Henry Blideman (1918-2019) was born to Reuven and Meta Bliedeman as the second of three siblings. His father was from Riga and his mother from a village close to Königsberg in Germany. The children were fluent in Yiddish, German and Swedish. Reuven Bliedeman worked as a travelling salesman selling tea sets and silver. Residing on *Kungsholmen*, only a small number of

⁵⁷² Frida Granat, ‘December 2016: Ett liv i kvitton,’ *Stadsmuseet*, (December 1, 2016), accessed June 12, 2019, URL: <www.stadsmuseet.stockholm.se/utforska/samlingar/foremal/manadens-foremal/manadens-foremal/manadens-foremal-december-2016/>.

⁵⁷³ All receipts used for this study are stored in Volume 46: Strauss, The Varia Collection, SCMA.

⁵⁷⁴ Gideon Reuveni, ‘The Bridge and the Door – On the Cultural Approach to History,’ in *Deutsche Zeiten: Geschichte and Lebenswelt. Festschrift zur Emeritierung von Moshe Zimmermann*, eds. Dan Diner, Gideon Reuveni, and Yfaat Weiss (Göttingen: Vandenberg & Ruprecht, 2012), 32.

⁵⁷⁵ Gideon Reuveni, *Consumer Culture and the Making of Modern Jewish Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 190; Nils Roemer, and Gideon Reuveni, ‘Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture,’ in *IJS Studies in Judaica, volume 2: Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, eds. Gideon Reuveni, and Nils Roemer (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2.

⁵⁷⁶ See, for example: David Cesarani, and Gemma Romain, eds., *Jews and Port Cities, 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Vallentine Mithell, 2006); Gideon Reuveni, and Nils Roemer, eds., *IJS Studies in Judaica, volume 2: Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁵⁷⁷ Henry Blideman, Stockholm (October 21, 2014).

⁵⁷⁸ Sara Cohen, Stockholm (January 13, 2015). As per her request of anonymity, this is not Sara Cohen’s real name.

⁵⁷⁹ The interviews were internally approved for study under ERGO submission ID: 8146, University of Southampton.

⁵⁸⁰ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), 15.

⁵⁸¹ Questions like: what is a Jewish place, what were their favourite places in Stockholm and why, where did they meet Jewish friends, were there limitations in the public landscape because of their Jewish identity?

Jews lived nearby and the family met up with other Jewish families on *Södermalm* about once a week. They only mingled with non-Jewish neighbours to a small extent since they were ‘different somehow.’ Henry Blideman was called ‘Jew’ in school and recalls his Jewishness as ‘essentially difficult’ to handle. He also attended the *Talmud Torah* and services at *Adat Jisrael* together with his father and brother. Work in a department store office was procured through Jewish contacts when he turned 15 years old.

Sara Cohen’s (1925-2017) parents migrated from Pabianice in Poland to Stockholm in 1923, getting married the year after. The family spoke Yiddish and kept *kashrut* and *shabbat* in their home firstly in *Old Town* and later on, on *Södermalm*. They also attended *Adat Jisrael*’s services. Sara Cohen herself, however, preferred the Wahrendorff Synagogue because of the organ music. She attended the Jewish religious school, and was bullied at the local, Swedish school because she did not attend Christendom classes. Relationships with her non-Jewish friends faded as they started to move in different circles.

While these four families serve as the main case studies in this chapter, three autobiographies will also be used to emphasise or question the aspects of Swedish-Jewish spatiality. The autobiographies written by Josef Sachs – *Mitt livs saldo* (The Balance of My Life), published in 1949 – Olof Aschberg – published in three parts between 1946 and 1947, and republished in 1961 as a single edition called *Gryningen till en ny tid* (The Dawn to a New Era) – and Boris Beltzikoff – *En svensk jude ser tillbaka* (A Swedish Jew Looking Back), published in 1994 – are three ego-documents with clearly stated agendas. The modern origin of the autobiographical genre is often linked to the emergence of individuality and the *bourgeoisie*’s continuation of the nobility’s archival traditions at the end of the 18th century.⁵⁸² Within the Jewish world, the autobiography was initially a ‘foreign’ way to fashion and construct their personal selves.⁵⁸³ Swedish literature in the 1940s and 1950s was marked by ideological turmoil and disbelief in former value systems, and the 1950’s especially strived to come to terms with life after the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War and the *Shoah*.⁵⁸⁴ Stepping into this literary environment, Josef Sachs and Olof

⁵⁸² Arianne Baggerman, ‘Autobiography and Family Memory in the Nineteenth Century,’ in *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 163–167; Arianne Baggerman, ‘Travellers in Time: Nineteenth-Century Autobiographers and Their Fight Against Forgetting,’ in *Les écrits du for privé an Europe (du Moyen Âge à l’époque contemporaine): Enquêtes, Analyses, Publications*, eds. Jean-Pierre Bardet, Élisabeth Amoul, and Francois-Joseph Ruggin (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010), 67, 74–76.

⁵⁸³ Michael Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 10–13.

⁵⁸⁴ Ulf Olsson, ‘Världen efter världskriget – 1950-talets prosaförfattare,’ in *Den Svenska Litteraturen: Från Modernism till massmedial marknad*, eds. Lars Lönnroth, Sven Delblanc, and Sverker Göransson (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1999), 323.

Aschberg were provided with a literary opportunity to construct, fashion and produce the autobiographical 'I' they desired to share in a public environment. Their texts are not confessional, but stories of social success or explanations of social misfortunes, both wanting to justify their place in the world.⁵⁸⁵

Josef Sachs (1872-1949) was born in Stockholm to Simon and Matilda (née Leja) Sachs.⁵⁸⁶ Upon graduation, Josef Sachs spent some time abroad in London, Paris and Madrid, and after visiting Harrods, Selfridges and Au Bon Marché he came back to Stockholm with the idea of creating Sweden's first department store. *Nordiska Kompaniet* (The Nordic Company) opened in 1902 and moved into a modern, purpose-built retail facility in 1915. Josef Sachs held various prestigious stately appointments during his lifetime, was friends with the Swedish royalty, and a board member of several businesses.⁵⁸⁷ He married Jewish Sigrid (née Fränckel) in 1899, daughter of Eduard Fränckel, whose funeral this thesis visited in chapter two.

Olof Aschberg (1877-1960) was born as Olof Asch in Stockholm, the second of six children to parents Herman – whom we met in chapter three – and Rosa Asch from Grodno

in today's Belarus.⁵⁸⁸ He swedecised his surname in 1897 and married the non-Jewish actress Anna (née Ahlberg) the year after. Their children were raised in the Jewish faith. Olof Aschberg

⁵⁸⁵ Josef Sachs' autobiography *Mitt livs saldo* (The Balance of My Life) was published in 1949. He explicitly hoped for his book to re-establish the dignity of the profession of the merchant, hence the book's overwhelming focus on his work. It focuses on a life of social, cultural and commercial accomplishments. While Josef Sachs ignores any Jewish identification in the book, Olof Aschberg names the first part *En vandrande jude från Glasbruksgatan* (A Wandering Jew from Glass Works Street), clearly not trying to hide his Jewishness. His autobiography largely concerns his work as a banker, his relationship with Russia and the antisemitic persecution he experienced in France between 1939 and 1941, clearly arguing for a world with less political polarisation, focusing on understanding each other and together working for peace and against starvation. The autobiography reads as a tale of socialist endeavours aimed at creating a better, fairer world, constantly hindered by political persecution and capitalistic forces.

⁵⁸⁶ Simon Sachs was born in Walldorf in Germany, while Matilda Sachs' father Josef Leja came from Altona. Matilda's grandfather Benjamin Leja moved to the Swedish capital at the beginning of the 19th century and opened large shops selling bric-a-bracs. Josef Leja and Simon Sachs created a large store on *Regeringsgatan* in *Norrmalm*, famous for its cheap bazaars, haberdashery, horse saddles, leatherwork and kitchen utensils at the beginning of the 20th century. Even the royalty visited during Christmas. Josef Sachs' parents lived in large, luxurious flats in central Stockholm, held art- and music evenings every other week and spent the summers in the Swedish countryside.

⁵⁸⁷ Josef Sachs was, for example, appointed to discuss commercial negotiations with the Central Powers during the First World War and acted as chairman of Sweden's contribution to the World Art Exhibitions in Brussels 1935, Paris 1937 and New York 1939. He was also a close friend to King Gustaf V of Sweden and his brother Prince Eugen, sometimes staying at their summerhouse *Solliden* on the island *Öland* and travelling to Europe on entertaining music tours with the latter.

⁵⁸⁸ The family initially lived on *Södermalm* but as his father's business as upholsterer was successful, they moved to *Östermalm*.

founded *Nya banken* (The New Bank) based on cooperative and socialist ideals,⁵⁸⁹ and was a close friend to Hjalmar Branting, Sweden's first socialist prime minister. He moved to a renovated villa just outside of Versailles with his second, Jewish wife Siri (née Kugelman) in 1927, visiting Stockholm during summers. He survived a Nazi internment camp,⁵⁹⁰ fled to the United States and returned to Sweden in 1945.

Lastly, Boris Beltzikoff's (1908-2002) family emigrated from a village close to Vitebsk in 1905, with relatives following their journey to Stockholm in the years to come. The lived in the philanthropic *Judehuset* on *Södermalm* from 1913 and onwards. Only three of all the children living in the house graduated from secondary school, and Boris Beltzikoff was one of them. His father worked as a carpenter and his mother sewed socks for waitresses and shop-workers. He worked during the summers, partly in restaurants making sandwiches, and partly as a violinist in an outdoor theatre. The family spoke Swedish and Yiddish, the grandparents were strictly traditional, and he attended *Talmud Torah*. He was nicknamed 'the Hebrew' at school and two girlfriends broke up with him in the 1930s because he was a Jew.

Already now, the plurality of these individuals' backgrounds and lifestyles contradicts the spatial border previously assumed between the presupposed integrated, reformed, affluent, German-descendent Jews and the traditional, poor, Eastern European Jews. As will be shown, these individuals were all 'untypical Jews,'⁵⁹¹ not because of their untypical lives, but because the modern, urban landscape prompted individuality and multiplicity. In an urban setting where diversity becomes the natural state, it is important to understand what determines, shapes and limits it. That is the analytical focus of this chapter.

The multiplicity of Jewish urban life has, for example, been explored by GIS, and these studies proclaim the individuality of daily movements, and the dynamic and flexible nature of the modern Jewish identity. Eton Diamond's study on the suburban Jewish population in 1980s Townhill in Ontario, for example, traces the footsteps of Jewish individuals, arguing that the individual yet interrelated movement functioned as a 'web [of] microspaces,' where each walker fitted into the larger group, together creating a 'complex agglomeration of many communities, each with its

⁵⁸⁹ His socialist speeches to the working-classes on northern *Kungsholmen* and financial aid to the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution branded him as a communist in Sweden, forcing him to step down from his bank. Like Josef Sachs, Olof Aschberg was also a target for antisemitic press attacks.

⁵⁹⁰ As the Second World War started, Olof Aschberg was viewed as a dangerous foreigner and interned in the internment camp *Camp Vernet* in southern France during 1940. It was only as he relinquished his shares in the company *Société Pathé Cinéma* he and his family could travel to Lissabon and board a ship to the United States. The family returned to Sweden in 1945.

⁵⁹¹ Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget,' 168–170.

own institutional affiliations and corresponding spatial arrangements.⁵⁹² Jason Gilliland and Mary Anne Poutanen use the diary of rabbi Simon Glazer in 1920s Montreal to map the spaces he visited, and thus examine his social geography. They correlate his home to personal activities, congregants and the Yiddish-speaking community, revealing inner-communal struggles on religious authority and the Jewish population's disunity.⁵⁹³ GIS will similarly be used in this chapter to investigate personal relationship with the urban landscape, portraying how differently the urban landscape could be used by Jewish inhabitants.

The varied, but also similar, spatial practices performed in relation to their identifications as Jews, Swedes and Stockholmers by the Ettlinger family, the Strauss family, Henry Blideman, Sara Cohen, Josef Sachs, Olof Aschberg and Boris Beltzickoff will be discussed in relation to three sites: the private home, the urban home and the national home. While the roles of gender, social status, wealth and urban familiarity will be examined in relation to the public aspect of their domestic homes, synagogue attendance, personal sacred rituals, consumption of urban leisure, immersion into the Swedish landscape and the maintenance of international connections, this chapter will ultimately portray the Jewish strategy for finding domestic, urban and national homes to be collectively adopted but unanimously singular, promoting the significance of urban and social belonging over the need for a cohesive Jewish identity.

4.2 The Private Home: The Female Role in the Construction of Public Spaces

Gaston Bachelard argues in 1958 that the domestic home symbolises a person's 'chosen spot' where they 'take root, day after day, in a "corner of the world"'.⁵⁹⁴ Indeed, without it, man [and woman] would be a dispersed being. It maintains him [and her] through the storms of the heavens and through those of life. It is body and soul. It is the human being's first world.⁵⁹⁵ Merging the fields of psychoanalysis and architecture, Gaston Bachelard conceptualises the domestic home as a physical site for metaphysical and emotional senses of belonging. As part of an individual's process of connecting themselves to the immediate surroundings, the home

⁵⁹² Eton Diamond, 'Religious Microspaces in a Suburban Environment: The Orthodox Jews of Thornhill, Ontario,' in *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 120.

⁵⁹³ Mary Anne Poutanen, and Jason Gilliland, 'Mapping Work in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal: A Rabbi, a Neighbourhood, and a Community,' *Urban History Review* 45, 2 (2017): 7–24.

⁵⁹⁴ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 26.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 29.

becomes a place of continuity, stability and safety in a world of constant change, such as the modern city. Yi-Fu Tuan continues to explore the human being's innate need to find personal validation in their physical surroundings in 1977. He shows that the material organisation in a home, such as the position of furniture, is a micro-reflection of a person's 'geometric personality,' thus fundamentally linked to metaphysical values.⁵⁹⁶

The Jewish diasporic home has, similarly, been argued to be the family's strategic location for the continuation of their traditions,⁵⁹⁷ while the *bourgeois* home has been conceptualised as a private 'shelter' from the outward threats of modernity.⁵⁹⁸ As mentioned earlier, Marion Kaplan portrays the German-Jewish *bourgeois* women's pivotal role in using the domestic sphere to transfer Jewish traditions and middle-class values to the next generation. They would keep a *kosher* home, play the piano, plan social parties, invite relatives for *shabbat* dinners, and teach the children to pray – the mothers' religious role offering 'a measure of social power that they could achieve nowhere else.'⁵⁹⁹ As a result, the Jewish woman 'practiced in her own way, negotiating with customs and defining her personal Jewishness with elasticity,'⁶⁰⁰ each household presenting a unique version of how to be Jews at home. The woman's power of the performance of the *bourgeois* private home, however, also catapulted her into the public sphere. Not only did women's presence in the public and economic sphere increase through visits in the department, the living room, sitting rooms and salons in her domestic sphere became public spaces with social functions,⁶⁰¹ related to the social world outside the threshold. The home was, thus, both a safe haven and a theatre arena for the practice and representation of identifications.⁶⁰²

4.2.1 The Jewish *Bourgeois* Home: Meeting Places for Jews and non-Jews

This section will visit the *bourgeois* homes of the Strauss and Ettlinger families, portraying the roles of Irene Strauss and Jeannette Ettlinger in producing public, social homes. After moving a few times, both families established their homes on *Östermalm*. Both men worked within the upper trade sector, Jacob Ettlinger's Mosaic tax reaching 1,068 *kronor* while Julius Strauss paid

⁵⁹⁶ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 17.

⁵⁹⁷ Bronner, 'Introduction,' 3.

⁵⁹⁸ Geoffrey Crossick, and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe, 1780-1914: Enterprise, Family and Independence* (London: Routledge, 1998), 198; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 16. Quote from Massey.

⁵⁹⁹ Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 78.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid, 70.

⁶⁰¹ Hannu Salmi, *19th Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 73–75.

⁶⁰² Jonas Frykman, and Orvar Löfgren, *Den kultiverade människan* (Malmö: Gleerups, 1979), 105.

804 *kronor*. Both men were placed in the top 4 per cent of the whole community's taxed members, indicating the social status of the families. As housewives, Irene Strauss and Jeanette Ettlinger constructed theatrical areas within their Jewish, private homes in Stockholm that resonated in the public arena.

Julius and Irene Strauss moved to *Jungfrugatan* (Virgin Street) 6 in 1919. The building was constructed in 1906-1907. While the area had been known as muddy and smelly at the beginning of the 19th century, the introduction of electricity, water and gas increased the living standards, as did the construction of apartment houses in stone. Although *Östermalm* up until the 1930s was inhabited by both affluent people and the working-class, the houses constructed at the beginning of the 20th century did not locate the less wealthy in the bottom and attic floors, but fashioned modern, attractive flats on all levels. The Strauss family thus moved into a gentrified local space. One of their former homes had boasted six bedrooms, leading to the conclusion that this apartment must have been either of equal or bigger size. The new building's entrance floor and walls were covered in marble and the lift was fashioned with intricate iron patterns. The apartments were decorated with French double doors, wooden floors in exquisite patterns, wainscot panels, cornices, and a fireplace.⁶⁰³

Irene Strauss slowly but systematically filled their home with new furniture and decorations. Some were brought from their former homes. For example, an antique fur, armchairs and sofas had been acquired from *A. F. Hellqvist* in Nässjö and transported to Stockholm at the beginning of 1917. In the coming years, a washbasin was changed, a vacuum cleaner was bought, electrical work was ordered – perhaps for the installation of more lamps, curtains were assembled, one chest of drawer was repainted, and another was varnished. Some 10 years after their wedding, new sets of wine glasses, glassware, plates, tea pots, jars and cutlery replaced their old ones. The end of the 1920s was similarly a time for Irene Strauss to acquire at least six new electrical lamps, floor clocks, a new gas stove and radiator, repaired picture frames, silver cutlery and table silver, furniture for Julius Strauss' gentlemen's room, a complete redecoration of wallpaper, new curtains, new bedroom furniture and a desk in varnished pine. Irene Strauss' interior taste favoured several aspects of the contemporary *bourgeois* trend where the individualised combination of wallpaper, paintings, photographs, plants, cabinets with ornaments, and heavy curtains was the fashion.⁶⁰⁴ The emphasis on Julius Strauss' private quarters, as well as the

⁶⁰³ 'Sjöhästen 4,' *Building Inventory: Östermalm I* (1974), SCA.

⁶⁰⁴ Crossick and Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe*, 208; Katherine C. Grier, 'The "Blending and Confusion" of Expansiveness and Beauty: Bourgeois Interiors,' in *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Sven Beckert, and Julia B. Rosenbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 94; Anne Massey, 'Modern History and Interior Design,' in *The Handbook of Interior*

acquisition of silverware, wallpaper, painting frames and curtains, attests to the public function of the apartment. The latter would have cluttered the walls and cabinets in the drawing-room and the salon in a warm and welcoming manner, as was the 'Oscarian' design of the Swedish *bourgeois* home.⁶⁰⁵ As a *bourgeois* wife, Irene Strauss created a theatrical stage within their private home, and the items and furniture displayed on it informed visitors of the family's social status.

Although the receipts do not reveal the visitors in question, the receipts show that those visiting the Strauss residence were treated according to the *bourgeois* standard. Julius Strauss regularly bought strawberry marmalade from the local seller *AB Helgot Berg*, a monthly ration of cigars, and stocked the wine cellar with port wine, madeira, punch, cognac, whiskey, Cointreau and imported wine from Wachenheim – a German district close to his birth city Giessen. The visitors were entertained by music on the radio or the gramophone. Perhaps carefully chosen books and journals were placed in the social areas of the flat for all to see and occasionally flicker through. The archive shows that the family acquired the journal *Scenen* (The Scene) on theatrical and musical productions, the yearly subscriptions of the local newspapers *Aftonbladet* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, journals belonging to temperance- and non-profit aid societies, and a book bought from *AB Bok- & Pappershandel avd. för kyrklig konst* (Inc. Book and Paper Store, department for church art), Although an ambiguous notion, a 'Christmas rug' was obtained from the interior design company *AB Robert Ditzinger*. Relatedly, 1.25 kilograms of pork were ordered in February 1918, and one-year old Bertil Strauss won recognition in *Aftonbladet* for his contribution of a 'painting' to the company's Christmas fundraiser that same year. Since *Hanukkah*, the Festival of Lights commemorating the rededication of the Second Temple in Jerusalem during the Maccabean Revolt, took place at the end of November in 1920, the ham accompanying the order of sweets, chocolate, coffee, cheese and butter from *Nordiska Kompaniet* on December 14, was acquired for a seemingly rapturous Christmas celebration.

The Strauss family consciously chose the materials on display and foods consumed in their home, aiming to perform their social position and Swedish belonging to the visitors welcomed to *Jungfrugatan 6*. While still members of the Mosaic Congregations, and thus clearly defining themselves as Jews, they emphasised other identifications in their home. The entertainment and intellectual sources available in the house, furthermore, portrayed the family's knowledge of the social and cultural landscape in Stockholm. The temperance society, a social movement against

Architecture and Design, eds. Graeme Brooker, and Lois Weinthal (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 16.

⁶⁰⁵ Frykman, and Löfgren, *Den kultiverade människan*, 110–111.

the consumption of alcoholic beverages, developed and run by nonconformist evangelical movements had, for example, a pivotal role in social and civic changes in the country at the turn of the 20th century. Engaging about 20 per cent of the Swedish adult population, they promoted study circles, health activities and sport events with a folklorist touch, teaming up with the labour movement to foster the developing national identity of 'the conscientious worker'.⁶⁰⁶ Although Julius Strauss' wine and spirit orders argue that he did not endorse alcohol abstinence, the journal subscription must at least have piqued his interest. The Swedish radio station was, furthermore, established in 1925, and 40,000 listeners were reached by the first broadcasts that same year.⁶⁰⁷ Positioning themselves at the forefront of modern leisure consumption, Julius and Irene Strauss bought the radio in 1924, and paid their first radio license in 1925. As the personal constellations and display of objects in the *bourgeois* home were designed to invite like-minded people to discuss their meaning,⁶⁰⁸ the public space in the Strauss home was constructed for a non-Jewish audience, its Christian and political elements finding common ground with their visitors.

Leora Auslander argues that the Jewish *bourgeoisie* in Germany unconsciously practiced their version of Jewishness, defined by their non-Jewish environment and encouraged by Judaism's sensibility to senses, time, home and the material world, thus producing a Jewish *bourgeois* 'subculture' within the nation.⁶⁰⁹ The Strauss family's Jewishness had, similarly, no religious connotations, and traditional customs like keeping *kashrut* were abandoned. Instead, they engaged in – and performed – the Christian, social and political aspects of their urban locality. The 'subcultural' notion of their *bourgeois* practices is, however, not accentuated with the sources available, since the identities of the family's visitors remain unknown. Josef Sachs' parents, furthermore, organised cultural evenings for over 60 guests, Jews and non-Jews, every other week at the end of the 19th century.⁶¹⁰ Although the wealthiest Jewish families in Stockholm at the turn of the 20th century were relationally, economically and culturally intertwined, together funding, for example, the majority of the Concert Hall,⁶¹¹ they were also friends and business colleagues with non-Jewish individuals. Although the borders of the Jewish aspect of these non-observant Jewish families' *bourgeois* 'subculture' were blurred, the Jewish attraction to *bourgeois* practices is, however, visible, of which the Strauss family is another example.

⁶⁰⁶ 'Sweden,' in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, eds. Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 603–605, statistics from 603.

⁶⁰⁷ 'Vad är radio?,' *Radiofakta* (2017), accessed June 12, 2019, URL: <www.radiofakta.se/_radiofakta.se/>; 'Radiohistoria,' *Sveriges Radio* (March 25, 2008), accessed June 12, 2019, URL: <www.sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=3113&artikel=1971599>.

⁶⁰⁸ Grier, 'The Blending and Confusion,' 96.

⁶⁰⁹ Auslander, 'The Boundaries of Jewishness,' 55–57, quote from 55.

⁶¹⁰ Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare*, 29–32.

⁶¹¹ Kuritzén Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet*, 187–198.

In contrast, the Ettlinger's *bourgeois* home was constructed and performed as a traditionally Jewish space. 'Walking' towards the Ettlinger family's home on *Östermalmsgatan* (Street of Östermalm) 7, the observant pedestrian would have noticed that the area had recently been redeveloped by the city's municipality, according to city planner Albert Lindhagen's ideas of a spacious, clean city with broad, tree-lined avenues surrounded by buildings, inviting the flow of natural light into the apartments.⁶¹² The 1840s saw the creation of the park *Humlegården* (Hops Garden), and in the coming 70 years, *Villastaden* (The Villa City) of exclusive villas at the northern tip of the park were constructed. Living on *Östermalmsgatan*, the Ettlingers therefore established their home in a very modern area of the city, in a flat that demonstrated their affluence. The geographical location of their home and the outlook of their flat proclaimed their belonging to the wealthy part of the Swedish society.

The rental agreement from October 1, 1934, shows the flat to be a modern, luxurious apartment with twelve rooms, including kitchen, bathroom, pantry, butlery and an attic office.⁶¹³ Built in 1912-1913, this flat was one of the biggest in the building, where the decoration included wainscot panels, cornices, tile stoves, French double doors and a lift with forged iron patterns.⁶¹⁴ The flat was heated from September 15 to May 15, and had access to hot water between September 1 and June 1. It was fitted with a stainless kitchen sink as well as a bathtub and ceramic floor in the bathroom in 1938, all according to the latest fashion.⁶¹⁵ The apartment was furnished according to the contemporary *bourgeois* style with a concert piano, heavy furniture, draped curtains and endless bookshelves.⁶¹⁶ Based in this modern flat in northern Stockholm, Jacob Ettlinger is said to have walked the almost four kilometres to the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael* on *Södermalm* every morning to perform the daily prayers.⁶¹⁷ To live closer to the orthodox synagogue, and thus be able to abide more easily to *shabbat* rules of movement more easily, was apparently not an option. Residing in a city district that corresponded to their social status was more important.

Jacob Ettlinger, however, invited thousands of Jews from 1917 to 1952 to enjoy the *kosher* kitchen in the Ettlinger home.⁶¹⁸ For example, when replying to Dutch-Jewish Ben Heimans, who asked for help to find a hotel serving *kosher* food in Stockholm, Jacob Ettlinger generously wrote

⁶¹² *Building Inventory: Östermalm IV* (1984), SCA, 8-12; Eriksson, *Stockholm med modernismen i centrum*, 51-60.

⁶¹³ Rental agreement from October 1, 1934, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶¹⁴ 'Lövsångaren,' *Building Inventory: Östermalm IV* (1984), SCA.

⁶¹⁵ Rental agreement on October 1, 1934, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶¹⁶ Massey, 'Modern History and Interior Design,' 16; Grier, 'The "Blending and Confusion,"' 94; Hollander (November 8, 2017).

⁶¹⁷ Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget,' 171.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid*, 170-171. Jacob Ettlinger died in 1952.

in 1933, that 'I keep a *kosher* home myself, and I would be happy to greet you as my guest on Friday evening and *shabbat*, if you would give me the honour.'⁶¹⁹ In her letters to Jacob Ettlinger, Jeannette Ettlinger described her plans for the family's weekly *shabbat* dinners. While the table was almost always visited by Jewish individuals from Jacob Ettlinger's international social, religious and commercial network,⁶²⁰ members from their local Jewish circle were also frequent guests. She wrote on September 10, 1930 that on 'Friday afternoon, we will have quite a few people over,'⁶²¹ listing, among others, the Mazur family, the Weissenberger family, and the Friedmann family – many of them members of *Adat Jisrael*. Illustrating the relative cohesiveness of *Adat Jisrael*'s members, she added that 'I probably also have to invite the Borodheims.'⁶²² Personal grudges were clearly not possible to keep within the traditional community.

Apart from showing great hospitality to fellow, local and international *kosher*-keeping Jews, both Jacob and Jeanette Ettlinger were heavily involved in providing the traditional Jewish community in Stockholm with *kosher* products and facilities. They tried to procure *kosher* sugar from the continent in 1933, corresponding with, for example, *Svenska sockerfabriken* (The Swedish Sugar Industry) and the chief rabbi in Copenhagen.⁶²³ While Jeannette Ettlinger wrote the initial letter to the Swedish company, Jacob Ettlinger continued the ensuing discussions, probably because of his in-depth knowledge of trade. The couple asked to buy as little as 20 kilograms, as only a few families were interested in the sugar. That the Ettlingers still found the dedication and energy to fight for such a small amount of sugar shows how important keeping *kashrut* was for them. The records are, unfortunately, silent on the couple's success of procuring *kosher* sugar.

Jeannette Ettlinger, however, engaged in further questions concerning the collective keeping of *kashrut*. Although her kitchen maid cooked all of the family's *kosher* food, Jeannette Ettlinger was pivotal in the continued existence of residential *kosher* kitchens across Stockholm. Before *Pesach*, she invited Jewish wives into her kitchen to *kasher* their cooking utilities, the act of making items ritually clean for the preparation of *kosher*-meals. Her grandson Per Hollander remembers her enthusiastic and authoritarian presence during these events, as she organised different stations in the kitchen for the ritual cleaning.⁶²⁴ Together with the weekly *shabbat* dinners, the Ettlinger home thus provided a space for the maintenance of Jewish traditions, largely enjoyed within the

⁶¹⁹ Letter from Ben Heimans to Jacob Ettlinger, April, 4, 1933, SE/RA/720483/3/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

⁶²⁰ As described by grandson Per Hollander: Hollander (November 8, 2017).

⁶²¹ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, September 10, 1930, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

⁶²² Ibid. My translation from German.

⁶²³ Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to *Svenska sockerfabriks AB*, March 18, 1933, and letter from latter to Jeannette Ettlinger, March 17, 1933, SE/RA/720483/3/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶²⁴ Hollander (November 8, 2017).

local and international, traditional community. Jeannette Ettlinger was not only wife to a commercial *bourgeois* husband, but also served as a form of *rebbetzin*, a rabbi's wife, extending her social status as wife to *Adat Jisrael's* chairman into structuring the social and religious infrastructure of the traditional community in Stockholm.

Jeannette Ettlinger was, moreover, involved in communal activities, actively communicating with other members in the group. She mentioned social meetings and discussions with people from the community in her letters, often relating their questions or wishes regarding communal matters to Jacob Ettlinger when he was abroad. Thus, she wrote that one Joseph Magnus called in 1930, that the *shul* was full at the end of February in 1933, and that Isaac Davis, whose wife Ida Davis signed the joint complaint about the balcony, wanted to employ a mason from Riga in 1934. The contexts of these statement are unclear, but Jeannette Ettlinger unmistakably acted as a transmitter of communal politics and news. She also provided gossip from the Jewish community as a whole, declaring, for example, the engagements of both a certain Hertz – possibly tailor Salomon Hertz⁶²⁵ – to a girl from Altona, and Chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis' daughter in 1930. The latter's fiancé was, '*Gott sei Dank* (Praise the Lord), a Jew.'⁶²⁶ The latter comment reveals Jeannette Ettlinger's interest and traditional perspective in Jewish matters within the whole Jewish community in Stockholm. Several letters to Jacob Ettlinger revolved around religious matters, such as the discussion on the necessity of including the reading of *sifre*, rabbinic works on legal issues, in the synagogue, or the request of her husband's advice on how to reply to a question on the religious state of Reform Jews in Denmark. She, furthermore, reported that the most important thing for their children was to find God's path.

The couple was, clearly, unanimously working towards the continuation of Jewish traditions in Stockholm, organising the social and ritual infrastructure within *Adat Jisrael*. Their closeness is visible in Jeannette Ettlinger's letters; she, for example, called Jacob Ettlinger her 'loving angel treasure,' and described herself as 'only half a person' when he was away.⁶²⁷ She often noted that she loved to hear his voice when he called on the phone, and signed her letter with *Nudel*, a nickname that can be translated as dumpling in German. When in their country house in the archipelago in the summer of 1938, she even wrote an emotional letter on her feminine inability

⁶²⁵ Found in the 1935-list, but not in the mapping list, which means that he had no address. This could suggest his move to Altona.

⁶²⁶ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, September 10, 1930, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

⁶²⁷ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, September 5, 1930, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

to contain her feelings of loneliness when he was not around.⁶²⁸ Their close relationship was, furthermore, inherently linked to Judaism. Her recollections of their first meeting located them in a synagogue, and they kissed for the first time during a walk after the service.⁶²⁹ When married, both worked non-profitably towards the maintenance of the rituals and lifestyle they associated with Jewishness. Although Jacob Ettlinger, as shown in chapter three, was the main actor in the institutional struggle for economic survival, Jeannette Ettlinger had an equally important role. She not only kept their public, *bourgeois* and Jewish traditional home, but also organised social and ritual events within the community in his absence. Her family in Copenhagen even kept their home *kosher* because of her zeal.⁶³⁰ Clearly, Jeannette Ettlinger was a traditional force in her own right, constructing her private home into a meeting place for *Adat Jisrael*'s members and shaping the presence of traditional Jewishness in Stockholm.

4.2.2 Innovative Sacred Rituals: Beyond the Private Home

While *Östermalmsgatan 7* became a social hub for local and international, traditional Jews on Fridays, Jeannette Ettlinger was equally concerned about the *shabbat* routines of her husband when he was on business trips. A letter from August 12, 1938 was specifically written and posted in time to provide him with a *shabbat* greeting, and she encouraged – or urged – him to celebrate 'שבת' (*shabbat*) as pleasant as possible.⁶³¹ Indeed, she created a family ritual of writing letters greeting *shabbat* to Jacob Ettlinger when he was abroad. While on vacation on the Swedish island *Gotland*, Ruth Ettlinger wrote to her parents on June 27, 1940, that 'since you surely get grumpy if you do not get a letter on Saturday, I guess it is best to write today again.'⁶³² The couple's middle child clearly understood the links between the Friday and Saturday constituting *shabbat* and the act of greeting *shabbat* via letters.

19 letters written by the three children have been found in Jacob Ettlinger's records, sent in the 1930s-1940s to Jacob Ettlinger or both parents, see appendices J-K for a thematic presentation. Their travels prompted the construction of letters, often one page long, and being children, the

⁶²⁸ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, August 12, 1938, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from German.

⁶²⁹ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, October 31, 1934, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Translated from German.

⁶³⁰ Hollander, Stockholm (November 8, 2017).

⁶³¹ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, August 12, 1938, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Translated from German.

⁶³² Letter from Ruth Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, June 27, 1940 (XV), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. Translation from Swedish.

agenda was mainly to send greetings to their father, writing information about their lives that they hoped would be of interest to him. Just like Jeannette Ettlinger's letters, the children also forwarded practical, communal information to their father; greetings from people or telephone calls. The majority, however, included descriptive stories of school, homework and trips, life at the summerhouse and city excursions. Almost half the children's letters thanked for earlier letters or postcards from either parent, suggesting once again that the practice of writing letters was strong within the family. 84.2 per cent of the letters were written in Swedish, with only three composed in German, Jacob Ettlinger's first language, and two thirds included phrases in Hebrew. Lastly, two fifths explicitly greeted the receiver שבת.

The Hebrew phrases scattered all over the children's letters portray the importance of Jewish traditions for the family. The Hebrew words broke up the hand-written Latin alphabet, moving the attention towards the Hebrew alphabet, and thus encouraged the reader to employ their Jewish linguistic knowledge to start reading from the right to the left. The third chapter has shown that Modern Hebrew was taught specifically in the *Talmud Torah*. While the modernisation of Hebrew developed as a Zionist tool to construct a continuation with historical Palestine, documents from the Zionist group in Stockholm at the beginning of the 20th century were mainly written in Swedish, and only rarely translated into Hebrew.⁶³³ In the modern Stockholmian setting, Modern Hebrew seems to not have been linked to Zionism but rather regarded as a sacred language. With religion being its main vehicle for existence, the language was at this time intermingled with the religious element of Jewishness. Jacob Ettlinger was, similarly, not a member of the Zionist society in Stockholm, and his children were taught Modern Hebrew in connection to the Jewish religion and its historical past in the *Talmud Torah*.

While the children's enthusiasm for learning the language will be explored in the next section, their incorporation of Hebrew phrases and greetings of שבת portray the crucial role of *shabbat* and the domestic home within the Ettlinger family. Out of the 13 dated letters, over half were written on Thursdays, and another third on Wednesdays. Initially guided by their mother, but later on continuing the practice, the children's letters were unquestionably meant to reach Jacob Ettlinger by the following Saturday. This makes their greeted שבת a thoughtful and conscious choice of salutation, sprung from their awareness of the Jewish week and the sacredness of *shabbat*. Putting time aside on Wednesdays and Thursdays to write letters to their father was not only a way to connect to him across national borders on the sacred weekday. The practice –

⁶³³ See documents in: Swedish Zionist Society, SE/RA/730128/05/22, Jewish Community in Stockholm, SSA; Ilker Aytürk, 'Attempts at Romanising the Hebrew Script and Their Failure: Nationalism, Religion and Alphabet Reform in the Yishuv,' *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, 4 (2007): 628.

sitting at a table, using either fountain pen or ink pen,⁶³⁴ and walking to the post box – became a bodily movement linked to both the traditional home and its epitomised *shabbat*. Instead of the physical presence of his family, the letters provided Jacob Ettlinger with a textual substitute, permeated with greetings celebrating their shared traditions and religious language. As Vanessa Ochs argues, Judaism is ‘continuously sculpted by its loving practitioners,’⁶³⁵ and this innovative and familial sacred ritual was intrinsically linked to the Ettlinger home, a representative reminder of the spatial homeliness Jacob Ettlinger enjoyed with his family in Stockholm, as well as a temporary, textual replacement of that sacred, private space in their *bourgeois* home.

4.2.3 The Jewish Working-Class Home: An Enforced Public Role

The divergent uses of Irene Strauss’ and Jeannette Ettlinger’s *bourgeois* homes portray, just as Marion Kaplan has previously shown, that the wife’s role in constructing and performing the identifications of the family’s private home was pivotal. While the former used the public areas of her home to present a space informed by *bourgeois* cultural, contemporary political, and national values, the latter transformed her home into a social and ritual meeting place for both the family and local and international, likeminded Jews. Not every woman in Stockholm, however, had this opportunity. Tables 13 and 14 portray the evolvement of Jewish female employment in Stockholm between 1870 and 1935, and the first table argues for a clear rise in the number of employed women during the 20th century. Going into details of the distribution of employed women, table 14 shows the increase of Jewish female presence in universities, the civil sectors and work offices. The number of unmarried women drastically decreased, suggesting their procurement of education or employment. Almost two out of five Jewish women in 1935 were defined as manual workers – tobacco labourers, seamstresses, kitchen maids or shop assistants. Similarly, although the percentage decreased, two out of five were defined as ‘wives’ in the taxation list of 1935. On the other hand, the title did not necessarily mean that they did not have a job. That the women’s status was defined by their relationship to Jewish men is also suggested by the introduction of a new category: the Jewish women who were divorced. The tables show that the position as ‘wife,’ and the subsequent continuation of the *bourgeois* standard of working husbands and home-staying housewives, only marginally decreased. It confirms Rita Bredendfeldt’s study, which argues that the values of the *bourgeoisie* were continuously strong among Swedish Jews, while it

⁶³⁴ Camilla writes that she uses her ink pen instead of the reservoir pen on April 19, 1934 (IX), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶³⁵ Vanessa Ochs, *Inventing Jewish Ritual* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2007), 1.

decreased among the Swedish population in the 1930s.⁶³⁶ It was the unmarried women that entered the job market, preferring employment within in the civil service and the manual industries, as seen by the sharp decrease of female trade owners or skilled artisans.

Table 13. Jewish women's occupation patterns in Stockholm, 1870-1935, in percentages.⁶³⁷

Occupation	1870	1909	1935
Wife	45.3	47.5	39.2
Miss	28.1	24.4	7.8
Widow	16.9	8.5	10.7
Divorced	-	-	1.4
Unknown	3.4	1.3	8.7
Employed	6.3	18.3	32.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

As a contrast to Irene Strauss and Jeannette Ettlinger, these working women could not spend the same amount of time creating a private space that presented personal and communal belonging. While archival traces remain largely non-existent, Boris Beltzikoff's descriptions aid a short reconstruction the Jewish working-class woman's relationship to her home. As mentioned in this chapter's introduction, his mother was a seamstress, sewing underclothes for neighbours. Her home was not only a residential home, but a workspace. While she continued to cook the same food as her ancestors from Vitebsk, Holy Days were celebrated with the whole *Judehuset* that they lived in, the women likely helping each other with the traditional preparations. The Beltzikoff family's geographical and social location, as well as the family's need for money, produced a home that expanded beyond its immediate walls into the community in the whole house. Living in *Judehuset*, their collective belonging was, of course, particular. During interviews, Henry Blideman and Sara Cohen emphasised, instead, the social isolation of their families in other areas of the city. Still, in alignment with Gaston Bachelard's conceptualisation of the domestic space, Henry Blideman compared his home with moments of antisemitic attacks on the streets, hinting that it

⁶³⁶ Bredenfeldt, *Judiskt liv i Stockholm och Norden*, 110–114.

⁶³⁷ Based on population lists 1870, 1909 and 1939.

was in the former that he experienced physical safety and acceptance of his Jewishness. The homes of working-class Jews were less about public display of social status, and more about bodily and economic survival in a largely non-Jewish environment.

Table 14. Occupational distribution among employed Jewish women in Stockholm, 1870-1935, in percentages.⁶³⁸

	1870	1909	1935
Estate Owner	-	0.8	0.5
Higher Civil Servant	5.9	6.9	7.3
Free Professional	-	9.2	4.3
Artist	5.9	1.5	4.6
Upper Trade	11.8	2.3	0.2
Education	-	0.8	5.5
Lower Civil Servant	-	4.6	4.9
Office Worker	17.6	16.2	19.5
Lower Trade	5.9	15.4	8.7
Artisan	23.5	6.2	4.9
Manual Worker	29.4	32.3	38.5
Heavy Labourer	-	3.8	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The experience linked to the Jewish *bourgeois* homes was, observably, diverged from that linked to the Jewish working-class home. While the public perspective of the *bourgeois* home was associated with social and communal events, and opportunities for the performance of the family's social belonging, the working-class home was forcedly transformed into an occupational, public arena. *Bourgeois* women, therefore, had bigger opportunities to, as earlier quoted by

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

Marion Kaplan, construct and perform their own versions of their identifications as *bourgeois*, Swedes and Jews. The working-class woman could, of course, choose which food to cook or rituals to perform in the domestic home, but these practices were not as clearly linked to their social status and, more importantly, not staged publicly. It was only when the social status propelled the woman into the Swedish or Jewish communal *bourgeois*, that the public notion of their homes became a major concern and an everyday practice, intrinsically linked to the urban milieu.

4.3 The Urban Home: Jewish Walks of Multiplicity in the Public Arena

Having visited three Jewish homes in Stockholm, this thesis steps out into the streets to 'walk' alongside Jewish individuals. Chapter two has already shown how the public arena was used during Swedish-Jewish elite funerals to perform Judaic, Swedish, *bourgeois*, Christian and modern elements. Chapter three portrayed the multiplicity of Jewish sacred places across most of Stockholm. This section turns to the individual use of these sites, as well as the cityscape at large, examining personal strategies for partly, finding a public home for Jewish practices and partly, enjoying the entertainment offered by the city. This section informs on the socio-cultural aspects shaping the Jewish relationship with the Swedish capital, and the subsequent formation of Swedish-Jewish 'geometric personalities.'

4.3.1 Public Jewishness: Different Walks to Sacred Places

This section will 'walk' together with each individual towards their choice of synagogue. Figure 47 portrays the homes and attended synagogues and religious schools by some of the individuals introduced earlier in this chapter. The connection to the Wahrendorff Synagogue includes both Reform services, the religious afternoon school and *Talmud Torah*. Boris Beltzikoff's, Henry Blideman's and Jacob Ettlinger's children's connection to the Wahrendorff synagogue therefore only relate to the *Talmud Torah*, not the synagogue's Reform services. According to the material, the Strauss family and Josef Sachs did not attend any religious places. Boris Beltzikoff attended the small, local prayer house on *Åsögatan*, some fifty metres from *Judehuset*.⁶³⁹ Apart from the *Talmud Torah*, Boris Beltzikoff's sacred space was closely linked to his home and the Eastern European culture established within the walls of the building.

⁶³⁹ Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka*, 24.

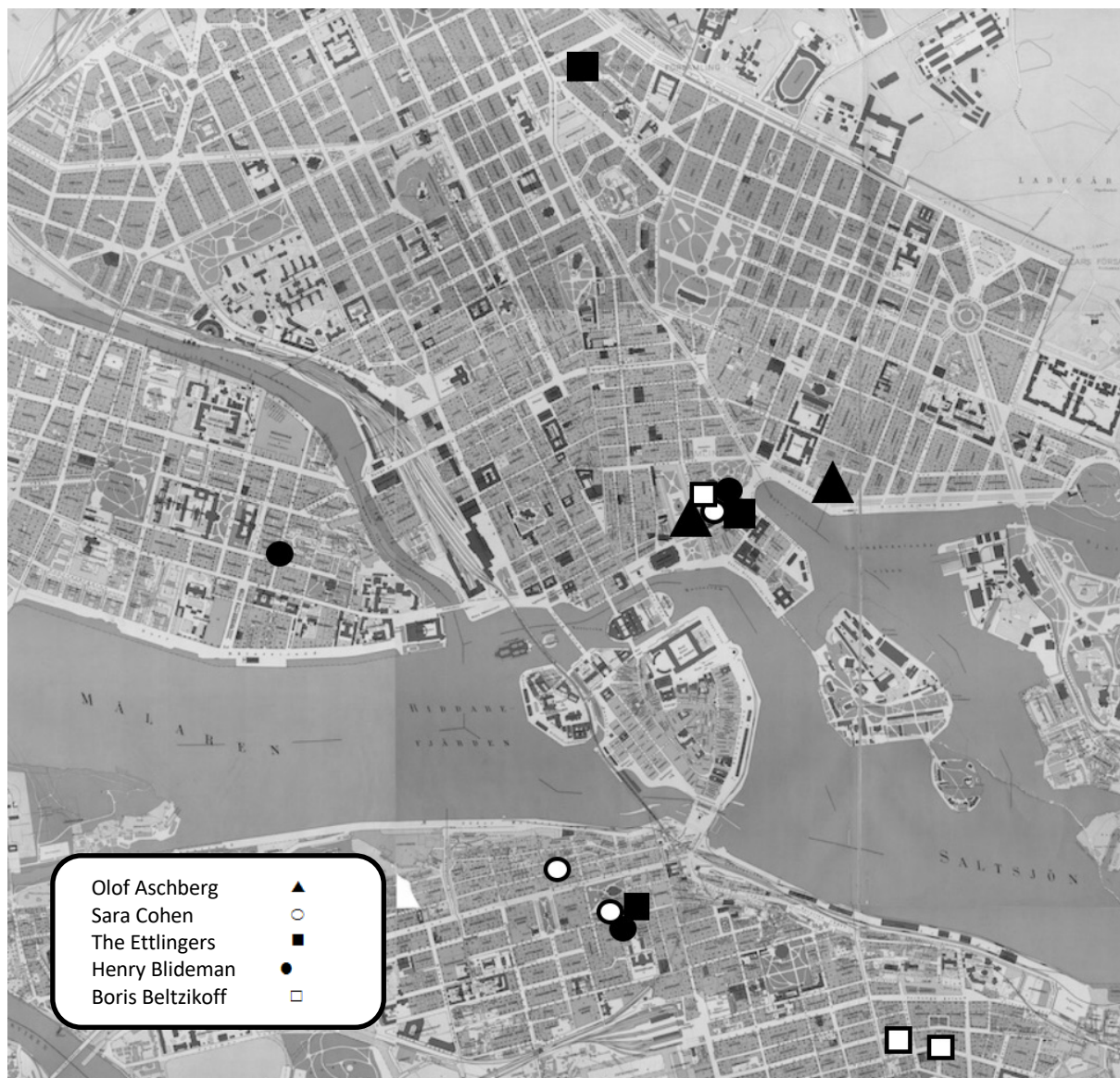


Figure 47. Individual relationships between domestic homes and sacred places.⁶⁴⁰

Despite the similar Eastern European background, Henry Blideman and Sara Cohen created divergent sacred spaces in the city. Henry Blideman walked with his father and brother every Saturday morning from their home on *Kungsholmen*, across the bridges uniting the islands with the mainland, arriving to *Adat Jisrael* after a 45 minute journey. They only very rarely used the tram, although the act of paying would traditionally not be allowed according to the rules of *shabbat*. Indeed, the very act of walking to the synagogue on *shabbat* with a non-existent *eruv*

⁶⁴⁰ Map: Pålman A. E. and Nils Hanzon, 'Karta över de centrala delarna av Stockholms stad, Generalstabens litografiska anstalt.'

contradicted the rules. The family clearly thought it more important to attend the traditional service than to abide to *shabbat* rules. When asked why they attended *Adat Jisrael* and not the Wahrendorff synagogue, Henry Blideman answered that *Adat Jisrael* was the ‘only synagogue’ for him. According to him, the Reform synagogue was only for Jews with social status and economic wealth, thus confirming the community’s hierarchy established in chapter three.⁶⁴¹ To live closer to *Adat Jisrael*, and thus practically save time from the weekly walks or better abide to Judaic laws by not travelling on *shabbat*, was, on the other hand, not an important factor for the family. Henry Blideman explained that they felt at home on *Kungsholmen* and, therefore, did not move to *Södermalm*.

The Blideman family were not the only ones walking across the city to get to a sacred place where they felt at home. Sara Cohen initially attended *Adat Jisrael* with her parents but grew fonder of the Wahrendorff synagogue, especially because of the organ. Despite living in the vicinity of *Adat Jisrael*, Sara Cohen preferred attending the Wahrendorff synagogue, while continuing to keep *kashrut* and *shabbat* throughout her life.⁶⁴² Similarly, but in the opposite direction, the Ettlinger family walked past the Wahrendorff synagogue to get to *Adat Jisrael*. Ruth Ettlinger wrote to her father in 1934, that ‘I don’t know yet if we are going to the synagogue on Saturday. I will at least make sure that we’ll not arrive as late as the Pinkus’s usually do.’⁶⁴³ The daughter’s familiarity with the Pinkus family’s pattern of attendance suggests that synagogue services on Saturdays was a common ritual among everyone in the family. Sometimes they took the tram, but the highlight for Jacob Ettlinger’s grandchildren in the 1940s was the visits to local cafés after the service. Jacob Ettlinger used to call in advance and pre-pay the meals, thus abiding to *shabbat* rules on the prohibition of transactions.⁶⁴⁴ His intimate knowledge of the area between his home on *Östermalmsgatan 7* and *Adat Jisrael*, therefore, allowed for *shabbat* to be celebrated in the public milieu.

Invoices from Jacob Ettlinger’s records, furthermore, portray his relationship with the Stockholman topography, see figure 48.⁶⁴⁵ A walk from their home took him to the synagogue *Adat Jisrael* every morning. He worked at *Drottninggatan 10* in 1935. He also bought a jacket from *A. W. Bauer & Co* on *Biblioteksgatan* (Library Street) 3 on November 30, 1933; books and maps on December 31, 1934 from *A. B. Sandbergs bokhandel* (Inc. Sandberg’s Bookshop) on *Sturegatan*

⁶⁴¹ Blideman (October 21, 2014).

⁶⁴² Cohen (January 13, 2015).

⁶⁴³ Letter from Ruth Ettlinger, January 25, 1934 (X), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁴⁴ Hollander (November 8, 2017).

⁶⁴⁵ The receipts are spread out in the archive: SE/RA/720483/1/ and SE/RA/720483/3/1-2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

(Street of Sture) 8; flowers from *La Fleuriste* on *Malmtorgsgatan* (Street of Ore Square) 6 on October 19, 1932; and towels, soap and water for the *mikveh* from the laundry *Södermalms Tvätt- och Badinrättning* on *Stora Badstugatan* 4 on December 31, 1935. All places were situated between the Ettlinger home, his work place and the synagogue on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13. His everyday spatial practice was, therefore, clearly moulded by his religious practice.

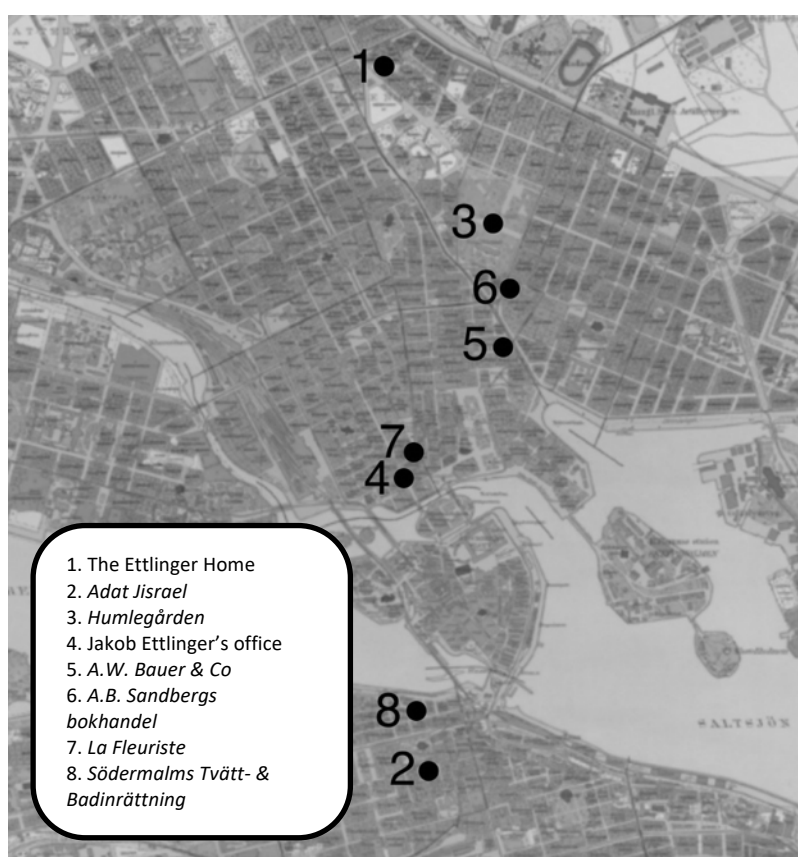


Figure 48. Places visited by Jacob Ettlinger, the 1930s.⁶⁴⁶

Jacob Ettlinger seemingly also included his children on weekday walks in direction towards *Adat Jisrael*. Reminiscing on such a city excursion, Ruth Ettlinger wrote that

⁶⁴⁶ Based on *ibid*; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

It is about 14 degrees here. It is nice. The flowers are coming up everywhere and everything is green when I walk through *Humlegården*, and that's when I think of Father, how we used to walk here in the mornings.⁶⁴⁷

Her experience of walking in the public and luminous landscape of *Humlegården*, see figure 49, was closely linked to the memory of her father. The park was situated south of their home and on the way to both the synagogue and the school *Sofi Almquist* on *Nybrogatan* (New Bridge Street) 19, quite close to the Wahrendorff synagogue. One could speculate that Jacob and Ruth Ettlinger walked together in the mornings, Jacob Ettlinger shaping his daughter's movements by his own sacred practices. If so, he introduced Ruth Ettlinger to his individual way of walking through Stockholm, allowing her insight into how he moved as a traditional Jew in the public arena.



Figure 49. *Humlegården*, 1908.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁷ Undated letter from Ruth Ettlinger (I), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁴⁸ 'Humlegården 1908,' (1908), SE/SSA/Biblioteket/Ncaa, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/28788>.

One of these proposed walks could have been directed towards the Wahrendorff Synagogue and *Talmud Torah*, which all of the Ettlinger children attended. As discussed in chapter three, the traditional afternoon school's particular aspect included a stronger emphasis on Modern Hebrew. It has already been established that two thirds of the Ettlinger children's letters to their parents included Hebrew phrases. Ruth Ettlinger's engagement in her Modern Hebrew studies, furthermore, emphasises its vital role in the family:

Today, I have started to study modern Hebrew with Mr. Brody. It is so fun that I really long for next time. Today I learnt how to tell the time and so on. It is so fun to learn that such modern inventions also exist in Hebrew, like airplane and telephone.⁶⁴⁹

She explored the uses of the language in several letters, writing her name or greeting phrases in Modern Hebrew. Ruth Ettlinger's excitement in languages can also be found in a letter from September 11, 1930 where she demonstrated her new knowledge of English,⁶⁵⁰ while neither of her siblings expressed such joy. The enthusiasm for Modern Hebrew found in the above letter was, therefore, partly an individual characteristic, but nevertheless shows the importance of Modern Hebrew, as well as the *Talmud Torah*, in the children's Jewish life. When interviewed for a Swedish-Jewish cook book, Karl-Magnus Bensow, furthermore, remembered that the attendance of Friday classes at the religious afternoon school 'increased the solemn and peaceful feeling of sabbath,'⁶⁵¹ thus emphasising the school's wider importance for Jewish practices.

Camilla and Ruth Ettlinger's weekdays were spent at the prestigious school *Sofi Almquist* until it closed in 1936. The school provided small classes and new, individualised pedagogic methods, teaching English as a second language, as well as handicrafts and gymnastics. Bertil and Kurt Strauss attended the local *Högre Allmänna Läroverket på Östermalm* (Higher Public Secondary School on Östermalm), but the younger boy was also curiously enrolled in the girl's school *Margaretaskolan* (The School of Margareta) in 1928. The school had a strong Christian and temperance movement profile, and prepared girls for a profession within the restaurant sector.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹ Letter from Ruth Ettlinger, January 25, 1934 (X), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁵⁰ Letter from Ruth Ettlinger, September 11, 1930 (V), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶⁵¹ Eva Fried, Marina Burstein, and Chaja Edelman, *Judisk mat i svenskt kök: Mat, minnen och tradition* (Stockholm: Hilleförlaget, 2003), 124.

⁶⁵² For more information about the creation and running of the school, see: Ewonne Winblad, *Frälst, förmögen, förskingrad: Historien om Hanna Lindmark och Margaretaskolan* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2007).

Perhaps a boy's class existed, but the school's association with Christian and temperance movements still determine the parent's choice as Jewishly unorthodox. On the other hand, considering the family's acquisition of Christmas food and literature linked to temperance movements and church art, Kurt Strauss' one year at *Margaretaskolan* was not completely out of line.

The attendance of synagogues and schools was, as has been shown, motivated by personal ideals of what traditions and rituals to perform – or not perform – as a Jew. The cultural and religious background of one's family clearly influenced the decision, which has been particularly obvious in the examples of the children, but personal preferences did also change, as the example of Sara Cohen shows. The example of Henry Blideman, furthermore, hints at the role of social status in his family's decision to not attend the Reform Wahrendorff synagogue. The shape of movements to one's chosen sacred – or non-sacred – site was, indeed, largely informed by wealth. It determined which area one could afford to live in,⁶⁵³ and thus decided the starting point of city excursions.

In this Stockholm setting, Jews moved – walked or took the tram – across the city to get from their home, which symbolised their social status, to their chosen sacred place, which symbolised their religious identification. The individual walks to synagogues and religious schools examined in this section are, therefore, just a few examples of the spatial plurality that clearly existed in Stockholm. Jews moved across the urban landscape in individual patterns, creating individual sacred spaces, to get to their preferred religious institution, influenced, but not captive, by their cultural and religious upbringing. The urban spaces related to each sacred place were, therefore, multiple and fragmented, regulated largely by wealth.

4.3.2 The *Kosher* Shop: Personalised Public Rituals

The innovative, individual quality of these personal walks becomes visible when this chapter 'walks' to its next location: a *kosher* shop. Together with, among others, Hirsch Nissalowitz and Josef Katz, Jacob Ettlinger served as *Adat Jisrael*'s representative on June 25, 1926, signing a contract for the slaughter and sale of *kosher* meat with the non-Jewish butcher shop *Carl Larssons slakteri AB* (Carl Larsson's Butchery Inc.).⁶⁵⁴ Figures 50 and 51 portray the butcher's increase of shops during the 1920s, confirming its successful status in the city. The contract stated that the

⁶⁵³ Although apartments for less affluent families existed throughout all of Stockholm, the new apartment buildings in the 1920s-30s saw the increased gentrification of areas such as *Norrmalm* and *Östermalm*.

⁶⁵⁴ Contract from June 25, 1926, SE/RA/720483/5/3, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Mosaic Congregation's chief rabbi would have to approve the butcher and that no sale was allowed on Jewish Holy Days. They were, essentially, transforming the non-Jewish butcher shop into a place where sacred practices were performed; animals were slaughtered and traditional families bought *kosher* meat, both according to the Jewish religious law.



Figure 50. Christmas advertisement for Carl Larsson's butchery, 1920.⁶⁵⁵

Other secular butcher shops had wanted this particular opportunity as well. Debates in the press in 1923 show that *Slakteribolag Stockholm* (Slaughter Company Stockholm) was irritated when the Mosaic Congregation's chief rabbi was given the role to decide which butcheries that got the right to sell *kosher* meat.⁶⁵⁶ The City's Municipality even had to intervene and re-emphasise the Mosaic Congregation's right in the matter.⁶⁵⁷ The Jewish slaughter company *Rituella slakteriaktiebolaget* (The Ritual Butchery Inc.) had been created in 1905 by, among others, Isidor Bonnier, and Suwalki-born Herman Levin Zacharias, who would sign *Adat Jisrael's* rental agreement for the former cinema 12 years later.⁶⁵⁸ A person appointed by the Mosaic Congregation performed the Jewish ritual slaughter in the city's *Slakthuset* (The Slaughter House) before 9 am in 1912,⁶⁵⁹ suggesting that either the demand for *kosher* meat had increased or the

⁶⁵⁵ Published in *Aftonbladet* (December 20, 1920), RLS. *Kosher* meat is not mentioned.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Judiska slakten en ideel fråga,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 21, 1923), RLS.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Ingen ändring i beslutet om rituell slakt,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (February 3, 1923), RLS.

⁶⁵⁸ 'Slakteri enligt mosaisk ritus,' *Stockholmsstidningen* (May, 8 1905), RLS.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Slakt enligt mosaisk ritual,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 11, 1912), RLS.

former Jewish-owned company was bankrupted. Either way, neither options seemed to remain in 1923, and the gentile *Carl Larssons slakteri AB* was employed by the Mosaic Congregation, via *Adat Jisrael* – once again showing their collaborative forces.



Figure 51. Christmas advertisement for Carl Larsson's butchery, 1927.⁶⁶⁰

The *kosher* shop was located on *Regeringsgatan* (Government Street) 40 in the city centre, see figure 52, an eight minutes' walk from the Wahrendorff synagogue and two kilometres from *Adat Jisrael*. When asked what made his family Jewish, Henry Blideman listed synagogue attendance and *kosher* food. He remembered walking with his father Reuven Blideman once a week from their home on *Kungsholmen* in order to buy meat at the butcher shop. The walk would have taken some 20 minutes, taking them past the Central Station and *Nordiska Kompaniet*. They usually bought sausages and cold cuts. Henry Blideman explained how Swedish boys called him antisemitic, derogatory names out on the street, and reminisced on one such occasion when his father arrived home with a bag from the *kosher* shop. Hearing the insults, Reuven Blideman grew angry and threw the bag after the boys, only to go and pick it up again with, according to his son, 'shame in his eyes.'⁶⁶¹ Sara Cohen similarly told the story of walking the half an hour from her home on *Södermalm* to the *kosher* shop. She and her mother bought Mortadella sausages, and on the way home they purchased plain buns from a bakery on the same street. They formed a

⁶⁶⁰ Published in *Svenska Dagbladet* (December 21, 1927), RLS. *Kosher* meat is not mentioned.

⁶⁶¹ Blideman (October 21, 2014).

sandwich from one sliced bun and some sausage, eating it on the way home. This became their personal ritual, linked to the procurement of *kosher* meat – necessary because of their Jewishness and possible because of their walk through the city centre.⁶⁶²



Figure 52. *Regeringsgatan 40*, 1880-1920.⁶⁶³

This butcher shop, which Jacob Ettlinger helped to establish, was evidently important for the continuation of Jewish traditions in Stockholm before the abolition of ritual slaughter in 1937. It allowed families to prepare *kosher* meals at home, and as Henry Blideman expressed, this was one of two vital components shaping his family's identity as traditional Jews. In his example, the memory of the shop was linked to antisemitic slanders, of him not belonging to the Swedish

⁶⁶² Cohen (January 13, 2015).

⁶⁶³ Anton Blomberg, 'Hörnet Regeringsgatan 40, t.v. Smålandsgatan 32, t.h.,' (1908-1920), C 3393, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: < www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/7057 >.

streetscape, and of his father's powerlessness. In the second example, Sara Cohen's mother created a ritual known only to her family, making the purchasing of *kosher* meat a longed-for activity. Eating the *kosher* meat while walking home became a way of acting out their observant Jewish identity in the streetscape. The walks to and from this butcher shop, therefore, created personal and sacred 'geometric personalities' in Stockholm for Jews keeping *kashrut*. As a comparison, Josef Sachs' experiences of food were not particularly Jewish: he wrote about tarts and breakfasts in cafés, and tram trips to the famous restaurant *Hasselbacken* (The Hazel Hill) on *Djurgården*, all culinary occasions belonging to a *bourgeois*, non-observant individual.⁶⁶⁴

Still, the *kosher* shop became a meeting place for Jews. Palle Granditsky, another interviewee for the Swedish-Jewish cook book published in 2003, remembered that

The meat shop was an important meeting place for Jewish Stockholmers. It was here one could receive the 'latest new' about the community! The Jewish Amateur Theatre Group arranged a number of cabarets every year, and the Congregation's members were invited. There was always at least one number rampantly mocking the things that happened in the meat shop.⁶⁶⁵

He, furthermore, noted that the non-Jewish shop assistants learnt to understand the heavy Swedish spoken by the Jewish customers, emphasising the Jewish belonging to this shop. It united all Jews keeping *kashrut*, no matter which class they belonged to. The butcher shop attracted Jacob Ettlinger's family from northern Stockholm, Henry Blideman's family from the western island, and the family of Sara Cohen from the southern island. These traditional families might have lived about an hour apart from each other, dispersed and decentralised, but the *kosher* shop urged them to cross the geographical and socially metaphysical borders of the city, uniting them in their common interest in keeping the sacred laws of their religion. Its importance for the continuation of Jewish rituals is highlighted by the testimony of Ivar Müller, also interviewed for the cook book. He mentioned that *kashrut* was kept by his Polish-born family as long as the shop existed at *Carl Larssons slakteri AB*.⁶⁶⁶ Before the prohibition laws against *shechita* in 1937, people's desire to keep *kashrut* and practice Jewishness connected the modern north with the

⁶⁶⁴ Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare*, 24–35.

⁶⁶⁵ Fried, Burstein and Edelman, *Judisk mat i svenskt kök*, 272. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 75.

poorer south, thus reducing the importance of one's social status and class belonging for the practice of traditions.

4.3.3 Urban Belonging: Homely Spaces of Entertainment

As an urban centre, Stockholm was not only an arena for sacred practices, but also a platform for movements between various modern institutions and experiences. The modern urban world of Europe, rising up in the 19th century to face its ever-increasing number of inhabitants, opened up new venues of entertainment. Broad streets, promenades, department stores, cafés, pavements, and electric lights – these physical alterations of the cityscape forged the public arena into an easily accessible area for recreational purposes. The entertaining establishments were sites for the consumption of the modern culture: cinemas, amusement parks, department stores, and cafés, and they were individually experienced, determined by each individual's how, who and where.

The adventurous experience of Stockholm's street life was especially vivid for children. Henry Blideman recalled the street as the location for antisemitic name-calling, but he also sledged down the hills of *Kungsklippan* (The King's Rock), skated at the local square, and kissed many girls.⁶⁶⁷ Olof Aschberg performed many boyish pranks in his local district. He played with matches at the local church and waited for his friend to steal food or books from local shops. Like Henry Blideman, the streetscape was also a location for skating and snowball fights.⁶⁶⁸ In an album of collected memories from their time at *Kungsholmens Allmänna Läroverk* (Kungsholmen's Public Grammar School) at the turn of the 20th century, a group of boys recollected similar experiences. They stole apples, skied on the hill slopes of *Kronobergsparken* (The Park of Crown Hill), collected and sold earthworms, and played police and runaway.⁶⁶⁹ Some boys formed local gangs, fighting each other, assaulting people and throwing stones at trams.⁶⁷⁰ Both Henry Blideman and Olof Aschberg remembered the excitement of attending a circus for the first time.⁶⁷¹ The examples of Olof Aschberg and Henry Blideman show that their urban experiences did not largely differ from that of a non-Jewish boy. On the other hand, despite feeling Swedish, Henry Blideman noted that

⁶⁶⁷ Blideman (October 21, 2014).

⁶⁶⁸ Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid*, 13–17

⁶⁶⁹ *Kungsholmen vid sekelskiftet: Minnen från barndomen och skolan* (Stockholm: Kungsholmens läroverks elevförening, 1943), 172, 241, 274.

⁶⁷⁰ John Chrispinsson, *Sekelskiftet: En krönika om sex, makt och pengar* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1999).

⁶⁷¹ Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid*, 17; Blideman (October 21, 2014).

antisemitism was widespread and entering a Jewish place was, as a contrast to the public streetscape, 'pleasant.'⁶⁷²

Boris Beltzikoff and his friends living in *Judehuset* had a less stressful relationship with their non-Jewish neighbours, living in the apartment blocks across the street. He remembered how he and his friends envied the Christmas celebrations, while the non-Jewish neighbours in turn envied the *Pesach* celebrations.⁶⁷³ Charles Kassman, a gentile boy living in the opposite house, described their street life as a vivid soundscape of skipping ropes, tennis balls, bus horns and the brewery horse's metal horseshoes. According to him, the Jews from *Judehuset* kept to their own courtyard, not engaging with the other gentile children living in the neighbourhood.⁶⁷⁴ Sara Cohen's experience was similar. While her mother met up with Jewish friends, she played with their children in sandboxes. Her adventures on the street were solely experienced through the Jewish network she belonged to.⁶⁷⁵ While Henry Blideman and Olof Aschberg merged into the Swedish experience of local groups enjoying the adventure and fun of the urban setting, Boris Beltzikoff's urban setting and Sara Cohen's social circle ensured that they engaged with the modern world through Jewish acquaintances.

Josef Sachs' *bourgeois* childhood in Stockholm naturally differed from those of Henry Blideman, Olof Aschberg, Boris Beltzikoff and Sara Cohen. His account of the first 15 or so years in Stockholm includes visits to cafés and restaurants. Josef Sachs enjoyed the culinary entertainment developing in the modern city; he, for example, ate French bread and cheese at the local restaurant for breakfast after a twenty minute walk to the school on *Södermalm*.⁶⁷⁶ He, moreover, explained in his autobiography how he courted his future Jewish wife Sigrid Fränckel on the newly constructed waterfront esplanade *Strandvägen*:

I had found out that she from time to time walked on *Strandvägen* in the afternoons, and because of this I sometimes took some time off to cycle back and forth besides the promenade hoping to meet her – just by chance. One day I did meet her and was about to say hello when my trousers were caught in the pedals, and the wheel gear and were

⁶⁷² Blideman (October 21, 2014).

⁶⁷³ Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka*, 25.

⁶⁷⁴ Charles Kassman, *Leva i Kristallen: Ett barnrikekvarter på Söder* (Stockholm: Tidens förlag, 1987), 15–16.

⁶⁷⁵ Cohen (January 13, 2015).

⁶⁷⁶ Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare*, 24–35.

torn from right below the knee. I barely need to tell you that I peddled away at highest speed with sunken hopes and shame from having made a fool of myself.⁶⁷⁷

His humorous depiction invites the reader to Stockholm's street where the unexpected could happen. Still, the encounter with Sigrid Fränckel was not coincidence, but planned. Although the autobiography does not divulge who informed Josef Sachs about Sigrid Fränckel's fondness for walking on this particular road, it could perhaps be argued that this person would come from within the Jewish community. If so, Josef Sachs' experience of the new waterfront esplanade and the urban cycling trip was situated within the social framework of the Jewish community.

The city was a place for friendship, social games, entertainment, enjoyment, culinary experiences, danger and delight, and just like Josef Sachs, Sara Cohen and Boris Beltzikoff, other individuals experienced it through their Jewish family and acquaintances. While Josef Sachs hoped to say hello to his future wife, Camilla Ettlinger described the events of her final days of freedom just before school started in the autumn of 1930:

We went to the amusement park and went on the roller coaster until the world was spinning, and we watched the Cossacks and the dwarves that played 'Snow White.'⁶⁷⁸

The amusement park she referred to is *Gröna Lund* (Green Grove), located on *Djurgården* in the eastern part of Stockholm, see figure 53. The speed of this tantalising place is noticeable in Camilla Ettlinger's text. The dizzying movements of the roller coaster disturbed her sense of place, while the formation of the dancing Cossacks provided an entertainment sprung from regularity and rationality. Contemporary sociologist Siegfried Kracauer discussed the mental effects of modern developments, declaring life in a city as a trip on a carousel. Echoing the girl's bodily experience of spinning, he argues that the overflow of stimuli generated from the city and *Gröna Lund* – neon lights, electrical lights, crowds, advertisement signs – made the human spirit run in circles, unmercifully stuck in dizziness.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, 110.

⁶⁷⁸ Letter from Camilla Ettlinger, September 11, 1930 (VI), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁷⁹ Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*, 332; Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life,' 11–19.



Figure 53. The amusement park *Gröna Lund*, 1946.⁶⁸⁰

Camilla Ettlinger's spatial exercises at *Gröna Lund* were thus linked to the mental processes and experiences taking place in urban environments as she experienced the confusion and excitement of the modern city's technologies. Her knowledge of the silent film *Snow White* from 1916 shows that movements around modern institutions, such as the amusement park or a cinema, was a common but exhilarating experience for her. Indeed, Ruth Ettlinger explained to her parents in one of her undated letters that she received her big sister's ticket for a school production of Eugène Marin Labiche's theatrical piece *The Italian Straw Hat*, and that both of them visited the cinema to watch the film *The House of Rothschild*. She looked forward to her parent's return to Stockholm, anticipating they would like it as well.⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, Ruth Ettlinger wrote to her father that 'we went on a car trip with the Liwschütz last Sunday. I am to send their regards.'⁶⁸² The Ettlinger children's modern experience of travelling in cars, enjoying the speed offered by new technology and a change of scenery, was practised together with Jewish acquaintances. Just

⁶⁸⁰ Lennart af Petersens, 'Gröna Lunds Tivoli. Entrén vid Allmänna Gränd,' (1946), F 43486, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/14401>.

⁶⁸¹ Undated letter from Ruth Ettlinger (XVIII), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁶⁸² Undated letter from Ruth Ettlinger (I), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

like Boris Beltzikoff, Sara Cohen and Josef Sachs, Camilla and Ruth Ettlinger seemingly experienced the city's modern distractions in the presence of their Jewish social network.

Jews in Stockholm not only experienced the modern institutions – they also created them. Olof Aschberg bought plots in Stockholm's suburbs *Brännkyrka* and *Gröndal* in order to build villa districts. He developed the tram infrastructure from these suburbs to the heart of *Södermalm*, connecting the inhabitants to the city centre via a journey with modern technology.⁶⁸³ Josef Sachs constructed Sweden's first department store *Nordiska Kompaniet*. It was known as a palace of dreams and 'the hub in the everyday life of the metropolitan inhabitant,' where the working-class could for the first time look at exclusive articles presented behind glass, and women could move freely without a chaperone.⁶⁸⁴ The department store also changed the urban scenery: the pathway outside was widened, its windows were filled with exotic goods and electric lights, and the newest technology exhibited on the inside – it was the first store in Sweden to have escalators – invited every inhabitant to test and share the modern wonders of the world.

Shopping, not only in the department store but also in other stores, became an indulgent pleasure. On February 22, 1933, Camilla Ettlinger recounted hunting for a present for her mother:

Mother wishes for 1) a lamp 2) a pair of coasters. 1) The lamp is green, made of ceramic, and one day when we saw it in a window mum said that she wished for it and needed a lamp. The price is approximately 35 *kronor* not more than this.⁶⁸⁵

Window-shopping with her mother opened up the world for Camilla Ettlinger, allowing her to plan surprises for her mother's birthday. Indeed, walking the streets of Stockholm, admiring goods in the window displays, reading the advertisement signs, and experiencing the urban crowd, captured in figure 54, the girl participated in a very modern experience. She was drawn to the window displays and inspired to dream about buying the items, the marketing strategies increasing her *Kauflust* (desire to buy):⁶⁸⁶ in this case demonstrated by the ceramic, green vase.

⁶⁸³ Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid*, 30–31.

⁶⁸⁴ Husz, *Drömmars värde*, 98–149, quote from 57. My translation from Swedish.

⁶⁸⁵ Letter from Camilla Ettlinger, February 22, 1933 (VIII), my translation from Swedish; Calculated to approximately £95 in today's currency (2019). See: Edvinsson, *Historical Currency Converter*; Edvinsson, and Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.'

⁶⁸⁶ Paul Lerner, *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 5.



Figure 54. *Hamngatan* (Port Street), 1915-1920.⁶⁸⁷

Constructing her *bourgeois* home, Irene Strauss frequently visited shops in Stockholm's city centre. Out of the household's 406 receipts with addresses from 1905 to 1939, she signed or ordered 21.2 per cent (86 receipts). There are several other receipts that can be linked to Irene Strauss, such as many purchases of clothes, but since they do not have the name of the buyer on the receipt, they are not included in this calculation or the following analysis. Irene Strauss' preparation for their first home on *Kungsgatan* 3 is visible in table 15. Most purchases took place in 1917, and most of them were linked to the preparation of the new home. She bought practical kitchen and cleaning utensils – frying pans, knives, cutlery, a chamber pot, mattresses and a domestic iron – as well as glassware and luxurious soap. Decorations like flower pots, table cloths, foot stalls and green silk curtains for the men's room were acquired. Julius Strauss signed the purchases with the higher costs, such as silverware and the new washbasin. The family moved a year later to *Nybrogatan* 40, until settling on *Jungfrugatan* 6 in late 1919. Most of Irene Strauss'

⁶⁸⁷ 'Hamngatan österut från Hamngatsbacken,' (1915-1920), SSMD001348, *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/25001>.

purchases in the 1920s were related to clothes. She paid for the repair of shoes and skirts, and remodelled hats and dresses. Lavish items were also purchased, such as furs, new suits for Julius Strauss, sailor caps for their boys, and a blue silk dress right before New Year's Eve in 1918.

Table 15. Irene Strauss' most commonly bought items, 1905-1928.⁶⁸⁸

Year	Items	Receipts
1905	House	1
1917	House	20
1918	House	11
1919	Clothes	5
1920	House	8
1921	Mix	4
1922	House	1
1923	Clothes	3
1924	Clothes	11
1925	Clothes	4
1926	Clothes	5
1927	House	4
1928	Mix	4
Total		81

⁶⁸⁸ Based on receipts from Volume 46: Strauss, The Varia Collection, SCMA.



Figure 55. Irene Strauss' shopping activities, in years.⁶⁸⁹

Figure 55 depicts the position of the shops visited by Irene Strauss in relation to her three different homes between 1917 and 1928. For her first home on *Kungsgatan 3*, she purchased items from locations all over the city centre. The shops visited in the northern part of Stockholm during this year were boutiques for home decoration and clothes, while *Åkerholmska bosättningsbolaget AB* (The Åkerholmian Settlement Company Inc.) located in *Östermalm* specialised in the wide range of items needed for the arrangement of a new, *bourgeois* home. Irene Strauss bought most of her kitchen utensils and glassware from this company. Her ventures beyond the commercial city centre were, therefore, related to the exhilarating experience of shopping for luxury items, and the specific practice of creating her very first home. The spatial pattern of shopping in the following years established itself between the homes on *Östermalm* and Julius Strauss' offices. The commercial city centre was, of course, still a popular destination. As seen in table 16, *AB Sidenhuset* (Inc. The Silk House), *AB M. Bendix barnkläder* (Inc. M. Bendix Children's Clothes), and *Nordiska Kompaniet* – the last two establishments were owned by Jews – were some of the shops most regularly visited by Irene Strauss. Since the department store has been conceptualised as an '*ersatz* church' and '*secular temple*,'⁶⁹⁰ one could speculate that it offered her not only the possibility to experience a material dream world and outdoor activities as a woman, but also a way of redirecting and reviving the family's waning religious traditions.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

⁶⁹⁰ Lerner, *The Consuming Temple*, 7.

Table 16. Irene Strauss' most visited shops, 1905-1928.⁶⁹¹

Store	Items	Receipts
<i>AB Sidenhuset</i>	Clothes	12
<i>Axel Ekman tapetserare och dekoratör</i>	Home decoration	10
<i>AB M. Bendix barnkläder</i>	Clothes	6
<i>Åkerholmska bosättningsbolaget AB</i>	Kitchen utensils	6
<i>Nordiska Kompaniet</i>	Clothes/food	5
<i>Brising & Fagerström</i>	Kitchen utensils	5
<i>AB Berglund's Tvätt</i>	Cleaning	5
<i>AB Julius Slöör Järnaffär</i>	Kitchen utensils	5
<i>P. U. Bergström</i>	Clothes	2
Total		56

Figure 56. Irene Strauss' shopping activities, in items.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹¹ Based on receipts from Volume 46: Strauss, The Varia Collection, SCMA.

⁶⁹² Ibid; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

The shops visited by Irene Strauss in the local vicinity were, as seen in figure 56, mostly related to household chores. Local cleaners, such as *AB Berglunds tvätt* (Inc. Berglund's Laundry), were asked to clean rugs and clothes, and nearby carpenters were employed to repair, paint or construct furniture. *Axel Ekman tapetserare och decorator* (Axel Ekman upholsterer and decorator) cleaned and assembled all curtains in the household twice every year. Since the *bourgeois* home was specifically supposed to counter the noise and dirt of the city with the perfumed, flowered and clean scents of the home,⁶⁹³ the employment of local cleaners shows that she embraced this *bourgeois* ideal. The acquisition or repair of clothes was entrusted to the larger stores in the city centre. Lastly, the receipts related to food only portray particular and luxurious purchases, not the weekly shopping list. While this chapter has already noticed Julius Strauss' purchase of strawberry marmalade, cigars and alcohol, Irene Strauss sometimes bought eggs from the square market on *Hötorget* (Hay Market) in the city centre. Finding local culinary specialties, they both walked to these specific places several times to acquire their favourite luxury foods.

Irene Strauss' relationship with the urban landscape was, clearly, linked to her position as a *bourgeois* housewife. Table 17 shows that her shopping habits were largely based around the household, specifically its everyday chores. As both maps above have clarified, the immediate neighbourhood in her urban district offered facilities for these activities, while the lure and excitement of the department store, urban markets and well-established shops in the city centre functioned as sites for the acquisition of clothes and refined products. Contrary to the example of Jacob Ettlinger, none of her shop visits were related to her Jewish identity. Shops in the vicinity of sacred places on *Södermalm* and *Kungsholmen* were not visited, and the stores in the city centre were not associated with the Wahrendorff Synagogue, although some establishments were owned by Jews. In a letter to her husband, Jeannette Ettlinger mentioned that she met the chief rabbi's wife in *Nordiska Kompaniet*.⁶⁹⁴ For her, the modern temple became an extended site for communal relationships in the public arena. The receipts from the Strauss family do not provide any information about social networks related to her shopping activities, and the receipts signed by her or her husband cannot be linked to a specific Jewish practice or person. The Strauss family instead aimed to adopt the local, Christian and *bourgeois* cultures.

⁶⁹³ Salmi, *19th Century Europe*, 75.

⁶⁹⁴ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, September 10, 1930, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Table 17. Distribution of items bought by Irene Strauss, 1905-1928.⁶⁹⁵

Items	Receipts
Clothes	31
Food	6
House	49
<i>Cleaning</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Home decoration</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Kitchen utensils</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Furniture</i>	<i>3</i>
Total	86

The distribution of purchases between the Strauss couple, finally, informs on their internal relationship. Figure 57 locates Irene Strauss' shopping pattern in relation to the cost of each purchase. 83.7 per cent of all her purchases were located within the first range, 0-100 *kronor*. The greater sums involved the procurement of larger quantities of food from *Nordiska Kompaniet*, like the Christmas dinner mentioned earlier, and big orders of clothes. 86.3 per cent of Julius Strauss' purchases were located within the same range. Although his largest purchases were more expensive than those of Irene Strauss, the majority of them were linked to clothes or the purchase of a boat. Furthermore, 52.0 per cent (211 of 406) of all receipts were signed or ordered by him, while 21.7 per cent (88) had no designated buyer. While some of these receipts dealt with boat transportations to their summer house and the importation of wine, most were related to clothes. While 36.0 per cent of Irene Strauss' receipts concerned clothes, only 18.5 per cent of Julius Strauss' did, arguing that most of those unnamed receipts belonged to her. If so, the difference in numbers of receipts accumulated by each of them decreased, making their level of purchases more even. It thus seems that Julius Strauss' early responsibility for larger purchases diminished. The couple rather divided their household purchases between them, Julius Strauss focusing on entertainment, while Irene Strauss was responsible for everyday chores. Her urban movements were thus intrinsically linked to her private home, aligning to the idea that the

⁶⁹⁵ Based on receipts from Volume 46: Strauss, The Varia Collection, SCMA.

decoration of the domestic sphere was an extension of her self-adornment,⁶⁹⁶ making the home a representation of herself. The shops visited aided the outlook of both the physical home and her family's wardrobe, and the act of buying these in both her urban neighbourhood and the department stores confirmed her social status as a *bourgeois* housewife.



Figure 57. Irene Strauss' shopping practices, in *kronor*.⁶⁹⁷

This section has shown that the Jewish experience of finding 'at-homeness' in the streetscape was governed by similar principles but practiced in varied formations. The common thread has been the overriding role of wealth and social status. While individuals chose to attend synagogues and religious schools that appealed to their sense of Jewishness, these sacred places were not determined by their geographical vicinity. Walking long distances for *shabbat* services was not an issue, and the location of one's chosen sacred site did not prompt residential relocations. Instead, the local neighbourhood seems to have been more important for Jewish urban belonging. Affording the rent of large, modern flats in *Östermalm*, the families of Ettlinger and Strauss were situated in an urban district that corresponded to their social status. The Bliedeman family similarly felt at home on *Kungsholmen*, despite the location of Jewish acquaintances on *Södermalm*. The city offered, instead, a walkable streetscape, crossed and re-crossed in multiple patterns by Jewish individuals as they moved towards their chosen sacred sites. As seen in the

⁶⁹⁶ Grier, 'The Blending and Confusion,' 97.

⁶⁹⁷ Based on receipts from Volume 46: Strauss, The Varia Collection, SCMA; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

example of the *kosher* shop, these spaces also held different meanings depending on the individual experience of the streetscape. The topography of Jewish space in the city was thus clearly fragmented, representing the important role of the individual relationship with the urban milieu for the Jewish practice of home-making.

A Jewish individual's intimacy with their urban district similarly influenced the experience of the adventurous and entertaining qualities of the street. Although gender, social status and class belonging were equally influential factors, the different examples of Henry Blideman, Olof Aschberg and Boris Beltzikoff argue that the latter's divorce from the non-Jewish environment was largely due to his urban setting. In a less Jewish setting, the two former boys were more prone to playing with non-Jewish children in the streetscape, although the experience did not always produce happy memories. The majority of modern movements were, furthermore, performed in the presence of Jewish acquaintances. The potency of this aspect is partly due to many of the individuals in question being children, but the link between the modern, urban experience and Jewishness is still present in the adult world. Jeannette Ettlinger's visit to *Nordiska Kompaniet* was associated with her larger Jewish social network. Sara Cohen's mother friends were all Jewish. Henry Blideman's family rarely socialised with non-Jewish neighbours. Boris Beltzikoff's family had, more or less, only Jewish neighbours. Even the courting of *bourgeois*, non-observant Josef Sachs' future wife was potentially determined by his Jewish social network. On the other hand, the Strauss family's urban life was separated from the sacred institutions of the Jewish community. As members of the Mosaic Congregation, Julius and Irene Strauss did not reject their Jewishness but rather redefined it. Like Olof Aschberg and Josef Sachs, their Jewishness was not linked to religious aspects, thus deriving their urban movements of sacred connotations.

4.4 The National Home: The Performance of Swedish-Jewish Compatibility

Jewish practices of belonging to national landscapes constitute the last 'home' to be investigated in this chapter. This section reaches beyond the city's streetscape, into the tranquillity and silence of Swedish nature or the busy border checks at European travel centres. It will examine the Jewish urbanite's relationship with national cultures through two case studies; the first is the adoption of the Swedish contemporary trend of procuring summerhouses in the archipelago or the countryside, while the second case study focuses on international trips and residential relocations. In alignment with the theoretical discussion on the modern, national identity in the

introductory chapter, the definition of national space should not be viewed as a static, stereotypical image, but rather the spatial product of an individual's understanding of and engagement with the nation in question.⁶⁹⁸ These two variations of national spaces were Jewish strategies of Swedish and diasporic 'at-homeness,' communally practiced but performed in different ways, all according to the socio-political context, economic opportunities and individual agency of each practitioner.

4.4.1 The Summer House: Jewish Homes in the Rural Landscape

The natural landscape is not only a physical container of human populations, but 'an ideological concept'⁶⁹⁹ of power, constructed in people's minds.⁷⁰⁰ As Simon Schama writes, the 'national identity would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated and enriched as a homeland.'⁷⁰¹ In the example of modern Sweden, contemporary intellectuals emphasised the human relationship with the rural landscape as natural and moral at the beginning of the 19th century. It was argued that ancient settlers in the Swedish nation had lived in harmony with the shifting seasons of nature, and the modern, national identity was thus formed around the re-establishment of the rural home.⁷⁰² Counties with specific natural and historical elements, such as the mountains and woods of *Norrland* and the historically autonomous people of *Dalarna*, also formed the new image of Sweden.⁷⁰³ Contrary to the chaotic city, artists stressed the continuity of the past in the mundane life of a peasant, with Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson painting Utopian, folk-infused peasant rituals firmly located in the Swedish landscape.⁷⁰⁴ The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century likewise saw the rise of the collective interest in performing cultural activities linked

⁶⁹⁸ See, for example: Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm, 'Introduction.'

⁶⁹⁹ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 15.

⁷⁰⁰ See, for example: Stephen Daniels, and Denis Cosgrove, 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape,' in *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. Denis Cosgrove, and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1–2; Robert David Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought* (London: Macmillan Press, 1980), 4; Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye,' in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D. W. Meinig (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 89.

⁷⁰¹ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 15.

⁷⁰² Hall, *Den svenskaste historien*, 83–93.

⁷⁰³ Ibid, 220–223.

⁷⁰⁴ Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1998), 47–59.

to the Swedish landscape, such as the folk dance and the outdoor museum *Skansen*.⁷⁰⁵ The Dalecarlian home became the epitome for the National Romantic architectural style emphasising the original, rooted and unspoilt elements of the Swedish national identity at the end of the 19th century, increasing the construction of, for example, red-painted houses with white porch baluster railings.⁷⁰⁶

The fascination with the wild nature was paradoxically cultivated through the landscape's transformation into a commodity. The railway tracks of industrialisation cut through the nature in straight lines, and walking paths were constructed, both of which allowed the modern inhabitant to experience nature in disciplined ways.⁷⁰⁷ Likewise, Stockholm's *bourgeoisie* and wealthy merchants started constructing summer residences near the sea of *Mälaren* towards the end of the 18th century. Not only spas and restaurants were located further out in the archipelago in the middle of the 19th century, but also summer villas with large porches and balconies, often built on hills or next to the waterfront to enjoy the view. Leased apartments or houses in the inner archipelago increased from 61 in 1875 to 151 in 1885, and another 3,500 summer residents were added between 1905 and 1915.⁷⁰⁸ The longing for the socially empty countryside and an intimacy with nature developed from the *bourgeoisie*'s desire to counterweight the heavy etiquette in the public, urban milieu.⁷⁰⁹ The summerhouses could thus offer temporary freedom. Sport and leisure cabins, and urban allotment gardens with small cabins, were also introduced for people with less economic means in the 1910s,⁷¹⁰ providing new and innovative ways for the middle-class to engage with the Swedish nature. The Jewish desire to position oneself in the Swedish landscape, and enjoy the tranquillity and beauty of the archipelago or the countryside, was clearly an adoption of a larger national trend. It was, moreover, part of a larger European-Jewish strategy to use the rural landscapes of new nations to settle and find national belonging.⁷¹¹

Josef Sachs bought the villa *Lillsved* on the peninsula *Värmdö* in 1905 because of its serenity and beauty. He constructed a greenhouse for orchids, grew succulent peaches, and bred geese and

⁷⁰⁵ Sandberg, 'Effigy and Narrative,' 320–361; Eva Helen Ulvroos, *Dansens och tidens virvlar: Om dans och lek i Sveriges historia* (Lund: Historisk media, 2004).

⁷⁰⁶ Johan Knutsson, *I 'hemtrefnadens' tid: Allmoge, nationalromantik och konstnärligt nyskapande i arkitektur, möbler och inredningar, 1890-1930* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museets förlag, 2010), 57–134, 175–196.

⁷⁰⁷ Frykman, and Löfgren, *Den kultiverade människan*, 52–56.

⁷⁰⁸ Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer, *Sommarnöjet i skärgården: sommarbebyggelse i Stockholms inre skärgård, 1860-1915* (Borås: Centraltryckeriet, 1987), 106.

⁷⁰⁹ Salmi, *19th Century Europe*, 75–76.

⁷¹⁰ Pihl Atmer, *Sommarnöjet i skärgården*, 455.

⁷¹¹ Hanno Loewy, and Gerhard Milchram, eds., *Hast du meine Alpen gesehen?: Eine jüdische Beziehungsgeschichte* (Munich: Bucher, 2009).

poultry. The children learnt how to ride, and the son Herbert Sachs competed in horse jumping at the London Olympics in 1934. *Lillsved* was described by Josef Sachs as an idyllic place for engaging with nature, animals and sports. The Sachs family resided in the villa all year round, and Josef Sachs bought a racing boat with which he commuted into the city centre. They travelled by sledge to attend the Christmas day mass in a nearby church.⁷¹² The Sachs family's home in the archipelago became a place in which physical activities connected them to Sweden, such as competing for the Swedish horse jumping team and attending church. To position himself in, and even transform, the Swedish landscape, was thus a strategy used by Josef Sachs to connect to the national identity.

Remembering the magic of his adolescent Saturday party nights in the Stockholm archipelago, Olof Aschberg wrote that 'the moonlight and heart-throb' was turned into 'the seriousness' of the city when summer ended,⁷¹³ thus adopting the patriotic narrative. He, however, celebrated his *bar mitzvah* in the Swedish countryside, proclaiming his Jewish identity in a place linked to Sweden's nature, thereby merging the national element with Jewish traditions.⁷¹⁴ These two elements were considered by Olof Aschberg to be compatible, just as they were at the Swedish-Jewish elite funerals visited in chapter two.

Camilla Ettlinger also articulated her belonging to the Swedish nation in three of her letters. In a letter sent from their summer residence on *Skarpö*, an island in Stockholm's archipelago, she wrote:

We are perfectly fine out here. We move back on Tuesday with the 7.40 am boat and school starts at 3 pm. We have picked all the apples and wrapped them in newspaper and stowed them in 8 big wooden boxes. We have had so many apples this year, but both Söderberg and Mrs Ericson [say], that if we should let them hang, children will nick them and ruin the trees. We also have plums and pears.⁷¹⁵

The description paints the experience of a typical Swedish summer in homely terms. Camilla Ettlinger recognised that the apple harvest was exceptionally great that year, undoubtedly

⁷¹² Sachs, *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare*, 116–122.

⁷¹³ Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid*, 21.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid*, 18.

⁷¹⁵ Letter from Camilla Ettlinger, August 31, 1930 (IV), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

because she had experienced previous harvests on the island, and the names of the neighbours were shared knowledge between her and Jacob Ettlinger. Jeannette Ettlinger similarly described the children's happiness after long hours of play in the water.⁷¹⁶ The social bond among those living on *Skarpö* is further emphasised by a letter arriving to Jacob Ettlinger on May 16, 1933, in which he was invited to contribute to the *Skarpö* community's gift to the Erdman couple upon their golden wedding anniversary.⁷¹⁷ *Skarpö* was indeed one of the most exploited islands in Stockholm's archipelago at the beginning of the 20th century. It had a unified association for both permanent and summer residents which built harbours and piers for all to use,⁷¹⁸ showcasing its interlinked, communal tendencies. As other Jewish families relocated themselves to *Skarpö* during the summer, a *minyan* could be uphold throughout the summer, and the Ettlinger family brought *kosher* meat needed for each week with the boat.⁷¹⁹ Just like Olof Aschberg, the socio-religious notions of their Jewishness and the national practice of archipelagic home-making co-existed.

By making themselves at home in the archipelago, the Ettlinger family indeed rooted themselves in Stockholm's version of rural life. Compared to their home in urban *Östermalm*, life was slower and linked to the surrounding nature, revolving around stowing apples, preparing the garden for the winter, going for swims, and socialising with neighbours. The movements Camilla Ettlinger performed on the island portrayed her attachment to Sweden, and this was further developed in the following passage from another letter: 'It has started to be bleak and cold up here in High North, and we have got longstockings.'⁷²⁰ The expression 'High North' is a poor translation of the phrase *Högan Nord*, a Swedish saying not only referring to the nation's geographical position in Europe but also describing the country as 'high' and mighty. The slogan is, for example, included in the form 'mountain-high North' in the first line of the Swedish national song *Du gamla, du fria* (Thou Old, Thou Freeborn), written in 1844. Camilla Ettlinger was thus describing her home in the world with a metonymy closely linked to not only the Swedish national identity, but also the country's geographical outlook and location. She echoed the social and educational contemporary streams of the 1930s, grounding herself in the spatial ideology of Swedish romanticism and clearly proclaiming her belonging to Sweden.

The Strauss family, similarly, rented one of the smaller summer cabins at *Velamsunds gård* (Farm of Velamsund) in *Nacka*, east of *Södermalm*, from 1918 and onwards. They travelled and

⁷¹⁶ Letter from Jeannette Ettlinger to Jacob Ettlinger, August 17, 1930, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷¹⁷ Telegram from May 16, 1933, SE/RA/720483/3/2, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷¹⁸ Pihl Atmer, *Sommarnöjet i skärgården*, 207-208.

⁷¹⁹ Hollander (November 8, 2017).

⁷²⁰ Letter from Camilla Ettlinger, September 11, 1930 (VI), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

transported clothes and some smaller furniture with the local shipping company from central Stockholm in June, returning in September. They bought food from the farm during their stay, and a local cleaner was hired at the end of each summer to clean the cabin. These practices were also common features for Stockholm residents moving out into the archipelago for the summer. The summers were spent on gardening, swimming, walking, cycling, picking berries or mushrooms, sailing, croquet playing, or angling.⁷²¹ Julius Strauss bought fishing rods in 1917 and a sports magazine, also showing his interest in physically immersing himself in the bodily experience of the Swedish nature. A motor boat was similarly purchased at the end of the 1910s. It was initially stored in the northern suburb *Sundbyberg* during the winter and transported to a location near to their summer cabin in the summer. He, however, became a member of *Kungliga motorbåtklubben* (The Royal Motor Boat Club) in 1928. The boat was located at *Djurgårdsbron* (Bridge of Djurgården) next to the waterfront esplanade *Strandvägen*, a 15 minute walk from their home, with Stockholm's inner archipelago within swift reach. Julius Strauss could use the boat to commute between *Velamsund* and his work in the summer, as many working fathers did. When not in the summer cabin, the family could also enjoy shorter day trips to close-by islands. Owning a boat and renting a summer cabin, the Strauss family, like Josef Sachs, Olof Aschberg and the Ettlinger family, adopted the national trend of finding rural pockets where the beauty, adventure and serenity of the Swedish nature could be enjoyed.

The Jewish middle-classes also strived to connect with the Swedish landscape. The Mosaic Congregation constructed a permanent youth camp on the island *Glämsta*,⁷²² but Jewish families also found personal ways to engage with Stockholm's nature. Henry Blideman, for example, spent summers in the swimming pool *Eriksdalsbadet* (The Bath of *Eriksdal*) on *Södermalm*, and his parents bought a summerhouse with one room and a kitchen in the suburb of *Stureby* sometime in the 1920-1930s.⁷²³ While class belonging obviously enhanced or limited how far one could engage with the Swedish rural landscape, these individuals all created personal bonds with the countryside or the archipelago. Locating oneself in places associated with the tranquillity and beauty of the Swedish nature, and attempting to live connected to the stillness it offered throughout the summer, if not the whole year, allowed Stockholm's Jews to integrate in Swedish culture and customs without compromising their Jewishness. Although Josef Sachs and his family adopted Swedish religious customs, Olof Aschberg celebrated his *bar mitzvah* in the Swedish

⁷²¹ Pihl Atmer, *Sommarnöjet i skärgården*, 249–250.

⁷²² Mattias Grosin and Urban Orzolek, *Barnens judiska Ö: Glämsta sommarkoloni 100 år* (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2009).

⁷²³ Blideman (October 21, 2014).

countryside rather than in the synagogue, and the Ettlingers created a *minyán* on *Skarpö*, thus strategically mixing the two elements.

The procurement of temporary or permanent summer houses portray a collective desire to bodily engage with the Swedish landscape. Picking apples, driving boats, horse-back riding, or gardening were only some of the physical chores they could perform in Stockholm's archipelago or the suburban countryside. In doing this, they adopted their version of the rooted practice associated with the simplicity of rural life. Their practices signalled to their surroundings that they understood and appreciated the modern Swedish national identity. The rural community's letter to Jacob Ettlinger suggests his family's success at integrating themselves into the social network on *Skarpö*. There is some evidence that Jewish families or friends acquired or rented summer houses in close vicinity of each other, but it does not seem to have been a generalised practice. Although practiced collectively, the summer house was a familial and individual business, designed to locate one's immediate family physically and metaphysically closer to Sweden's nature. After a brief escape in the Swedish landscape, far away from the buzz of the city, the Ettlinger, Strauss and Blideman families thus individually returned from their personal immersions into the nature to the everyday chores of work and housewifery.

4.4.2 The Diasporic Home: Spaces of Jewishness

International links and travels were, just like work, a natural part of the Stockholmian everyday life of many Jews. Although not analysed in detail, the former chapter showed the importance of migrated religious practices for the continued strength of Jewish religiousness in Stockholm. Jewish diasporas settling in European nations in the 19th and 20th centuries similarly kept relations with their family and friends in the homelands they had left, unsettling the imagined static homogeneity of the national identity. The implications of this internal pressure should, of course, not be underestimated. For example, Jews in Habsburg Austria could not keep their previously functional 'tripartite identity' as the empire fell apart into different nations with new national identities.⁷²⁴ Similarly, Josef Sachs viewed his Jewish identity as incompatible with the Swedish identity.⁷²⁵ Still, many migrating Jews continued the communication with their homeland. As

⁷²⁴ Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity*, 4.

⁷²⁵ His autobiography does not reveal in-depth details of his mundane, everyday life. Instead, it is packed with names of important Swedish figures in commerce and politics, travels to the world and extravagant hobbies: in short, a life of social, cultural and commercial accomplishments. Josef Sachs is not trying to be self-important, indeed, it is only after several people asked for him to write this autobiography that he proceeds to do so: the focus on the successes and perks of his merchant life are needed to emphasise the

mentioned in the introduction, the migration of Eastern European Jews to Sweden in the 1860s was, for example, largely based on chain migration, people choosing to join the individuals who had gone before them and described their new country in the letters they sent back.

By including Jewish global links, studies can investigate Jewish populations beyond the national environment, thus avoiding the problematic emphasis on assimilation and providing the population in question with agency.⁷²⁶ While transnational links have been largely explored in relation to Jewish business networks and geographical border crossing,⁷²⁷ this section will look into how Jewish individuals maintained and constructed their diasporic 'at-homeness' while travelling or residentially relocating, as well as the boundaries of this international belonging. By doing this, the former master-narrative of the nation can be problematised, as has been argued in the latest conceptualisations in mobility and diaspora studies.⁷²⁸ As Roger Waldinger argues, previous studies have focused on a migrant's developed and maintained relationships with either the new territorial nation or the original homeland. To include both perspectives, his solution is to focus on cross-border movements, a concept he terms 'dissimilation'.⁷²⁹ This section's investigation of Swedish-Jewish individual, bodily movements across national borders, and their importance for the continuation and strengthening of the individual's Jewishness, complement the embraced Swedish national identity expressed above.

As described in this chapter's introduction, all individuals had international backgrounds. Henry Blideman's parents were born in Riga and a smaller town close to Königsberg in Germany. The family travelled to Germany twice during his childhood, but he remembers the town as a strange place, and describes the relationship to his cousins living there as distant.⁷³⁰ Sara Cohen's parents

profession's validity. A textual analysis reveals another hidden motive: despite being Jewish and married to a Jew, Josef Sachs never mentions his Jewish background or any sense of Jewishness he might, or might not, have had. By proclaiming his social, cultural and commercial successes, he portrays himself as Swedish, without a Jewish identification.

⁷²⁶ Bernard D. Cooperman, 'Global History and Jewish Studies: Paradoxical Agendas, Contradictory Implications,' *Giornale di Storia* 19 (2015): 15–23.

⁷²⁷ See, for example: Cornelia Aust, *The Jewish Economic Elite*; Cornelia Aust, 'Merchant, Army Supplies, Bankers: Transnational Connections and the Rise of Warsaw's Jewish Mercantile Elite (1770-1820),' In *Warsaw. The Jewish Metropolis: Essays in Honor of the 75th Birthday of Professor Antony Polonsky*, eds. Glenn Dynner, and François Guesnet (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 42–69; Lois Dubin, 'Introduction: Port Jews in the Atlantic World,' *Jewish History* 20 (2006): 117-127; Debra Kaplan, 'Crossing Borders: Safe Conducts and Jews in Early Modern Germany,' *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108, 3 (2018): 316–349; Jonathan D. Sarna, 'Port Jews in the Atlantic: Further Thoughts,' *Jewish History* 20 (2006): 213–219.

⁷²⁸ See, for example, Sarah Panter, Johannes Paulmann, and Margit Szöllösi-Janze, 'Mobility and Biography: Methodological Challenges and Perspectives,' in *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte. European History Yearbook: Band 16, Mobility and Biography*, eds. Johannes Paulmann, Markus Friedrich, and Nick Stargardt (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2015), 9–10.

⁷²⁹ Roger Waldinger, 'A Cross-Border Perspective on Migration: Beyond the Assimilation/Transnationalism Debate,' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, 1 (2017): 9–13.

⁷³⁰ Blideman (October 21, 2014).

came from Pabjanen in Poland, but the family could never afford to go back.⁷³¹ Boris Beltzikoff's parents migrated to Stockholm from Vitebsk. The cooperative-like house they moved into seemed as though it had been

removed from the east and replanted onto the Swedish soil, [housing] a group of people, uprooted from places their forefathers had lived for hundreds of years and where most things were as different as can be from normal Swedish city life.⁷³²

Boris Beltzikoff described his everyday life in *Judehuset* as a replication of Eastern European life, the customs of his homeland lodged into this specific building in Stockholm. The people in the house tirelessly talked about their hometowns, and remembered the Jewish festivals and lively trades in the city square. The mothers cooked the same *kosher* dinners their mothers had cooked, Boris Beltzikoff's grandfather sang prayers in the small prayer house on *Åsögatan*, and the building's lingua franca was Yiddish. They built small huts in the courtyard during *Sukkot*.⁷³³ It was an Eastern European, traditional life in miniature form, a small part of their homeland re-established within the Swedish urban landscape. These three Eastern European families had different strategies on how to deal with the loss of their homeland. While Boris Beltzikoff's family resettled into a life that provided the comfort, stability and 'at-homeness' of their past, Sara Cohen's family was due to economic reasons forced to sever the attachment to their former home. Henry Blideman's family strived, but in his case largely failed, to keep in contact with their German family through yearly trips. Their individual connections to their former national homes faded or persevered, depending on economic stability and residential location in Stockholm.

While Josef Sachs' parents were second-generation Germans, their *bourgeois* status allowed him to travel back to Germany as well as other countries, using the family's Jewish friends and families to enjoy international cultures and learn the commercial trade. Jacob Ettlinger was German by birth, and his relationship with Germany was thus more intimate than that displayed by Josef Sachs. Six of the 19 letters written by his children included greetings to German relatives, and in five of the letters he was addressed as if staying with relatives in Frankfurt am Main. Obviously, Jacob Ettlinger's trips to the German city were not only due to business. The children knew the link between Frankfurt am Main and their extended family, and directed their greetings to their

⁷³¹ Cohen (January 13, 2015).

⁷³² Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka*, 21.

⁷³³ Ibid, 20–25.

grandmother in four of the letters, calling her by the German word *Grossmutter*.⁷³⁴ Ruth Ettlinger also sent her regards to her grandmother's sister: 'When Father comes back, please thank Tante Julie Michael for the stamps.'⁷³⁵ Even though the relative was mentioned by surname, suggesting that they were not acquainted enough for the use of only first names, the fact that these small gifts of stamps were sent over to Sweden indicate a close and familial connection crossing national and geographical borders.

Some ten letters were also written by Jacob Ettlinger's immediate family: his parents Maier and Mathilde Ettlinger, his sisters Recha Horovitz and Frieda Herzenberg, and his brother-in-law Nathan Philip in Denmark. Most of the letters from his father concerned economic investments, while the other letters reveal that the family often talked on the phone and visited each other. Maier Ettlinger's letter from May 21, 1929, attached to his will, emphasised the father's pride in Jacob Ettlinger's aptitude for his job.⁷³⁶ Recha Horovitz fondly addressed one of her letters to *Du schrecklicher Schlamper* (You dreadfully, sloppy person), while Mathilde Ettlinger called him *Dicker* (Fatty).⁷³⁷ Maier Ettlinger scolded his son on December 8, 1929, for not giving him enough news on 'Jeanne and the kids.'⁷³⁸ All these nicknames emphasise the family's closeness, despite the long distances between them. Modern technologies like quick postal deliveries, the telephone and faster travel facilities helped the larger Ettlinger family to stay connected.

Jacob Ettlinger did not only use the modern technologies to visit Germany. Departure and arrival stamps from his and Jeanette's passports used between 1917 and 1933 provide insight into their many European trips, see tables 18 and 19. The red and blue stamps were generally received in places of transit, such as Copenhagen, Sassnitz, Gedser, Helsingör, and Warnemünde. They marked the crossing of a border, and the arrival to new nations. It is somewhat problematic to use the passport stamps in order to define coherent journey patterns – some are unreadable while other journeys seem to lack an arrival or departure stamp. They, furthermore, do not give any information about where the individual visited within the various countries, but, nonetheless, offer an insight into the regularity and pace of the Ettlingers' travels.

⁷³⁴ Letters from Ruth Ettlinger, undated (I), Joseph Ettlinger, undated (II) and Camilla Ettlinger, February 22, 1933 (VIII) and April 19, 1934 (IX), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷³⁵ Undated letter from Ruth Ettlinger (III), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA. My translation from Swedish.

⁷³⁶ Letter from Maier Ettlinger as part of the will, May 21, 1929, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷³⁷ Letter from Recha Horovitz on October 26, 191?, and letter from Mathilde Ettlinger on January 14, 1935, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷³⁸ Letter from Maier Ettlinger on December 8, 1929, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Table 18. Arrival and departure stamps in Jacob Ettlinger's passports, 1914-1933.⁷³⁹

	1914	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	Total
SWE	1	-	4	14	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	3	27
Malmö	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Stock- holm	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	3	9
Trelle- borg	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Helsing- borg	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
DK	1	1	7	17	3	7	7	36	50	32	7	4	1	3	176
Helsing- ör		1	4	1		1	5	11	11	6	2				42
Copen- hagen	1	-	3	14	2	4	2	21	34	20	3	-	-	2	106
Esbjerg	-	-	-	-		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gedser	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	4	4	6	2	4	1	1	26
Pad- borg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
NOR	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	6
Oslo	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

⁷³⁹ Calculated from passport stamps in: Swedish passports no. 13113 (valid Sep 5, 1919-Jan, 1 1921); no. 2664 (Feb 25, 1920-Jan 1, 1921), no. 4099 (April 28, 1926-April 8, 1935). Preussian passport no. 1784 (Nov 2, 1914-Sep 2, 1915), German passports no. 252 (Nov 26, 1917-April 21, 1918), and no. 27 (Jan 29, 1919-Jan 29, 1920). In SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Chapter 4

Kongs- vinger- banen	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	4
FIN	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	2	1	-	2	15
Åbo	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	9
Helsin- ki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
A-H	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vienna	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
GER	3	-	-	4	5	10	5	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	37
Ham- burg	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Warne- münde	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sass- nitz	-	-	-	4	1	9	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	22
Frankfu rt am Main	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Sankt Bod- enbach	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
The UK	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	2	7
Har- wich	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	2	6
London	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
The US	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

New York	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Italy	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Genova -Napoli	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
C-S	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
Eger	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Decin	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Pod-moke	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Odje-co	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Prijezd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
RUS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Izbran-cis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
LAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tur-mont	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
EST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tallinn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	8	1	12	35	8	20	18	51	54	38	14	8	5	10	282

Table 19. Arrival and departure stamps in Jeannette Ettlinger's passport, 1922-1923.⁷⁴⁰

	1922	1923	Total
Denmark	5	2	7
Copenhagen	4	2	6
Gedser	1	-	1
Germany	3	-	3
Warnemünde	2	-	2
Baden-Baden	1	-	1
Total	8	2	10

Table 20. Jacob and Jeannette Ettlinger's yearly trips, 1914-1933.⁷⁴¹

	Jacob Ettlinger	Jeannette Ettlinger
1914	2	-
1915	5	-
1917	1	-
1918	6	-
1919	16	-
1920	10	-
1921	2	-
1922	-	4
1923	-	1

⁷⁴⁰ Calculated from passport stamps in: Swedish passport no. 3102 (valid March 24, 1922-March, 24 1923). In SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴¹ Calculated from passport stamps in: Swedish passports no. 13113 (valid Sep 5, 1919-Jan, 1 1921); no. 2664 (Feb 25, 1920-Jan 1, 1921), no. 3102 (valid March 24, 1922-March, 24 1923), no. 4099 (April 28, 1926-April 8, 1935). Preussian passport no. 1784 (Nov 2, 1914-Sep 2, 1915), German passports no. 252 (Nov 26, 1917-April 21, 1918), and no. 27 (Jan 29, 1919-Jan 29, 1920). In SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

1926	8	-
1927	19	-
1928	24	-
1929	20	-
1930	9	-
1931	6	-
1932	3	-
1933	6	-
Total	137	5

As seen in tables 18 and 19, Copenhagen was by far the most visited city, followed by Helsingör, Gedser and Sassnitz. The ferry lines of last three cities opened up the whole of Europe to the traveller. Jacob Ettlinger's explorations of Europe, most likely for business matters, have curious patterns. Apart from Denmark, Germany was the main area of interest in the 1920s. While he visited the United States in 1921 and Czechoslovakia in 1926, the preference seems to have leaned towards Finland and the United Kingdom in the 1930s. A trip to Eastern Europe was also conducted in 1932. While this thesis has not focused on Jacob Ettlinger's international business network, his travel patterns portray evolving changes in the international focus of his company, allowing him to journey to new areas of Europe. On the other hand, Copenhagen remained the sole destination for many journeys. For example, in 12 of the 24 trips undertaken by Jacob Ettlinger in 1928, Copenhagen was the only reached city, and it was visited in 19 of the 24 trips. Likewise, in the only found passport for Jeanette Ettlinger, she makes four trips in 1922, as seen in table 20, and Copenhagen is visited during all of them. Her Danish family living in Copenhagen explains this geographical preference. Although 1928 was the most travelled year for Jacob Ettlinger, other years also involved several journeys. Curiously, the years of 1931, 1932 and 1933 only show six, three and six trips per year. The existence of the children's letters, as well as Jacob Ettlingers's frequent apologies for slow replies in his professional correspondence sent from Stockholm, suggests these journeys were of a longer nature. He had a large social network of Jewish business men and rabbis across Europe, and his records mainly include correspondence with these individuals on business and religious matters. Some of them must have been acquaintances met or visited during his many European trips.

Jacob Ettlinger was not the only one travelling across Europe. As his children grew up, they visited their relatives in Germany and attended youth camps abroad. Ruth, Joseph and Jeannette Ettlinger were on holiday in Switzerland in 1938, with Jacob Ettlinger asking his business network to provide accommodation for his children on their return trip.⁷⁴² In a letter to his father, Joseph Ettlinger described the fireworks and celebrations of the Swiss National Day on August 1.⁷⁴³ He also visited Brighton in 1939, returning to Sweden as late as September 4, while Europe entered the Second World War.⁷⁴⁴ Because of the war, Ruth and Joseph Ettlinger's yearly trip abroad was instead spent on the Swedish island *Gotland* in June 1940. They were enchanted by the medieval town Visby, the stony beaches and the seaweed in the water. The ferry trip from the Swedish mainland was organised by a certain Kalman, probably a Jewish acquaintance, and the siblings stayed at the expensive City Hotel where *kosher* food was offered.⁷⁴⁵ Similarly to the Jewish social network enveloping the Ettlinger family's experience of the modern, urban world, their national and international journeys were organised and conducted within the safety of their Jewish friends, families and business relations.

Jacob Ettlinger's preserved international links with Germany, as well as his status as Swedish citizen, allowed him to help some of his family members during the Second World War. He procured residential permits for his mother Mathilde Ettlinger and his aunt Rebecka Cohn in 1938, saving them from the persecutions in Nazi Germany.⁷⁴⁶ The application to the Royal Board of Health and Welfare on August 10, 1938, described that 'the circumstances for Jewish believers in Germany makes the move to another country particularly desirable.'⁷⁴⁷ He rented a three-room apartment for his mother and aunt in a building adjacent to his home.⁷⁴⁸ His nephew Erich Diefenbronner lived with the Ettlingers from 1935, and Jacob Ettlinger and the father Hermann Diefenbronner discussed his future in 1939, both regarding the danger of the boy returning to Europe for the summer and his future career.⁷⁴⁹ Erich Diefenbronner stayed in Sweden, but his parents were interned in the Westerbork transit camp in the Netherlands at the beginning of the

⁷⁴² For example: Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to Dr. M. Ascher in Switzerland, June 17, 1938, SE/RA/720483/3/5, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴³ Letter from Joseph Ettlinger, August 2, 1938 (XI), SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁴ Letter to Mr. A. Swirsky in London from Jacob Ettlinger, September 4, 1939, SE/RA/720483/3/8, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁵ Letters from Ruth and Joseph Ettlinger on June 26 and 27, 1940, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁶ Application for residential permits and rental agreement in SE/RA/720483/3/5, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁷ Application to the Royal Board of Health and Welfare on August 10, 1938, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁸ Rental agreement from October 1, 1934, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁴⁹ Letter from Jacob Ettlinger to Hermann Diefenbronner, May 31, 1939, SE/RA/720483/3/5, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

1940s. Jacob Ettlinger endlessly tried to obtain Swedish and international visas for his sister's family. Letters from the Jewish Council in Amsterdam and the consulate in Ecuador show his febrile activities, but in this example, the couple's stateless legal position made it impossible for them to achieve an Ecuadorian passport.⁷⁵⁰ Hermann and Elsa Diefenbronner were stuck in occupied Netherlands, and died later on in Bergen-Belsen in 1945. Jacob Ettlinger's second sister Frieda Herzenberg was killed in Sobibor in 1943, while her husband and two children were murdered in Auschwitz.⁷⁵¹ After learning the news, Jacob Ettlinger never spoke about the lost family members again, and his grandchildren grew up not really understanding how their parents' cousin Erich Diefenbronner was related to the family.⁷⁵²

The Second World War also affected Olof Aschberg. His parents had migrated to Stockholm from Eastern Europe, but their rapid economic success created new possibilities for their children. Olof Aschberg could use their Jewish social networks to travel, live abroad and learn the trade, just as Josef Sachs and the Ettlingers. While working in Russia he, however, purposefully avoided meeting his relatives, aware that such a meeting could implicate his political position in Sweden as a socialist.⁷⁵³ He not only severed ties with his parent's homeland but also relocated to France in 1927, possibly as a result of his political denigration in Stockholm as a supposed Marxist, although his reasons were never explicitly explained in the autobiography. The family enjoyed the park, greenhouse and kitchen garden at their rural villa, and frequently invited Swedish friends to celebrate Midsummer and Christmas, complete with Swedish songs, customs and food.⁷⁵⁴ In September 1939, Olof Aschberg travelled from his summerhouse in Stockholm to France because 'it was an obvious thing for me to try and serve France when it was in danger – the France I had learnt to consider as my second fatherland.'⁷⁵⁵ He was, however, interned as a 'foreign enemy' in the camp *Le Vernet* during most of 1940, and was only set free when he aryanised his companies, on other words, relinquished his ownership. The family subsequently fled to the United States and returned to Sweden in 1945.

Surviving persecution, he contemplated that 'I have always first and foremost considered myself as Swedish. But as Nazism put France under its power, I learnt that I was not considered Swedish but Jewish.'⁷⁵⁶ Olof Aschberg's new home in France had been a site for the celebrations of

⁷⁵⁰ Letters from the Ecuadorian consulate on July 13, 1943 and The Jewish Council in Amsterdam on June 6, 1943, SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

⁷⁵¹ 'Jacob Ettlinger,' *Geni* (May 24, 2018), accessed June 13, 2019, URL: <www.geni.com/people/JacobEttlinger/336885540490006048>.

⁷⁵² Hollander (November 8, 2017).

⁷⁵³ Aschberg, *Gryningen till en ny tid*, 76.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 86–87.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 137.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 216.

Swedish festivities, enjoyed once removed from the anti-Marxist views in Sweden. The Nazi occupation of France, however, disqualified this Swedish cultural belonging and reaffirmed his Jewish identity. As he in 1945 sailed into Gothenburg's harbour, 'the tunes of Our country are heard. It was my old friends the Labourer Singers that had wanted to receive us with a song tribute. We were finally home.'⁷⁵⁷ Despite his earlier distancing from the Swedish political nation, the Nazi persecution had returned Olof Aschberg's sense of belonging to the physicality of Sweden. His re-established sense of national home was connected to his political point of view, shared by his Swedish social network, and after the Nazi occupation of France had destroyed his villa, economic position and human dignity, Sweden could once again become a place for his permanent home.

Jewish individuals in Stockholm at the beginning of the 20th century adopted similar practices to establish Sweden as their national home and basis for international connections. Although the procurement of summer houses and boats was a practice embraced by almost all of the individuals examined in this chapter, it was not always practiced together. With the exception of the summer youth camps on *Glämssta* and the summer colony on *Skarpö*, Jewish families established largely isolated summer homes, enjoying the seclusion in and tranquillity of Stockholm's archipelago and suburban countryside. It demonstrates once again the Jewish community's adoption of new modern social formations and the subsequent implementation of individual or familial strategies for making Stockholm a Jewish home.

The focal role of wealth in shaping the Jewish individual's bodily relationship with the Swedish nature, as well as European cultures and families, has also, once again, been established. Sara Cohen's family was economically unable visit her parents' homeland, while the social status of Josef Sachs, the Ettlingers, the Strauss', and Olof Aschberg's ensured their ability to move across the continent, maintaining and creating new relations with people and nations. Jacob Ettlinger used his Swedish belonging to save his mother and aunt from Nazi persecution, while Olof Aschberg's desire to belong to France was destroyed by Nazi persecution. These are all examples of individual spaces marking Jewish everyday life in Stockholm, with economic assets being the main factor limiting or enhancing the possibility to create those spaces according to individual ideals and desires.

There was, clearly, not one linear way of dealing with the national space of one's former homeland. Although belonging to the working-class and living on the same island, Boris Beltzikoff and Sara Cohen, for example, had two very different relationships with Eastern Europe. While

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid, 230.

Sara Cohen was aware of her background but could never experience it herself, Boris Beltzikoff was brought up in a milieu imitating life in the *shtetl*, and he was thus more immersed in the national space of his ethnic background. Similarly, although neither Jacob Ettlinger nor Olof Aschberg were born in Sweden, they had different relationships with their homelands. The former's connection to Germany was intimate and homely, intertwined with family and trade, while Olof Aschberg purposefully never visited his relatives in Russia and even attempted to establish a second homeland in France. Although spatial practices linked to summerhouses and international social networks could both provide settings for the expressions of Jewishness, the latter aspect was more often performed in the vicinity of other Jews. It, therefore, became an activity highlighting the individual's sense of Jewishness. Spatial practices in the rural landscapes and across national borders portrayed the duality of the Jewish existence in diaspora; they proclaimed belonging to the national home, the European world, and, at times, also Jewishness, desiring a compatible co-existence of all three identifications.

4.5 Conclusion: Individuality Promoting Traditional Places

Walking together with Jewish individuals across Stockholm's streetscape, and even stepping into their private homes, this chapter has explored the Jewish population's performance of Jewish, urban and Swedish national belongings. The boundaries of gender, social status and class belonging upon spatial practices and place-making have been examined, but the most notable results are:

- the collective adoption of urban strategies of 'at-homeness,'
- the Jewish spatial practice as individual or familial,
- the overriding importance of the socio-economic urban neighbourhood, and
- the importance of sacred places.

Most residential homes had a noticeable and important public role, whether it was linked to the working-class' need for economic survival or the *bourgeoisie*'s display of social status. The homes were linked to the urban landscape outside their thresholds and, therefore, allowed Jewish women to expand their domestic power into the public sphere. A person's preferred synagogue was not related to their urban district of residence, and the consequently divergent spaces produced in relation to each sacred space differed depending on people's diverse experiences in the streetscape. The urban vicinity also proved an important factor in the consumption of urban entertainment and leisure. The national immersion into the Swedish landscape became a collectively adopted practice, as well as the desired continuation of personal links to former

Chapter 4

homelands and international friends, families, colleagues, and acquaintances. Although religiously fragmented, socially divided and spatially dispersed, the Jewish population adopted modern trends as a group.

This seemingly coherent practice should, however, not be read as a sign for the Jewish community's cohesiveness. Indeed, the various and often solitary performed public practices stemmed from an individual or familial strategy to find 'at-homeness' for their specific family in the Swedish capital. As briefly mentioned earlier, the notion of Jewish kinship seems to have been discarded by almost all examined individuals. The two exceptions would be the Ettlinger parents, who, although also engaged in the social calmness found through the summerhouse, provided a communal centre for like-minded Jews in their home, and the communal spirit in *Judehuset*, Boris Beltzikoff's residential home. It could be suggested that traditional Jews, perhaps because of their smaller number of *minyanim* members, were keener to promote social cohesion, but Henry Blideman's experience of isolation does not suit this model. Jewish public practices were, as also shown in the case study of elite funerals in chapter two, almost unanimously singular, largely unconnected with each other. The urban and social belonging trumped the need for Jewish neighbourhoods, portraying both the significance of each individual's personal and intimate relationship with the urban landscape, and the force of class belonging in fragmenting the Jewish community.

Still, sacred places did not lose their importance for this socially and spatially fragmented Jewish population. Despite the production of solitary domestic, urban and national homes across Stockholm's topography, Jews met up at synagogues, religious schools and *kosher* shops. Chapter three indeed portrayed the importance of these sites as containers of homeliness and safety. Independent activities formed the Jewish individual's everyday relationship with the city, thus emphasising the need for a residential location in an urban area related to their social status and class belonging that could promote a sense of cultural cohesion. This form of urban spatiality, however, also fashioned the desire for sacred places that held a Jewish version of socio-cultural cohesion, whether it was small *minyanim*, the *kosher* shop, or Jacob and Jeannette Ettlinger's *shabbat* dinner table.

Chapter 5 Conclusion: From Multiplicity to Marginality

5.1 Ending the Walk of Jewish Stockholm

This 'walk' through Stockholm has observed a Jewish community intensely engaged in visions, plans, debates, constructions, contestations and preservations of physical expressions of private and communal sacred homes in the public arena. It has traced Jewish feet on the way to post-boxes, places of worship, motor boats, shopping districts, sledding slopes and *shabbat* dinners. It has crossed thresholds into synagogues, *minyanim*, *mikveh*, different religious afternoon schools, *kosher* shops, *bourgeois* homes and summer houses. Stockholm between 1870 and 1939 has been examined as a stage for Jewish performances, the spatial arena strategically used in individual ways to collectively communicate, emphasise and convince the non-Jewish society of their belonging to the Swedish nation as Jews. While the study's starting point viewed Jewish Stockholm from above, it has strategically zoomed in closer on the Jewish process of home-making in relation to public and sacred spatiality, each new level revealing the complexity of Jewish belonging in the urban world.

As the study mapped the residential homes of the Jewish population, examined the construction and maintenance of synagogues and other sacred places, and walked along Jewish individuals performing personal rituals in the streetscape, the pivotal role of religion for the construction of Jewishness became clear. The Jewish community viewed traditional religious institutions, such as the religious school and funeral traditions, as important practices for the continuation of the Jewish identity from 1870 to 1939. The same journey – from the mappings of the traditional communities, to the existence of different *minyanim* and *melamdim*, and the diverse ways people walked to their preferred synagogues – simultaneously revealed the religious fragmentation existent in Stockholm. In alignment with previous portrayals of the increased importance of individual agency, preferences, and intentions in the construction of the sacred spatial identity, personal configurations of Jewishness defined the sacred landscape, the many 'typically untypical' Jews confirming this new framework for Jewish identities in modern Stockholm.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁸ For example: Louis Elliot demanded more urban visibility than the Wahrendorff synagogue could provide, proclaiming a strong sense of Swedish belonging, but also wanted further courses to be taught at the religious afternoon school. Josef Katz was married to a non-Jew but was also one of the main leaders of the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael*. Both men exemplify that social integration did not equal a disassociation from Jewish traditions. Isidor Bonnier had to be reminded to enrol his children in the religious afternoon school, but he also aided the existence of a Jewish butchery. Sara Cohen kept *kashrut*

The examination of sacred multiplicity in Stockholm has also revealed the important roles of non-Jewish and inner-communal relationships in shaping sacred places and practices. This study has emphasised non-Jewish participation in the construction of the Jewish religious identity, through both synagogues, funeral performances, *bourgeois* private home and summer residences, arguing that Jewish homes also produced public arenas, where negotiations of the compatibility between Jewishness and the Swedish national identity could be performed. In a Swedish society marked by the antisemitic discourse, these public spaces contested the homogeneous Swedish identity, and provided a stage for the, mainly, Jewish elite to display a belonging to both their Jewish heritage and the Swedish capital and nation.

The Jewish population's varied ways to demonstrate their Jewishness was, however, largely defined by inner-communal relationships. The small size of the community, as well as the legal and social structure of the Mosaic Congregation, promoted religious overlaps and permanent relations between different socio-religious groups. The navigation of this locally particular communal institution was intrinsically related to the social capital wielded by the traditional groups' different agents, the landscape of traditional sacred venues effectively moulded, and mostly limited, by internal hierarchy. Leaders of different socio-religious groups, however, co-operated together in fluid patterns as a strategy to circumvent this socio-economic hierarchy.

Individuality has indeed been portrayed as a key aspect to the Jewish experience of modern Stockholm. The lack of Jewish clusters in the urban landscape, and the importance of wealth, occupation or national background in the formation of several of the traditional groups, portray a fragmented Jewish population. This is confirmed by the singular or familial experiences of Stockholm and its archipelago. The individual negotiation of the social, religious and cultural landscape in Sweden produced a large variety of formulations of Jewishness, fundamentally defined by class and social status. As the residential distribution showed, Jewish families largely chose to settle in an urban district that corresponded to their societal status. Jewish urban belonging was, therefore, shaped by socio-economic forces: it not only promoted residential fragmentation, but also, because of the lack of Jewish neighbours, demanded sacred public, communal and personal homes in the cityscape, constructed and attended as religio-communal centres for a dispersed population. Individuality, therefore, insisted on the continued importance of religion as a way to form communal cohesion, the need for sacred places rising from the personal necessity of an urban home that publicly expressed and internally harboured a particular sense of Jewishness.

and *shabbat*, but attended the Reform Wahrendorff Synagogue. Both examples portray that people did not find all Jewish traditions equally important to keep, but personally chose what customs to practice.

Based on spatial and performance theories, and examined through geographical, digital, cultural, architectural, anthropological, sociological, economic historical and cultural, literary, oral and gendered approaches, this thesis has through a broad, interdisciplinary spectrum explored the complex process of the construction of the combined public, sacred aspect of the Jewish identity in Stockholm. The group formulated its communal identity through its relationships with non-Jews, Jewish sub-groups, individual selves, and the city, and through observing their physical productions – material buildings and bodily movements – the Jewish population's negotiation between marginalised religious practices and the need for religious multiplicity has been explored, from both the Jewish inner and the outer, societal perspectives. The importance of class and social status in this complex construction of an urban identity has been revealed. The case study of Stockholm between 1870 and 1939, therefore, adds another layer to the Jewish experience of the modern European city: it proposes a re-evaluation of the dynamic relationship between individuality, socio-economic status and religion in the modern, urban world.⁷⁵⁹ Ending this 'walk' through Stockholm at the final concluding scene in the next section, this thesis looks beyond 1939 to find one last addition to the community's sacred multiplicity before it was renegotiated and marginalised in Stockholm.

⁷⁵⁹ The study has also engaged in other issues that deserve further scholarly attention outside the boundaries of this thesis. The material used for the GIS-mapping could, for example, be used for in-depth analysis on partly, the complexity of and relations between social, economic and national elements over time, and partly, the spatial distributions of familial networks, and could also be extended either beyond 1870 and 1939 to provide larger temporal comparisons, or to include secular spaces, such as clubs and philanthropic institutions and thus operate beyond the largely sacred theme of this thesis. Furthermore, the public role of the cemetery remains largely suggested and not thoroughly explored or conceptualised. The Jewish lower and middle-classes' relationship with a possible non-Jewish audience during their funerals has, because of the limited space of this thesis, not been examined although material for such an inner-communal comparison exists. While the perspectives of the working-class, women and children are included in chapter three, a focused study would formulate the spatial experience of the Jewish grassroots in more comprehensive terms. Research on the dynamics between religious groups and commercial networks could, furthermore, inform the latter's seemingly prevalent role in the formation of the former. The incorporation of a spatial analysis could also evaluate secular meeting places, thus exploring another aspect of the Jewish population's process of home-making in the city. Lastly, the transnational influence on the sacred multiplicity has only been mentioned, and research on partly, individual relationships with not only former homelands but also colleagues and family in other parts of the world, and partly, the migration of ideas on sacred practices and customs, would inform on Jewish Stockholm's position within the larger world.

5.2 A Concluding Scene: The Last Addition to Stockholm's Sacred Multiplicity

A ship sailed from Hamburg's harbour in 1939. Onboard was cargo labelled as 'timber,' officially part of Leipzig-born, German-Swedish businessman Hans Lehmann's transportation of goods from Germany to Sweden. In reality, the cargo consisted of pews, *Aron Hakodesh*, lamps, *bimah* and a library from the orthodox *Heinrich Barth Straße* synagogue in Hamburg. The synagogue's physical features had survived the Pogrom attacks in November 1938 because of its location in an apartment building, and the city's Chief rabbi Joseph Carlebach wanted to save the beautiful furniture. Hans Lehmann's sons later on described, that it was the 'good' relationship between their father and the chief rabbi that made the synagogue's voyage possible; the former's newly established traditional *minyan* in his home presumably being of interest for the latter. An article in *Dagens Nyheter*, for example, tells the readers that Joseph Carlebach told Hans Lehmann that 'you get the whole synagogue as long as you fix the transportation.'⁷⁶⁰ The rustic, wooden *Aron Hakodesh* from the 1780s, crowned with carved tablets, and the pews that each boasted of unique flowery paintings, were, therefore transported from Hamburg to Stockholm. Even a wooden timetable board, where the German word *Uhr* (hour) declared the starting time for each daily prayer, travelled across the sea. The cargo unfortunately arrived in broken pieces, defiled by painted Nazi swastikas, but was personally repaired and renovated by Hans Lehmann. In 1940, the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jeshurun* was inaugurated in a temporary apartment in the city centre.

Adat Jeshurun initially became a meeting place for survivors from Nazi persecution and concentration camps. As briefly explained in the introduction, around 2,000 Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria arrived between 1933 and 1939.⁷⁶¹ From 1943 onwards, Sweden also welcomed and protected indigenous and exiled Jews from Norway and Denmark. Furthermore, towards the end of the Second World War, victims from Bergen-Belsen were transported via the Red Cross' operation White Buses to Sweden. In total, 11,500 Jews arrived after 1945.⁷⁶² With the Holocaust refugee Abraham Israel Jacobsen as its first rabbi, the new synagogue adopted the liturgical Western Yiddish tradition existent in Germany before the Shoah, thus explicitly differentiating its religious practice from *Adat Jisrael*. Referred to as a 'yekishe shul,' it added another sacred place to the religious landscape of Stockholm: a sacred place firmly linked to a new group of Jews making Sweden their home.

⁷⁶⁰ Bert Lehmann, 'From Hamburg nach Stockholm: Die Odyssee eine Synagoge,' (November 7, 1958), Archive at Carlebach Institute.

⁷⁶¹ Maier-Wolthausen, *Zuflucht im Norden*, 89.

⁷⁶² Rudberg, *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust*, 244.

As a sacred place imported from Hamburg, *Adat Jeshurun* played an important part in the continuation of Jewish traditional life in Sweden during the 1940s-1960s. The migration of religious space – physical furniture, liturgical traditions and practicing people – from Germany to Sweden was a common characteristic in Swedish-Jewish history in the 20th century, shaping the structure of Stockholm's Jewish communal life. Jacob Ettlinger, for example, consulted European rabbis on *kosher* practices and orthodox religious education. Many of the *minyanim* that existed in Stockholm were explicitly formulated around a similar national origin, bringing religious practices and customs from their former homelands into Stockholm, changing its sacred landscape. Similarly, the development of Swedish Zionism and modern art institutions such as the coffee house, the feuilleton and photography were dependent on Jewish-German-Swedish contacts.⁷⁶³ The Jewish migrants' continued contacts across national borders, and the subsequent migration of religious and cultural influence and inspiration, was, indeed, a Jewish experience of modernity, of which the transportation of the *Heinrich Barth Straße* Synagogue is but one example.

Although the contact with Hamburg was severed because of the *Shoah*, a small part of the former Jewish life in Hamburg survived on the other side of the Baltic Sea in *Adat Jeshurun*. The transnational religious contacts between Hamburg and Stockholm before the Second World War aided the survival of a German-Jewish sacred place and the set up of a spatial refuge in Stockholm for traditionally practising *Shoah*-survivors. The synagogue, therefore, documents how the Jewish modern experience of transnational links was used to mobilise and maintain Jewish life in the face of, and despite, destruction. *Adat Jeshurun*, still existent today, is therefore not only a story about the transnational odyssey of a sacred place, but also portrays the relocation of *Shoah* survivors in the post-Second World War world, and the consequential reestablishment of the religious rituals they had learnt in their former hometowns.

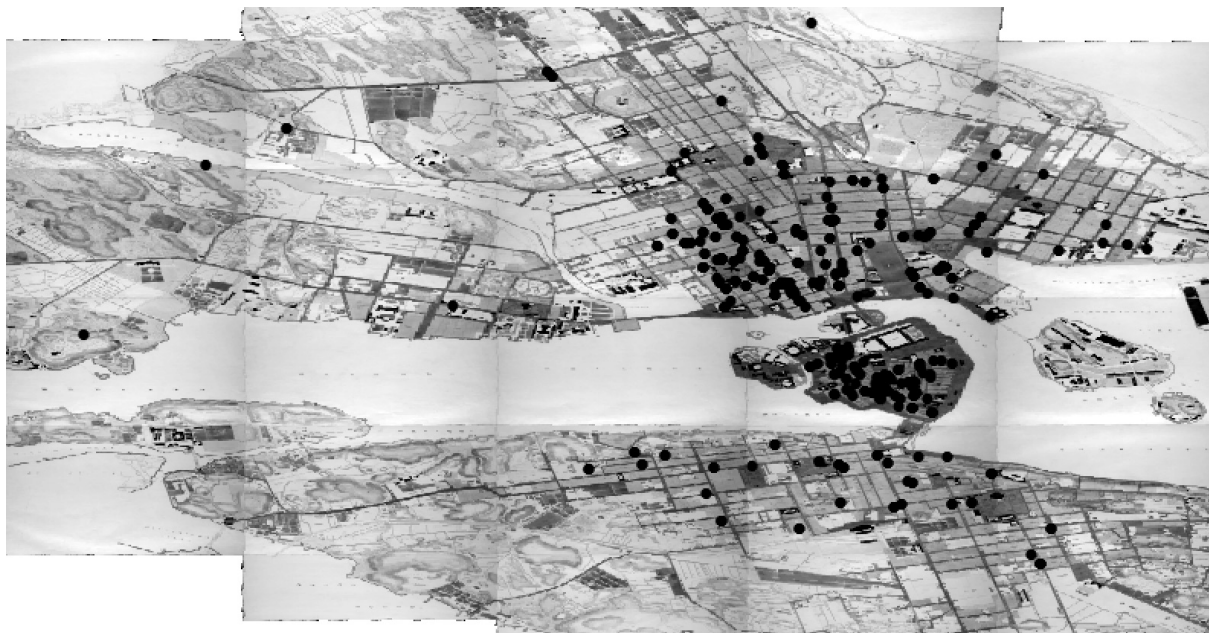
Adat Jeshurun exemplifies the last stage of continued sacred multiplicity in Stockholm. Although its liturgical style changed in the 1960's, removing its 'yekishe' character, the synagogue still invites a small group of practitioners in 2019. Having struggled to find an own venue for almost 20 years, it is, however, today stored in the newly built Jewish centre *Bayit* – the, for this study, aptly Hebrew word for house or home – finished in 2016, and only some of its furniture is used in a small conference room. *Bayit* functions as a secular and sacred community building, with a *kosher* shop, Jewish school, college, and library under its roof, as well as community halls that can be

⁷⁶³ Hammarlund, *En bön för moderniteten*, 218–282; Anne Weberling, 'Isak Feuerring – eine zionistische Biografie zwischen Deutschland, Schweden und Palästina,' in *Deutschsprachige jüdische Emigration nach Schweden: 1774 bis 1945*, eds. Olaf Glöckner, Lars M Andersson, and Helmut Müssener (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017), 147–163.

turned into synagogues. The centralisation of the majority of Jewish functions into one building began, however, in the 1960s, with *Bayit* being only the latest incarnation. While *Adat Jisrael* still exists, continuously meeting for morning prayers, there are discussions on a possible modernisation of its traditional customs, such as mixed seating. Furthermore, communal discussions on the existence of a *mikveh* erupted as the apartment house it was located in was sold off during the construction of *Bayit*. Clearly, while the religious multiplicity at the beginning of the 20th century has lost some of its prevalence, the contestation and preservation of traditional sacred venues, and the renegotiation and reformulation of the home for Swedish Jewishness, continues in Stockholm.

Appendix A Map 1870

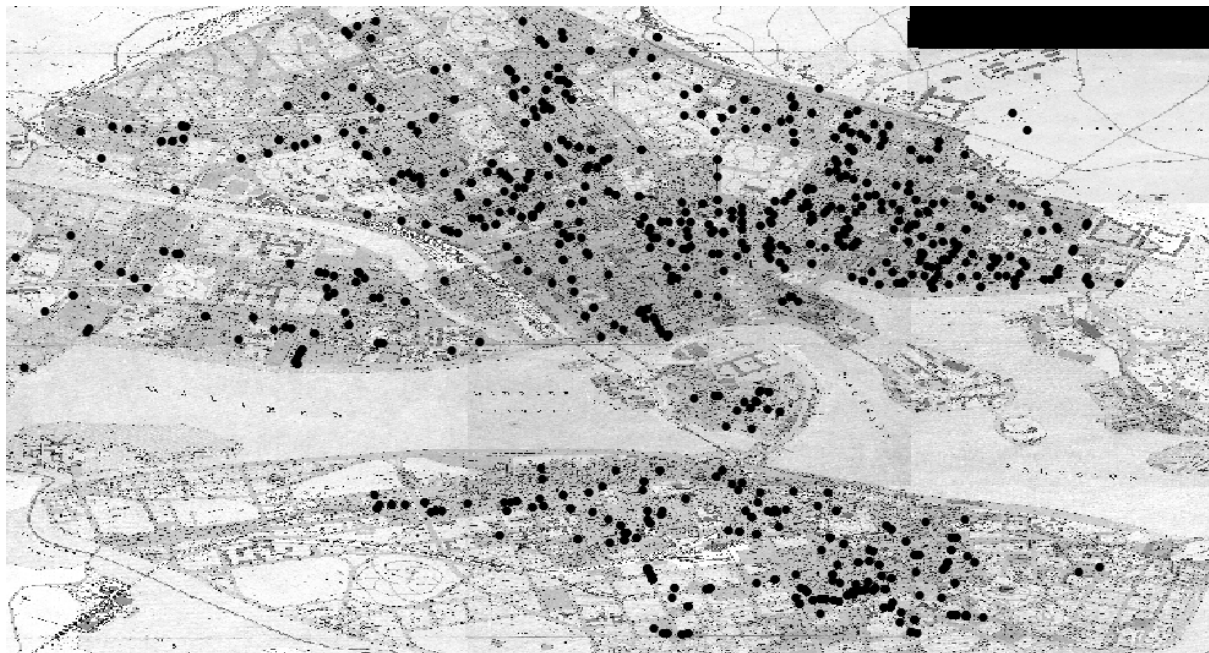
The residential distribution of the Jewish population, 1870.⁷⁶⁴



⁷⁶⁴ Based on population 1870; Map: '1863 års karta över Stockholm,' (1863), SE/SSA/0234/J 4 A:6 1863 års karta (38 blad), *Stockholmskällan*, SCA, accessed June 14, 2019, URL: <www.stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9112>.

Appendix B Map 1909

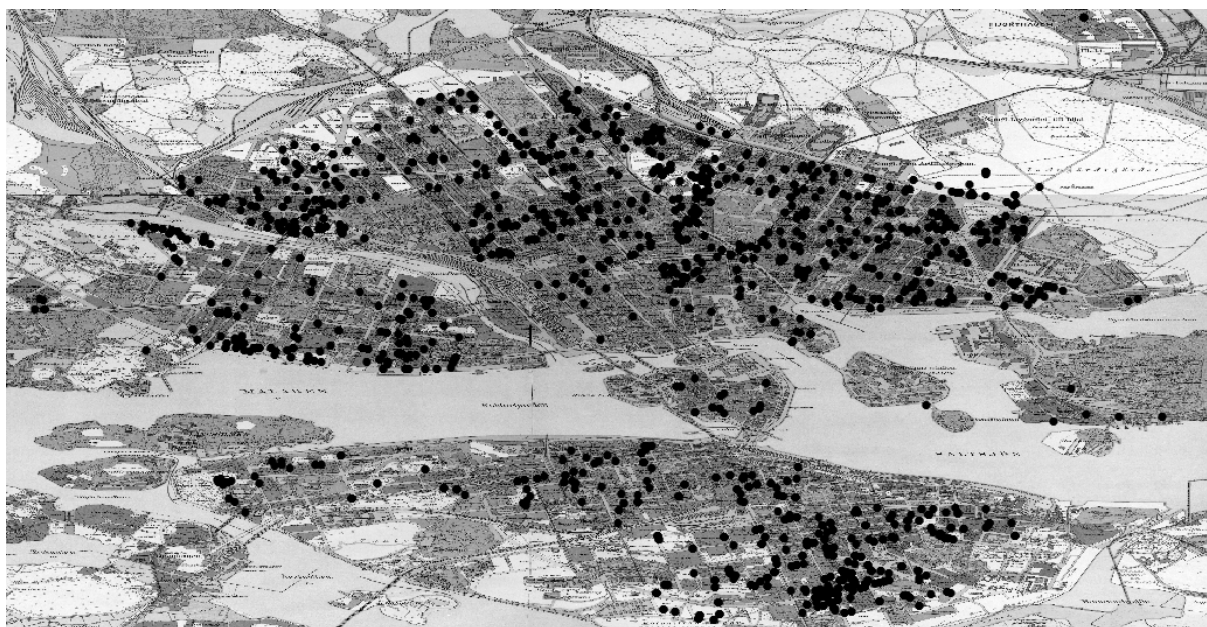
The residential distribution of the Jewish population, 1909.⁷⁶⁵



⁷⁶⁵ Based on population 1909; Map: Alfred Bentzer, Topografiska corpsen, '1909 års karta över Stockholm.'

Appendix C Map 1935

The residential distribution of the Jewish population, 1935.⁷⁶⁶



⁷⁶⁶ Based on population 1935; Map: H. Hellberg, and A. E. Pålman, '1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar.'

Appendix D Occupation Table 1

Occupational distribution, 1870-1935, in numbers.⁷⁶⁷

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	M-22	T-25	J-33
Men							
Employed	222	288	686	71	46	30	19
<i>Estate Owner</i>	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	3	18	13	-	-	-	-
<i>Free Professional</i>	11	59	123	6	1	1	1
<i>Artist</i>	3	5	15	1	-	-	-
<i>Upper Trade</i>	99	112	251	33	25	15	9
<i>Education</i>	3	1	14	2	-	1	-
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	-	5	17	1	-	1	-
<i>Office Worker</i>	35	16	54	4	2	2	-
<i>Lower Trade</i>	57	63	58	6	12	8	3
<i>Artisan</i>	6	4	63	8	4	2	-
<i>Manual Worker</i>	3	4	59	9	2	-	5
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	-	-	18	1	-	-	1
Unknown	19	1	9	1	1	1	5
Total	241	289	695	72	47	31	24
Women							
Employed	11	14	164	-	-	-	1
<i>Estate</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	-	3	15	-	-	-	-

⁷⁶⁷ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1934, AJ-35, M-22, T-25 and J-33.

<i>Free Professional</i>	-	1	12	-	-	-	-
<i>Artist</i>	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
<i>Upper Trade</i>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Education</i>	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	-	2	11	-	-	-	-
<i>Office Worker</i>	2	2	48	-	-	-	-
<i>Lower Trade</i>	1	2	15	-	-	-	-
<i>Artisan</i>	1	-	8	-	-	-	1
<i>Manual Worker</i>	5	3	44	-	-	-	-
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wife	93	20	96	16	-	2	-
Miss	35	36	27	-	-	-	-
Widow	27	27	35	1	-	-	-
Divorced	-	-	10	-	-	-	-
Unknown	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	168	99	332	17	-	2	1
TOTAL	409	388	1,027	89	47	33	25

Appendix E Occupation Table 2

Occupational distribution, men and women combined, 1870-1935, in numbers.⁷⁶⁸

	1870	T-70	1909	T-09	1935	T-35
Employed	310	233	911	302	1 648	850
<i>Estate</i>	2	2	3	1	4	2
<i>Higher Civil Servant</i>	5	3	39	21	51	28
<i>Free Professional</i>	14	11	97	60	201	135
<i>Artist</i>	9	3	14	6	58	19
<i>Upper Trade</i>	111	101	146	112	386	251
<i>Education</i>	4	3	40	1	59	20
<i>Lower Civil Servant</i>	1	-	15	7	46	28
<i>Office Worker</i>	58	37	61	18	145	102
<i>Lower Trade</i>	75	58	187	65	178	73
<i>Artisan</i>	18	7	122	4	178	71
<i>Manual Worker</i>	11	8	117	7	291	103
<i>Heavy Labourer</i>	2	-	70	-	51	18
Wife	122	93	336	20	450	96
Miss	75	35	172	36	89	27
Widow	46	27	60	27	123	35
Divorced	-	-	-	-	16	10
Unknown	33	21	48	3	162	9
Total	586	409	1,527	388	2,488	1,027

⁷⁶⁸ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909 and 1935.

Appendix F Taxation Table

The distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1935, in numbers.⁷⁶⁹

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	J-33
Men					
>1 001	-	9	24	1	-
901-1 000	-	3	3	-	-
801-900	-	3	9	-	-
701-800	-	2	11	2	-
601-700	6	3	12	-	-
501-600	4	3	9	3	-
401-500	3	8	18	1	-
301-400	7	8	36	5	-
201-300	15	17	44	2	-
101-200	29	47	103	11	-
0-100	177	186	426	23	6
Total	241	289	695	48	6
Women					
>1 001	-	1	2	-	-
901-1 000	-	-	1	-	-
801-900	-	-	1	-	-
701-800	-	1	1	-	-
601-700	-	-	-	-	-
501-600	-	1	2	-	-

⁷⁶⁹ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1935, AJ-35 and J-33.

Appendix F

401-500	2	1	4	-	-
301-400	-	1	4	-	-
201-300	1	6	19	1	-
101-200	2	8	25	-	-
0-100	163	80	273	2	1
Total	168	99	332	3	1
TOTAL	409	388	1,027	51	7

Appendix G National Table 1

The distribution of national origin, 1870-1935, in numbers.⁷⁷⁰

	1870	1909	1935	AJ-35	M-22	T-25
Men						
Germany	44	38	17	2	1	-
Austria-Hungary	4	5	5	-	-	-
Russia	12	9	111	24	2	1
Poland	-	10	6	2	6	3
The Netherlands	1	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	7	8	2	-	-	1
Norway	-	2	5	-	-	-
Finland	-	1	-	-	-	-
France	-	-	3	-	-	-
The United Kingdom	-	1	-	-	-	-
The United States	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	31	62	58	4	6	1
Unknown	142	153	488	40	32	25
Total	241	289	695	72	47	31
Women						
Germany	24	6	4	-	-	1
Austria-Hungary	1	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	36	8	-	-

⁷⁷⁰ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909, 1935, AJ-35, M-22 and T-25.

Appendix G

Poland	5	-	1	1	-	-
The Netherlands	1	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	6	2	2	1	-	-
Norway	-	-	2	-	-	-
Finland	-	-	1	-	-	-
France	-	1	1	-	-	-
The United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	-
The United States	-	1	1	-	-	-
Sweden	20	24	30	-	-	-
Unknown	111	65	254	7	-	1
Total	168	99	332	17	-	2
TOTAL	409	388	1,027	89	47	33

Appendix H National Table 2

The distribution of national origin among the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members, 1870-1939, in numbers.⁷⁷¹

	1870	T-70	1909	T-09	1935	T-35
Germany	84	68	115	44	91	21
Austria-Hungary	6	5	15	5	20	5
Russia	26	17	360	9	629	147
Poland	-	-	65	10	43	7
The Netherlands	3	2	2	-	2	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	1	-
Denmark	14	13	22	10	13	4
Norway	-	-	7	2	12	7
Finland	2	-	13	1	7	1
France	-	-	3	1	8	4
The United Kingdom	1	-	2	1	1	-
The United States	-	-	4	1	10	1
Sweden	75	51	271	86	187	88
Unknown	375	253	648	218	1,464	742
Total	586	409	1,527	388	2 488	1,027

⁷⁷¹ Based on population lists for 1870, 1909 and 1935.

Appendix I Funeral Overview

Thematic overview of 20 Swedish-Jewish elite funerals, 1870-1939.⁷⁷²

INFORMATION ON THE DECEASED			PLACES			NON-REL. SPEECHES			SPEECH INFO			SONG GENRE			RITUALS						
Name	Date	Occupation	S	P	C	S	C	G	J	S	C	H	S	C	K	D	S	J	G	C	F
Henrik Davidson	Thurs, 21 Feb 1895	Banker	x	x	x							x			x	x	x	x			

⁷⁷² The 41 articles used for this study are: 'Jordfästningar,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 22, 1895); 'Oscar Levertins jordfästning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 25, 1906); 'Oscar Levertins jordfästning,' *Stockholmsstidningen* (September 26, 1906); 'Oscar Levertins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 26, 1906); 'Ernst Josephsons begravning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (November, 26, 1906); 'Ernst Josephsons jordfästning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (November 26, 1906); 'Bankdirektör Louis Fraenckels jordfästning igår,' *Dagens Nyheter* (August 25, 1911); 'Louis Fraenckels jordfästning. En enkel, men imponerande sorgeakt,' *Stockholmsstidningen* (August 25, 1911); 'Louis Fraenckels sista färd: En sällsynt imponerande sorgeakt. 800 kransar, den sista hyllningen från in- och utlandet,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (August 25, 1911); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (February 7, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels jordfästning,' *Stockholmsstidningen* (February 8, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels sista färd. Jordfästes på onsdagen i Mosaiska kyrkan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (February 8, 1912); 'Generalkonsul Fränckels sista färd. Imponerande sorgehögtiden i synagogan,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (February 8, 1912); 'Abraham Nachmansons jordfästning: En gripande högtidlighet,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 21, 1912); 'Prof. Kleins jordfästning. En högtidsakt i synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (April 9, 1914); 'Professor Kleins sista färd,' *Dagens Nyheter* (April 10, 1914); 'Professor Kleins jordfästning. En högtidlig sorgeakt i synagogan på torsdagen,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (April 11, 1914); 'Grosshandlare Wilhelm Josephsons jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (July 5, 1917); 'Jordfästning. Hovintendenten Bendix,' *Aftonbladet* (August 23, 1916); 'Hofintendenten Bendix jordfästning. En högtidlig akt på Mosaiska kyrkogården i går,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (August 23, 1916); 'Isaak Hirschs begravning. En högtidlighet i Synagogan,' *Aftonbladet* (September 10, 1917); 'Isaak Hirschs sista färd. En sorgeakt i synagogan,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 11, 1917); 'Isaak Hirschs jordfästning. Ett gripande griftetal av rabbinen dr Ehrenpreis,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 11, 1917); 'Professor K Valentins begravning,' *Aftonbladet* (April 3, 1918); 'Prof. Karl Warburgs jordfästning. En högtidlig sorgeakt på onsdagen,' *Aftonbladet* (September 19, 1918); 'Karl Warburgs jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (September 19, 1918); 'Professor Warburgs sista färd. En imponerande och högtidlig sorgeakt på Mosaiska kyrkogården i går,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 19, 1918); 'Grosshandlare Georg Levys griftefärd,' *Aftonbladet* (February 4, 1921); 'Dr Raphaels jordfästning. Ägde rum i middags i Mosaiska gravkapellet,' *Aftonbladet* (December 4, 1921); 'Axel Raphaels jordfästning. En högtidlig akt under enkla former,' *Dagens Nyheter* (December 5, 1921); 'Axel Raphaels jordfästning. En stämningsfull högtidlighet på söndagen,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (December 5, 1921); 'Bokförläggare Isidor Bonniers jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (August 18, 1925); 'Isidor Bonniers jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (August 19, 1925); 'Bankdirektör J. Nachmansons jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (June 18, 1927); 'Joseph Nachmansons jordfästning,' *Dagens Nyheter* (June 18, 1927); 'Joseph Nachmansons jordfästning. Ägde rum i går under stor tillslutning,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (June 18, 1927); 'En gripande sorghögtid i synagogan. Ingenjör Oscar Hirsch vigd till griftero,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (February 6, 1931); 'Axel Wahrens jordfästning,' *Aftonbladet* (November 6, 1931); 'Barnensdagsgeneralens stoft vigd till griftero: Stora högtidligheter,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (January 28, 1932); 'Folkskolebarnen hyllade Barnens dags-general,' *Dagens Nyheter* (January 28, 1932); 'Livmedikus A. Fürstenbergs sista färd,' *Svenska Dagbladet* (October 29, 1936).

Oscar Levertin	Tue, 25 Sep 1906	Poet, Professor		x	x			x		x	x		x			x	x				
Ernst Josephson	Sun, 25 Nov 1906	Painter, Poet			x			x		x			x								
Louis Fraenckel	Thurs, 24 Aug 1911	Banker			x							x				x	x	x			x
Eduard Fränckel	Wed, 7 Feb 1912	Member of Parliament	x		x			x				x	x	x							x
Abraham Nachman-son	Fri, 20 Sep 1912	Philanthropist			x			x				x					x			x	
Gottlieb Klein	Thurs, 9 April 1914	Chief rabbi, Professor	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x							x
Wilhelm Josephson	Thurs, 5 July 1917	Textile manufacturer			x							x									
Carl L. Bendix	Tues, 22 Aug 1916	Royal administrator			x			x				x	x			x					x
Isaak Hirsch	Mon, 10 Sep 1917	Business man	x	x	x							x	x	x				x	x		x
Karl Valentin	Fri, 29 March 1918	Composer, Professor			x			x				x	x	x						x	
Karl Warburg	Wed, 18 Sep 1918	Professor, Member of Parliament		x	x			x			x	x	x							x	x
Georg Levy	Thurs, 3 Feb 1921	Wholesale distributor			x			x													x
Axel Raphael	Sun, 4 Dec 1921	Political economist			x			x				x	x	x						x	
Isidor Bonnier	Mon, 17 Aug 1925	Book publisher	x		x							x		x							x

Appendix I

Joseph Nachman-son	Fri, 17 June 1927	Bank director			x							x	x	x						x	x
Oscar Hirsch	Thurs, 5 Feb 1931	Engineer	x	x	x	x					x	x	x	x		x	x				x
Axel Wahren	Fri, 6 Nov 1931	General Manager			x						x	x		x							
Axel Eliasson	Wed, 27 Jan 1932	Business man			x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x			x
Arthur Fürstenberg	Wed, 28 Oct 1936	Court physician	x		x			x				x		x						x	

KEY: Place (S – Synagogue, P – Procession, C – Cemetery at *Norra Begravningsplatsen*); Non-Religious Speeches (takes place in, S – Synagogue, C – Cemetery chapel, G – Grave); Speech Info (on the deceased's attributes linked to, J – Jewish character, S – Swedish identity, C – city and societal benefits); Song Genre (performed during ceremonies, H – songs in Hebrew and/or synagogal hymns, S – Swedish songs, C – Classical music); Rituals (present in the texts, K – *kippot*, D – throwing dirt on coffin thrice, S – simple coffin, J – Jewish rituals explained to the reader, G – grave filled straight away, C – cremation, F – flowers, wreaths excluded).

Appendix J Letter Overview 1

Thematic overview of the Ettlinger children's letters, 1930-1940.⁷⁷³

Letters	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Author	Ruth	Joseph	Ruth	Camilla	Ruth	Camilla	Joseph	Camilla	Camilla	Ruth
Date	-	-	-	Aug 31, 1930	Sep 11, 1930	Sep 11, 1930	Sep 11, 1930	Feb 22, 1933	Apr 19, 1934	Jan 25, 1934
Weekday	-	-	-	Sunday	Thurs	Thurs	Thurs	Wed	Thurs	Thurs
Language	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe
Place	-	-	-	Skarpö	Sthlm	Sthlm	Sthlm	Sthlm	Sthlm	-
Hebrew phrases	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
German words	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x
German families	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
Jakob's place	Frankfurt am Main	With relatives	-	-	-	Paris	-	Frankfurt am Main	With relatives	With relatives
Activities	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	-
Info on people	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x
Greet ת ב ש	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
Thanks for letters	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	x	-

⁷⁷³ All letters can be found in SE/RA/720483/1/1, Archive of Jacob Ettlinger, SSA.

Appendix K Letter Overview 2

Thematic overview of the Ettlinger children's letters, 1930-1940.⁷⁷⁴

Letters	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
Author	Joseph	Camilla	Ruth	Joseph	Ruth	Joseph	Ruth	Ruth	Joseph
Date	Aug 2, 1938	Apr 24, 1940	Jun 26, 1940	Jun 26, 1940	Jun 27, 1940	Jun 27, 1940	-	-	-
Weekday	Tue	Wed	Wed	Wed	Thurs	Thurs	-	-	-
Language	Ger	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Swe	Ger	Ger	Swe
Place	Switzerland	New York	Visby	Visby	Visby	Visby	Sthlm	Sthlm	Sthlm
Hebrew phrases	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	x
German words	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-
German families	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x
Jakob's place	-	Sthlm	-	-	-	-	Frankfurt am Main	-	-
Activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
Info on People	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	x	-
Greet ת ב ש	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x
Thanks for letters	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

Bibliography

Unpublished Sources

Archive at Carlebach Institute, Jerusalem

Newspaper clips, 1947-1990.

Interviews, Stockholm

Blideman, Henry. October 21, 2014.

Cohen, Sara. January 13, 2015.

Hollander, Per. November 8, 2017.

Royal Library of Sweden (*Kungliga biblioteket*), Stockholm

Handwritten Manuscript Collection

Series Is11: Family Scholander (SE S-HS ACC1992/46).

Newspaper Collection

Aftonbladet

Dagens Nyheter

Nya Dagligt Allehanda

Stockholms Dagblad

Stockholmstidningen

Svenska Dagbladet

Stockholm's City Archive (*Stockholms stadsarkiv*), Stockholm

Bibliography

Church Archive of Adolf Fredrik (*Adolf Fredrik kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/0001)

Series GIa: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners, Foreign Subjects and People not Belonging to the Swedish Church.

Church Archive of Engelbrekt (*Engelbrekt kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6003)

Series GIb: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners and Foreign Subjects.

Church Archive of Gustav Vasa (*Gustav Vasa kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6021)

Series GI: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners.

Church Archive of Jakob (*Jakob kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6009)

Series GIll: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners and Foreign Subjects.

Church Archive of Johannes (*Johannes kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6022)

Series GIV: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners.

Church Archive of Katarina (*Katarina kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/0009)

Series GVa: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners.

Church Archive of Matteus (*Matteus kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6024)

Series GIll: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners and Foreign Subjects.

Church Archive of Oscar (*Oscar kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6025)

Series GI: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners, Foreign Subjects and People not Belonging to the Swedish Church.

Church Archive of Sofia (*Sofia kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6030)

Series GIa: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners and Foreign Subjects.

Church Archive of S:t Göran (*S:t Göran kyrkoarkiv*, SE/SSA/6001)

Series GIll: Record of Alien Faith Confessioners.

Stockholmskällan, digitalised at <<https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se>>.

Photographs, maps, and building inventories.

Stockholm's Hustings Archive (*Stockholms Rådhusrättsarkiv*, SE/SSA/0140)

Series 2: Section 1 – Section for Property Matters, 1851-1933.

Stockholm's Older Building Designs (*Stockholms äldre byggnadsritningar*), digitalised at <<http://data.stockholm.se/List/Data/bygglovsritningar>>.

Taxation Records (*Mantalsregister*), digitalised at <www.stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/hitta-i-arkiven/i-arkiven-old/mantalsregister/>.

The Archive of Murbeck Foundation (*Arkivet Murbeckska stiftelsen*, SE/SSA/2269A)

Series F1: Records on history of Murbeck foundation.

The Office of the Building Committee and Archive of City Architect Office (*Byggnadsnämndens expedition och stadsarkitektkontors arkiv*, SE/SSA/0174)

Series F1: Building Approvals.

Bibliography

The Property Register (*Fastighetsregistret*), digitalised at
<www.digitalastadsarkivet.stockholm.se/Bildvisning/Default.aspx?app=fastighetsregister-1675-1875&indexvarde1=Adolf+Fredrik&indexvarde2=Adlern>.

The Society Friendship and Beneficence (*Sällskapet Wänskap och Wälgörande*, SE/SSA/4180)

Stockholm City Museum (*Stockholms Stadsmuseum*), Stockholm

Address Calendar.

Jewish hearse, SSM 26407.

The Varia Collection, volume 46: Strauss.

Swedish State Archive (*Riksarkivet*), Stockholm

Archive of Jacob Ettlinger (*Jacob Ettlingers arkiv*, SE/RA/720483)

Series 1: Personal Records. Correspondence with relatives and friends.

Series 3: Jacob Ettlinger's 'private' folders, 1932-1952.

Series 5: Jacob's Jewish Tasks. Records, 1895-1951.

Jewish (Mosaic) Community in Stockholm (*Judiska (Mosaiska) Församlingen i Stockholm*, SE/RA/730128)

Series 1: Main Archive, 1771-2000.

Series 2: Church Books, 1822-2000.

Series 3: Community Institutions.

Series 5: Organisations and Societies.

Patent and Registration Office, (*Patent- och registreringsverket*, SE/RA/420209)

Series 1: Company Office, 1897-1960.

Swedish Mail Archive (*Postverkets arkiv*, SE/RA/420543)

Series 85: The Property Department, 1910-1976.

The Hollander Companies (*Hollanderbolagen*, SE/RA/740105)

Series Ö: Other Documents.

Published Sources

Aschberg, Olof. *Gryningen till en ny tid: Ur mina memoarer*. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1961.

Beltzikoff, Boris. *En svensk jude ser tillbaka: Essäer ur ett liv*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 1994.

Isaac, Aaron. *Minnen: Ett judiskt äventyr i svenskt 1700-tal*. Stockholm: Hilleförlaget, 2008.

Lewysohn, Dr. L. *Predikan hållen vid invigningen af den nya synagogan i Stockholm den 16 september 1870*. Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1870.

Sachs, Josef. *Mitt livs saldo: Köpman och förhandlare*. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1949.

---. *Mitt livs saldo: Resenär och organisatör*. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1949.

Websites

Adat Jisrael. Accessed: June 13, 2019, URL: <www.adatjisrael.se>.

Bibliography

'Avsnitt 3: Kärleken och traditionen.' *Aarons nya land* (August 12, 2015), Swedish Television Channel 1. Accessed: November 29, 2016, URL: <www.urskola.se/Produkter/189894-Aarons-nya-land-Karleken-och-traditionen>.

Dictionary of Swedish National Biography, <www.sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl>.

Andersson, Mattias, 'Sommelius, släkt,' 32 (2003-2006): 654.

Carlsson, Carl Henrik, 'Rubenson, släkt,' 30 (1998-2000): 606.

Forssell, N., 'Knut August Almgren,' 1 (1918): 430.

[Gillingstam, Hans], 'Hirsch, släkt,' 19 (1971-1973): 86.

---, 'Lamm, släkt,' 22 (1977-1979): 199.

Grandien, Bo, 'Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander,' 31 (2000-2002): 592.

Naumann, Erik, 'Pehr Olof Asp, von,' 2 (1920): 383.

Nevéus, Torgny, 'S Moritz Rubenson,' 30 (1998-2000): 610.

Schuck, H., 'Adolf Bonnier,' 5 (1925): 427.

Vennberg, Erik, 'Henrik Isac Davidson,' 10 (1931): 343.

Edvinsson, Rodney. *Historical Currency Converter*. Accessed: June 10, 2019, URL: <www.historicalstatistics.org/currencyconverter.html>.

GPS Visualizer. Accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.gpsvisualizer.com/geocoder/>.

Granat, Frida. 'December 2016: Ett liv i kvitton.' *Stadsmuseet*, (December 1, 2016). Accessed: June 12, 2019, URL: <www.stadsmuseet.stockholm.se/utforska/samlingar/foremal/manadens-foremal/manadens-foremal/manadens-foremal-december-2016/>.

Historic Synagogues of Europe. Accessed: June 13, 2019, URL:
<www.historicsynagogueurope.org/synagogue-map>.

'Jacob Ettlinger,' *Geni* (May 24, 2018). Accessed: June 13, 2019, URL:
<www.geni.com/people/JacobEttlinger/336885540490006048>.

Jewish Places. Accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.jewish-places.de>.

Leitenberg, Laurence. 'Maps of Jewish Communities and their Populations in Europe: 1750-1950.' *International Institute for Jewish Genealogy and Paul Jacobi Center* (2004). Accessed: June 13, 2019, URL: <www.iiig.org/tools-and-technologies/maps-of-jewish-communities/>.

Mapping Jewish LA (2018). Accessed: June 14, 2019, URL: <www.mappingjewishla.org>.

'Radiohistoria.' *Sveriges Radio* (March 25, 2008). Accessed: June 12, 2019, URL:
<www.sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=3113&artikel=1971599>.

'Samhällets dom (1912),' *Svensk Filmdatabas*. Accessed: November 18, 2016, URL:
<www.sfi.se/sv/svensk-filmdatabas/Item/?itemid=3261&type=MOVIE&iv=Comments>.

'Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences,' *Brown University* (2019). Accessed: June 14, 2019, URL:
<www.s4.bron.edu>.

'Vad är radio?' *Radiofakta* (2017). Accessed: June 12, 2019, URL:
<www.radiofakta.se/_radiofakta.se/>.

Secondary Sources

Bibliography

Abrams, Lynn. *Oral History Theory*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Alexander, David. *The Building: A Biography of the Pentagon*. Minneapolis: Zenith Press, 2008.

Åmark, Klas. *Att bo granne med ondskan: Sveriges förhållande till nazismen, Nazityskland och Förintelsen*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2011.

Amato, Joseph A. *On Foot: A History of Walking*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 2006.

Andersson, Lars. *Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen*. Falköping: Liber, 2003.

Andersson, Lars M. *En jude är en jude är en jude...: Representationer av "juden" i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900-1930*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000.

Arkindus. *Synagogan Adat Jisrael. Kv. Närke, Stockholm (2014)*. Accessed: June 13, 2019, URL: www.arkindus.net/pdf/Synagogan%20soder.%20R%202014.2.%20Bilaga.pdf.

Aschheim, Steve E. *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.

Auslander, Leora. 'The Boundaries of Jewishness, or When is a Cultural Practice Jewish?' *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8, 1 (2009): 47–48.

Aust, Cornelia. 'Merchant, Army Supplies, Bankers: Transnational Connections and the Rise of Warsaw's Jewish Mercantile Elite (1770-1820).' In *Warsaw. The Jewish Metropolis: Essays in Honor of the 75th Birthday of Professor Antony Polonsky*, eds. Glenn Dynner, and François Guesnet, 42–69. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

---. *The Jewish Economic Elite: Making Modern Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.

Aytürk, Ilker. 'Attempts at Romanising the Hebrew Script and Their Failure: Nationalism, Religion and Alphabet Reform in the Yishuv.' *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, 4 (2007): 625–645.

Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*. New York: Penguin Books, 2014.

Bachner Henrik. '*Judefrågan:*' *Debatt om antisemitism i 1930-talets Sverige*. Lund: Atlantis, 2009.

Baggerman, Arianne. 'Autobiography and Family Memory in the Nineteenth Century.' In *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf Dekker, 161–173. Hilversum: Verloren, 2002.

---. 'Travellers in Time: Nineteenth-Century Autobiographers and Their Fight Against Forgetting.' In *Les écrits du for privé en Europe (du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine): Enquêtes, Analyses, Publications*, eds. Jean-Pierre Bardet, Élisabeth Amoul, and François-Joseph Ruggin, 65–80. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010.

Baker, Cynthia M. *Rebuilding the House of Israel: Architectures of Gender in Jewish Antiquity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Bibliography

Bar, Gideon. 'Reconstructing the Past: The Creation of Jewish Sacred Space in the State of Israel, 1948-1967.' *Israel Studies* 13, 3 (2008): 1–21.

Bar-Levav, Avriel. 'Jewish Attitudes Towards Death: A Society Between Time, Space and Texts.' In *Death in Jewish Life: Burial and Mourning Customs Among Jews of Europe and Nearby Communities*, eds. Stefan C. Reif, Andreas Lehnardt and Avriel Bar-Levav, 3–15. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.

---. 'We Are Where We Are Not: The Cemetery in Jewish Culture,' *Jewish Studies* 41 (2002): 15–46.

Barkan, Elazar, and Barkey, Karen. 'Introduction.' In *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution*, eds. Elazar Barkan, and Karen Barkey, 1–31. New York: Clumbia University Press, 2015.

Basso, Keith H. 'Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape.' in *Senses of Place*, eds. Steven Feld, and Keith H. Basso, 53–90. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Paris Spleen*. New York: New Directions, 1970.

Baxter, John. *The Most Beautiful Walk in the World: A Pedestrian in Paris*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2011.

Becci, Irene, Burchardt, Marian, and Casanova, José, eds. *Topographies of Faith: Religion in Urban Spaces*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Bedoire, Fredric. *Den svenska arkitekturens historia, 1800-2000*. Stockholm: Norstedts, 2015.

---. *Ett judiskt Europa: Kring uppkomsten av en modern arkitektur, 1830-1930*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 1998.

---. *Hugenotternas värld: Från religionskrigens Frankrike till Skeppsbroadelns Stockholm*. Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 2009.

Benjamin, Walter. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. London: Verso, 1973.

---. *The Arcades Project*. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bennett, Andy. 'Music, Space and Place.' In *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*, eds. Sheila Whiteley, and Andy Bennet, 2–8. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Berglund, Kurt. *Stockholms alla biografer: ett stycke Stockholms historia från 90-tal till 90-tal*. Stockholm: Svenska turistföreningen, 1993.

Berry, David M. 'Introduction: Understanding the Digital Humanities.' In *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry, 1–20. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Besserman, Anna. "'...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn täckts hosta dem upp på Sveriges gästvänliga stränder:" Mosaiska Församlingen i Stockholm inför den östjudiska invandringen till staden, 1860-1914.' *Nordisk Judaistik (Scandinavian Jewish Studies)* 5, 2 (1984): 13–38.

Biale, David. 'Confessions of an Historian of Jewish Culture.' *Jewish Social Studies* 1, 1 (1994): 40–51.

Bibliography

---. 'Preface: Toward a Cultural History of the Jews.' In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale, xvii–xxxiii. New York: Schocken Books, 2002.

Black, Eugene C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920*. Oxford: Basis Blackwell, 1988.

Bleich, Judith. 'Jacob Ettlinger, His Life and Works: The Emergence of Modern Orthodoxy in Germany.' PhD-thesis, New York University, 1974.

Blennow, Anna-Maria. *Stadsarkitekternas epok, 1870-1950: Fyra porträtt – Peter Boisen, P.L. Håkanson, Fredrik Sundbärg och Frans Ekelund*. Stockholm: Byggforskningsrådet, 1990.

Blocker, Jack S., Fahey, David M., and Tyrrell, Ian R. Eds. *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia, Volume 1*. Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2003.

Blomberg, Göran. *Mota Moses i grind: Ariseringsiver och antisemitism i Sverige, 1933–1943*. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2003.

Bohlman, Philip V. 'Introduction: The Transcendent Moment of Jewish Modernism.' In *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, 1–29. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Borg, Alexandra. *En vildmark av sten: Stockholm i litteraturen, 1897-1916*. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2011.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 'The Aristocracy of Culture.' *Media, Culture and Society* 2 (1980): 225–254.

---. 'The Field of Cultural Production.' In *The Book History Reader*, ed. Paul Duguid, 99–120. London: Routledge, 2006.

---. 'The Forms of Capital.' In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson, 241–258. Westport: Greenwood, 1986.

Bowman, Glenn. 'Introduction: Sharing the Sacra.' In *Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places*, ed. Glenn Bowman, 1–9. New York: Berghahn, 2012.

Brace, Catherine, Bailey, Adrian R., and Harvey, David C. 'Religion, Place and Space: A Framework for Investigation Historical Geographies of Religious Identities and Communities.' *Progress in Human Geography* 30, 1 (2006): 28–43.

Bredefeldt, Rita. *Judiskt liv i Stockholm och Norden: Ekonomi, identitet och assimilering, 1850-1930*. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2008.

Brenner, Michael. *Kleine jüdische Geschichte*. Bonn: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2008.

Brismark, Anna, and Lundqvist, Pia. 'Sidensjalar och socker: Judiska näringsidkares betydelse för konsumtionsrevolutionen i Sverige.' In *Från sidensjalar till flyktingmottagning: Judarna i Sverige – en minoritets historia*, eds. Lars M Andersson, and Carl Henrik Carlsson, 17–47. Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2013.

Bronner, Simon J. 'Introduction: The Dualities of House and Home in Jewish Culture.' In *Jews at Home: The Domestication of Identity. Jewish Cultural Studies, volume 2*, ed. Simon J. Bronner, 1–40. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010.

Bibliography

Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

---. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

---, and Cooper, Frederick. 'Beyond "Identity",' *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000): 1–34.

Buck-Moss, Susan. 'The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering.' *New German Critique* 39 (1986): 99–140.

Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History*. Cambridge: Polity, 2008.

Carlsson, Carl Henrik. 'Immigrants or Transmigrants? Eastern European Jews in Sweden, 1860–1914.' In *Points of Passage: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Tobias Brinkmann, 47–62. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

---. 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget. Fyra fallstudier.' In *Första världskriget i svenska arkiv: Årsbok för Riksarkivet och Landsarkiven 2014*, ed. Carl Henrik Carlsson, 152–177. Stockholm: TMG Tabergs, 2014.

---. *Medborgarskap och diskriminering: Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige, 1860–1920*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004.

Catalan, Tullia. 'The Ambivalence of a Port-City: The Jews of Trieste from the 19th to the 20th Century.' In *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDED*, no. 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011), ed. Cristiana Facchini, accessed: December 13, 2018, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=232>.

Catomeris, Christian. *Gipskattor och positiv: italienare i Stockholm, 1896-1910*. Borås: Centraltryckeriet, 1988.

de Certeau, Michel. 'Walking in the City.' In *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, 126–133. London: Routledge, 1993.

Charney, Leo, and Schwartz, Vanessa R. 'Introduction.' In *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, eds. Leo Charney, and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 1–12. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Chrispinsson, John. *Sekelskiften: En krönika om sex, makt och pengar*. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1999.

Clark, Priscilla P. 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life.' *The Journal of Modern History* 58, 3 (1986): 705–707.

Coenen Snyder, Saskia. *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Cohen, Erik H. 'Jewish Identity Research: A State of the Art.' *International Journal of Jewish Education Research* 1 (2010): 7–48.

Cohen, Hagit. 'The Jewish Book Shop in the Urban Landscape of Eastern Europe at the End of the 19th Century.' In *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, and Larisa Lempertiene, 195–210. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

Bibliography

Cohen, Richard I. 'Urban Visibility and Biblical Visions: Jewish Culture in Western and Central Europe in the Modern Age.' In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale, 731–796. New York: Schocken Books, 2002.

Cohen, Sara. 'Sounding Out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, 4 (1995): 434–446.

Cooperman, Bernard D. 'Global History and Jewish Studies: Paradoxical Agendas, Contradictory Implications.' *Giornale di Storia* 19 (2015): 1–42.

Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998.

Cronquist, Axel. *Ekipage*. Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1952.

Crossick, Geoffrey, and Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard. *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe, 1780-1914: Enterprise, Family and Independence*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Daniels, Stephen, and Cosgrove, Denis. 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape.' In *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. Denis Cosgrove, and Stephen Daniels, 1–10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Darieva, Tsypylma, Mühlfried, Florian, and Tvite, Kevin, 'Introduction,' in *Sacred Places, Emerging Spaces. Religious Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Caucasus*, eds. Tsypylma Darieva, Florian Mühlfried, and Kevin Tvite, 1–17. New York: Berghahn, 2018.

Dekker, Rudolf. 'Jacques Presser's Heritage: Egodocuments in the Study of History.' *Memoria y Civilización* 5 (2002): 13–37.

Dencik, Lars. *Judendom i Sverige: en sociologisk belysning*. Uppsala: Universitetsstryckeriet, 2006.

Diamond, Elin. 'Introduction.' In *Performance and Cultural Politics*, ed. Elin Diamond, 1–12. London: Routledge, 1996.

Diamond, Eton. 'Religious Microspaces in a Suburban Environment: The Orthodox Jews of Thornhill, Ontario.' In *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, 119–138. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Dubin, Lois. 'Introduction: Port Jews in the Atlantic World.' *Jewish History* 20 (2006): 117–127.

Endelman, Todd M. *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews*. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2014.

Edvinsson, Rodney, and Söderberg, Johan. 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008.' *Review of Income and Wealth* 57, 2 (2011): 270–292.

Eriksson, Emelie. *Stockholm med modernismen i centrum: Cityomdaningen ur ett aktörs- och ett mediaperspektiv*. Sollentuna: Intellecta Docusys, 2004.

Erlmann, Veit. 'But What of the Ethnographic Ear? Anthropology, Sound and the Senses.' In *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sounds, Listening and Modernity*, ed. Veit Erlmann, 1–20. Oxford: Berg, 2004.

Evans, Leighton, and Rees, Sian. 'An Interpretation of Digital Humanities.' In *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry, 21–41. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Bibliography

Facchini, Cristiana. Ed., *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDED*, 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011). Accessed: June 11, 2019, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal.it/index.php?issue=2>.

Facos, Michelle. *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s*. Oakland: University of California Press, 1998.

Fernstål, Lotta, and Hyltén-Cavallius, Charlotte. *Romska liv och platser: Berättelser om att leva och överleva i 1900-talets Sverige*. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2018.

Fishman, Isidore. *The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe: From the End of the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Edward Goldston, 1944.

Fonrobert, Charlotte Elisheva. 'From Separatism to Urbanism: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Rabbinic Eruv.' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11, 1 (2004): 43–71.

---. 'The Political Symbolism of the Eruv.' *Jewish Social Studies* 11, 3 (2005): 9–35.

Franzén, Mats. *Den folkliga staden: Söderkvarter i Stockholm mellan krigen*. Lund: Arkiv förlag, 1992.

Fried, Eva, Burstein, Marina, and Edelman, Chaja. *Judisk mat i svenskt kök: Mat, minnen och tradition*. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2003.

Friedmann, Jonathan L. 'Introduction.' In *Emotions in Jewish Music: Personal and Scholarly Reflections*, ed. Jonathan L. Friedmann, 1–4. Plymouth: University Press of America, 2012.

- Frühauf, Tina. 'Introduction.' In *Jewish-German Organ Music: An Anthology of Works from the 1820s to the 1960s*, ed. Tina Frühauf, ix–xxvi. Middleton: A-R Editions, 2013.
- Frykman, Jonas, and Löfgren, Orvar. *Den kultiverade människan*. Malmö: Gleerups, 1979.
- Furhammar, Leif. *Filmen i Sverige: En historia i tio kapitel*. Höganäs: Wiken, 1991.
- Gantner, Eszter B., and Oppenheim, Jay (Koby). 'Jewish Space Reloaded: An Introduction.' *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 23, 2 (2014): 1–10.
- Gartner, Lloyd P. *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*. London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001.
- Gedin, Per I. *Litteraturens ortagårdsmästare: Karl Bonnier och hans tid*. Stockholm: Bonnier, 2003.
- Gilman, Sander. *Jewish Frontiers: Essays on Bodies, Histories, and Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Gluck, Mary. 'The *Flâneur* and the Aesthetic Appropriation of Urban Culture in Mid-19th-century Paris.' *Theory, Culture & Society* 20, 5 (2003): 53–80.
- Glück, David, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare, eds. *Det judiska Stockholm*. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1969.

Bibliography

Gotzmann, Andreas. 'Out of the Ghetto, Into the Middle Class: Changing Perspectives on Jewish Spaces in Nineteenth-Century Germany - The Case of Synagogues and Jewish Burial Grounds.' In *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup, 140–159. New York: Berghahn Books 2016.

Grandien, Bo. *Drömmen om renässansen: Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander som arkitekt och mångfrestare*. Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1979.

Grier, Katherine C. 'The "Blending and Confusion" of Expansiveness and Beauty: Bourgeois Interiors.' In *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Sven Beckert, and Julia B. Rosenbaum, 87–100. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Griffiths, Tony. *Stockholm: A Cultural and Literary History*. Oxford: Signal Books, 2009.

Gromova, Alina, Heinert, Felix, and Voigt, Sebastian. 'Introduction.' In *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*. Eds. Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt, 13–25. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015.

--- eds. *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015.

Grosin, Mattias, and Orzolek, Urban, *Barnens judiska Ö: Glämska sommarkoloni 100 år*. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2009.

Guesnet, François. 'From Community to Metropolis: The Jews of Warsaw, 1850-1880.' In *Warsaw. The Jewish Metropolis: Essays on Honor of the 75th Birthday of Professor Antony Polonsky*, eds. Glenn Dynner, and François Guesnet, 128–153. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

---. 'The Emergence of the First European Jewish Metropolis in Warsaw, 1850–1880.' In *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, eds. Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert, and Sebastian Voigt, 183–195. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015.

Gurevitch, Zali, and Aran, Gideon. 'Never in Place: Eliade and Judaic Sacred Space.' *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 87 (1994): 135–152.

Hake, Sabine. *Topographies of Class: Modern Architecture and Mass Society in Weimar Berlin*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008.

Hall, Patrik. *Den svenskaste historien: Nationalism i Sverige under sex sekler*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000.

Hall, Stuart. 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?' In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall, and Paul du Gay, 1–17. London: Sage Publications, 2011.

Hallam, Elizabeth. 'Introduction: Remembering as Cultural Process.' In *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, eds. Elizabeth Hallam, and Jenny Hockey, 1–21. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001.

Hammarlund, Anders. *En bön för moderniteten. Kultur och politik i Abraham Baers värld*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 2013.

Hammarström, Per. *Nationens styvbarn: Judisk samhällsintegration i några Norrlandsstäder, 1870-1940*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 2007.

Hansson, Svante. 'Antisemitism, assimilation och judisk särart. Svenskjudisk elitdebatt vid Hitlers maktövertagande 1933. In *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén, 307–327. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988.

Bibliography

---. *Flykt och överlevnad: Flyktingverksamhet i Mosaiska församlingen i Stockholm, 1933–1950*. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2004.

Hanzl, Malgorzata. 'Jewish Communities in Pre-War Central Poland as an Example of a Self-Organising Society.' In *Computational Science and its Applicants – ICCSSA 2017: 17th International Conference, Trieste, Italy, July 3-6, 2017, Proceedings, Part 3*, eds. Osvaldo Gervasi et. al., 224–238. Cham: Springer, 2017.

Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996.

---. 'Space as a Keyword.' In *David Harvey: A Critical Reader*, eds., Noel Castree, and Derek Gregory, 270–293. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Haus, Jeffrey. *Challenges of Equality: Judaism, State, and Education in Nineteenth-Century France*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009.

Heinert, Felix. '(Re)Locating Jewishness and Representing Jewish Community in Riga Before and After 1905: Urban Elites, Local Politics, Cultural Self-Presentations, and Intracommunal Conflict.' In *The Russian Revolution in 1905 in Transcultural Perspective*, eds. Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal, Frank Grüner, Susanne Hohler, Franziska Schedewie, and Raphael Utz, 121–139. Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2013.

Helmreich, William B. *The New York Nobody Knows: Walking 6,000 Miles in the City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Henriques, Ursula R. 'The Conduct of a Synagogue: Swansea Hebrew Congregation, 1895-1914.' In *The Jews of South Wales*, ed. Ursula R. Henriques, 85–110. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013.

Hermele, Bernt. '*Kommer de, så skjuter jag oss:*' *Om svenska judars liv i skuggan av Förintelsen*. Stockholm: Lind & Co, 2018.

Herz, Manuel. "'Eruv' Urbanism: Towards an Alternative "Jewish Architecture" in Germany.' In *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, 43–61. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Hess Cordelia. 'Eine Fussnote der Emanzipation? Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Stockholm 1838 und ihre Bedeutung für eine Wissensgeschichte des Antisemitismus.' In *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 27, ed. Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, 65–87. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2018.

Hessel, Franz. *Walking in Berlin: A Flaneur in the Capital*. London: Scribe, 2016.

Himmelfarb, Martha. 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira.' In *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, eds. Jamie Scott, and Paul Simpson-Housley, 63–78. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Hirschkind, Charles. *The Ethical Soundscape*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Hitzer, Bettina, and Schlör, Joachim, eds. 'Introduction to God in the City: Religious Topographies in the Age of Urbanization.' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011).

Bibliography

Hobsbawm, Eric. 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions.' In *Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Hödl, Klaus. 'The Blurring of Distinction: Performance and Jewish Identities in late Nineteenth-Century Vienna.' *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 3, 2 (2009): 229–249.

---. 'The Elusiveness of Jewishness: Jews in Viennese Popular Culture around 1900.' *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12, 3 (2013), 382–387.

Hsin-Chun, Tasaw Lu. 'Performativity of Difference: Mapping Public Soundscapes and Performing Nostalgia Among Burmese Chinese in Central Rangoon.' *Asian Music* 42, 2 (2011): 19–55.

Husz, Orsi. *Drömmars värde: Varuhus och lotteri i svensk konsumtionskultur, 1897-1939*. Hedemora: Gidlund, 2004.

Hyman, Paula. 'Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identities.' *Jewish Social Studies* 8, 2/3 (2002): 153–161.

Jernudd, Åsa. 'Spaces of Early Film Exhibition in Sweden, 1897-1911.' In *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History*, eds. Daniel Biltereyst, Richard Maltby, and Philippe Meers, 19–34. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Jerram, Leif. *Street Life: The Untold History of Europe's Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Jewish Museum in Stockholm. 'Själagårdsgatan 19: Synagogans historia.' Unpublished report, 2019.

Johannesson, Lena. "'Schene Rariteten:' Antisemitisk bildagitation i svensk rabulistpress, 1845–1860.' In *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén, 179–208. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988.

Johnson, Anders. *Hela Stockholms Isaak Hirsch: Grosshandlare – Byggherre – Donator, 1843-1917*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2017.

---. *Invandrarna som byggde Sverige*. Stockholm: Dialogos, 2015.

Johnson, David E., and Michaelsen, Scott. 'Border Secrets: An Introduction.' In *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, eds. Scott Michaelsen, and David E. Johnson, 1–32. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Jolly, Philip. *Jewish Wielun – a Polish shtetl*. Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2010.

Josselson, Ruthellen, and Harway, Michele. 'The Challenges of Multiple Identity.' In *Navigating Multiple Identities: Race, gender, Culture, Nationality, and Role*, eds. Ruthellen Josselson, and Michele Harway, 3–11. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Josephson, Carl Olof, 'Några judiska bokhandlare och bokförläggare i gårdagens Stockholm,' In *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare, 142–158. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998.

Kåberg, Helena. 'Bröderna Celsings turkiska inredningar i Sverige och de gustavianska divanerna.' In *Minnet av Konstantinopel: Den osmansk-turkiska 1700-talssamlingen på Biby*, ed. Karin Ådahl, 259–291. Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003.

Bibliography

Kahera, Akel Ismail. 'Gardens of the Righteous: Sacred Space in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.' *Cross Currents* 52, 3 (2002): 328–341.

Kaplan, Debra. 'Crossing Borders: Safe Conducts and Jews in Early Modern Germany.' *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108, 3 (2018): 316–349.

Kaplan, Marion A. *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Kassman, Charles. *Leva i Kristallen: Ett barnrikekvarter på Söder*. Stockholm: Tidens förlag, 1987.

Klagsbrun Lebenswerd, Patric Joshua. 'Jewish Swedish in Sweden.' In *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, eds. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Bunin Benor, 431–452. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Klein, Rudolf. 'Nineteenth-Century Synagogue Typology in Historic Hungary.' In *Jewish Architecture in Europe*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Harmen H. Thies, 117–130. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010.

Knott, Kim. 'Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion.' *Temenos* 41, 2 (2005): 153–184.

Knutsson, Johan. *I 'hemtrefnadens' tid: Allmoge, nationalromantik och konstnärligt nyskapande i arkitektur, möbler och inredningar, 1890-1930*. Stockholm: Nordiska Museets förlag, 2010.

Koren-Loeb, Tzvia. 'The Frankfurt a. M. Memorbuch: Gender Roles in the Jewish Community Institutions.' *Women in Judaism* 4, 2 (2007): 1–22.

- Kracauer, Siegfried. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*. London: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Kraemer, David. *Rabbinic Judaism: Space and Place*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Kravtsov, Sergey. 'Synagogue Architecture in Lithuania.' In *Synagogues in Lithuania*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, Sergey Kravtsov, and Vladimir Levin, 43–72. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2010.
- Kungsholmen vid sekelskiftet: Minnen från barndomen och skolan*. Stockholm: Kungsholmens läroverks elevförening, 1943.
- Kuritzén Löwengart, Mia. *En samhällelig angelägenhet: Framväxten av en symfoniorkester och ett konserthus i Stockholm, cirka 1890–1926*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017.
- Kvist Geverts, Karin. *Ett främmande element i Nationen: Svensk flyktingpolitik och de judiska flyktingarna, 1938–1944*. Uppsala: Universitetsbiblioteket, 2008.
- Ladd, Brian. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Lafreniere, Don, and Gilliland, Jason. "'All the World's Stage:' A GIS Framework for Recreating Personal Time-Space from Qualitative and Quantitative Sources.' *Transactions in GIS* 19, 2 (2015): 225–246.
- Lamont, Michele. 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life.' *American Journal of Sociology*, 93, 3 (1987): 720–721.

Bibliography

Langer, Beryl. 'Review: The Practice of Everyday Life.' *Contemporary Sociology*, 17, 1 (1988): 122-124.

Lässig, Simone, and Rürup, Miriam. 'Introduction: What Made a Space "Jewish"? Reconsidering a Category of Modern German History.' In *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup, 1–20. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017.

---, eds. *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017.

Lee, Jenny. 'Torg och saluhallar: Drömmar om en modern stad.' In *Andra Stockholm: Liv, plats och identitet i storstaden*, eds. Bo Larsson, and Birgitta Svensson, 179–201. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011.

Lefebvre, Henri. 'Space and the State (1978).' In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays. Henri Lefebvre*, eds. Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden, 223–253. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

---. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1974.

Leiska, Christoph. *Räume der Begegnung – Räume der Differenz: Jüdische Integration und Antisemitismus in Göteborg und Kopenhagen, 1850-1914*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2016.

Lerner, Paul. 'Round Table Introduction: Jewish Studies Meet Cultural Studies.' *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8, 1 (2009): 41–46.

---. *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880-1940*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Levin, Vladimir. 'Synagogues in Lithuania: A Historical Overview.' In *Synagogues in Lithuania*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, Sergey Kravtsov, and Vladimir Levin, 17–41. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2010.

Levine, Gregory J. 'On the Geography of Religion.' *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 11, 1 (1986): 428–440.

Ligensa, Annemone. 'Urban Legend: Early Cinema, Modernization and Urbanization in Germany, 1895-1914.' In *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History*, eds. Daniel Biltereyst, Richard Maltby, and Philippe Meers, 117–129. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Lindberg, Klas. 'Pietistiska föregångsmän i Sverige: Två pietistiskt influerade präster i väckelsens tjänst i Sverige under 1700-talet.' *Herrnhuts Brödramission* 3 (2016): 13–19.

Lindskog, Annika. 'On Summer, Seasons, Seas and Sweet Melancholy, Exploring Landscape in Swedish Song.' *CMC Newsletter* (October 2017): 1–8.

Lipphardt, Anna, Brauch, Julia, and Nocke, Alexandra. 'Exploring Jewish Space: An Approach.' In *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, eds. Anna Lipphardt, Julia Brauch, and Alexandra Nocke, 1–23. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

---, eds. *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Loewy, Hanno, and Milchram, Gerhard, eds. *Hast du meine Alpen gesehen?: Eine jüdische Beziehungsgeschichte*. Munich: Bucher, 2009.

Bibliography

Lowenstein, Steven M., Mendes-Flohr, Paul, Pulzer, Peter, and Richarz, Monika, eds. *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit: Umstrittene Integration, Band III: 1871–1918*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1997.

Lundin, Agneta, ed. *Till minne av livet: Kyrkogårdar och begravningsplatser i Stockholms stift*. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2012.

Maier-Wolthausen, Clemens. *Zuflucht im Norden: Die Schwedischen Juden und die Flüchtlinge, 1933-1941*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018.

Mann, Barbara E. *Space and Place in Jewish Studies*. London: Rutgers University Press, 2012.

Manovich, Lev. 'Trending: The Promises and the Challenges of Big Social Data.' In *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold, 460–475. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

Maryin, Lucinda. 'Tolerance, Anti-Judaism, and Philo-Judaism in the Pietist Periodical *Bau des Reichs Gottes*.' *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*, 48, 3 (2012): 301–316.

Massey, Anne. 'Modern History and Interior Design.' In *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design*, eds. Graeme Brooker, and Lois Weinthal, 15–27. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

Massey, Doreen. *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

---. *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

- Meir, Natan M. *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Mendel, Yonatan. *The Creation of Israeli Arabic: Political and Security Considerations in the Making of Arabic Language Studies in Israel*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Mendelsson, David S. *Jewish Education in England, 1944-1988: Between Integration and Separation*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012.
- Metzler, Tobias. 'Secularization and Pluralism: Urban Jewish Cultures in Early Twentieth-Century Berlin.' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011): 871–896.
- Meyer, Michael A. *Responses to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995.
- Meyerson, Per-Martin. *Judiskt liv i Europa, 1786–1933: Integrationsprocess med förhinder*. Stockholm: Dialogos, 2012.
- Miccoli, Dario. 'Moving Histories. The Jews and Modernity in Alexandria 1881-1919.' In *Quest – Issues in Contemporary History: Journal of Fondazione CDED*, no. 2: Modernity and the Cities of the Jews (2011), ed. Cristiana Facchini, accessed: June 11, 2019, URL: <www.quest-cdecjournal-it/focus.php?id=223>.
- Konrád, Miklos. 'Music Halls and Jewish Identities in Budapest at the turn of the Century.' In *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, and Larisa Lempertiene, 143-155. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Bibliography

Morin, Karen M., and Guelke, Jeanne Kay. 'Introduction: Women, Religion and Space-Making the Connections.' In *Women, Religion, and Space: Global Perspectives on Gender and Faith*, eds. Karen M. Morin, and Jeanne Kay Guelke, xix–xxi. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007.

Moscrop, John James. *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land*. London: Leicester University Press, 2000.

Mühlfried, Florian. 'Not Sharing the Sacra.' In *Sacred Places, Emerging Spaces. Religious Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Caucasus*, eds. Tsypylma Darieva, Florian Mühlfried, and Kevin Tvite, 150–176. New York: Berghahn, 2018.

Mumford, Lewis. 'The Culture of the Cities.' in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz, 21–29. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Murray Schafer, R. 'Soundscapes and Earwitnesses.' In *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith, 3–9. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

Naar, Devin E. *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Nash, David. *Christian Ideals in British Culture: Stories of Belief in the 20th Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Nemtsov, Jascha. "'Kol Rinnah u-T'fillah".' In *Louis Lewandowski: 'Liebe Macht das Lied unsterblich!'*, eds. Jascha Nemtsov and Hermann Simon, 28–39. Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, 2011.

Ochs, Vanessa. *Inventing Jewish Ritual*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2007.

Olsson, Ulf. 'Världen efter världskriget – 1950-talets prosaförfattare.' In *Den Svenska Litteraturen: Från Modernism till massmedial marknad*, eds. Lars Lönnroth, Sven Delblanc, and Sverker Göransson, 319–342. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1999.

Panter, Sarah, Paulmann, Johannes, and Szöllösi-Janze, Margit. 'Mobility and Biography: Methodological Challenges and Perspectives.' In *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte. European History Yearbook: Band 16, Mobility and Biography*, eds. Johannes Paulmann, Markus Friedrich, and Nick Stargardt, 1–14. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2015.

Pihl Atmer, Ann Katrin. *Sommarnöjet i skärgården: sommarbebyggelse i Stockholms inre skärgård, 1860-1915*. Borås: Centraltryckeriet, 1987.

Pinxten, Rik, and Dikomotis, Lisa, eds. *When God Comes to Town: Religious Traditions in Urban Contexts*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2009.

Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Man in the Crowd*. Palm Coast: Lee Writing Services, 2015.

Pomerance, Murray. 'Introduction.' In *Cinema and Modernity*, ed. Murray Pomerance, 3–15. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Poutanen, Mary Anne, and Gilliland, Jason. 'Mapping Work in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal: A Rabbi, a Neighbourhood, and a Community.' *Urban History Review* 45, 2 (2017): 7–24.

Pred, Allan. *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Bibliography

van Rahden, Till. *Jews and other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860–1925*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.

Rapoport, Michele. 'Creating place, creating community: the intangible boundaries of the Jewish "Eruv".' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (2011): 891–904.

Rees, Gethin, de Lange, Nicholas, and Panayotov, Alexander. 'Mapping the Jewish Communities of the Byzantine Empire using GIS.' In *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, eds. Justin Yoo, Andrea Serbini, and Caroline Barron, 100–118. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Reuveni, Gideon. *Consumer Culture and the Making of Modern Jewish Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

---. 'The Bridge and the Door – On the Cultural Approach to History.' In *Deutsche Zeiten: Geschichte and Lebenswelt. Festschrift zur Emeritierung von Moshe Zimmermann*, eds. Dan Diner, Gideon Reuveni, and Yfaat Weiss, 24–38. Göttingen: Vandenberg & Ruprecht, 2012.

---, and Nils Roemer, eds. *IJS Studies in Judaica, volume 2: Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Richardson, Gunnar. *Svensk utbildningshistoria: Skola och samhälle förr och nu*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004.

Rieder, Bernhard, and Röhle, Theo. 'Digital Methods: Five Challenges.' In *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry, 67–84. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Roemer, Nils, and Reuveni, Gideon. 'Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture.' In *IJS Studies in Judaica, volume 2: Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, eds. Gideon Reuveni, and Nils Roemer, 1–22. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Roos, Lena. 'Gottlieb Klein und die Religionswissenschaft in Schweden.' In *Deutschsprachige jüdische Emigration nach Schweden: 1774 bis 1945*, eds. Olaf Glöckner, Lars M Andersson, and Helmut Müssener, 119–132. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017.

Rosman, Moshe. *How Jewish is Jewish History?* Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007.

Rozenblit, Marsha L. 'Creating Jewish Space: German-Jewish Schools in Moravia.' *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013): 108–147.

---. *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria During World War I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Rudberg, Pontus. *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Sack, Robert David. *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought*. London: Macmillan Press, 1980.

Salmi, Hannu. *19th Century Europe: A Cultural History*. Cambridge: Polity, 2008.

Sandberg, Mark B. 'Effigy and Narrative: Looking into the Nineteenth-Century Folk Museum.' In *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, eds. Leo Charney, and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 320–361. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Bibliography

Sandström, Carl Ivar. *Utbildningens idéhistoria: Om samhällsförändringarnas inflytande på undervisningens mål och idéinnehav genom tiderna i Sverige och utlandet*. Helsingborg: Svensk Facklitteratur, 1991.

Sarna, Jonathan D. 'Port Jews in the Atlantic: Further Thoughts.' *Jewish History* 20 (2006): 213–219.

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. London: Harper Collins, 1996.

Schechner, Richard, and Turner, Victor. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Schiller, Nina Glick, and Caglar, Ayse. 'Locality and Globality: Building a Comparative Analytical Framework in Migration and Urban Studies.' In *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, and Ayse Caglar, 60–81. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Shiloah, Amnon. *Jewish Musical Traditions*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.

Schlaepfer, Aline. 'The King is Dead, Long Live the King!: Jewish Funerary Performances in the Iraqi Public Space.' In *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, eds. Sasha R. Goldstein-Sabbah, and Heleen L. Murve-van den Berg, 185–204. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Schlör, Joachim. 'Faith in Residence: Jewish Spatial Practice in the Urban Context.' in *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, eds. Simone Lässig, and Miriam Rürup, 231–245. New York: Berghahn Books 2016.

---. 'Introduction: Jewish Forms of Settlement and Their Meaning.' In *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, eds. Jurgita Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, Jurgita, and Larisa, Lempertiene, 1-6. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

---. *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London, 1840–1930*. London: Reaktion Books, 1998.

Schönbäck, Hedvig. *Det svenska städernas begravningsplatser, 1770-1830: Arkitektur, sanitet och det sociala rummet*. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2008.

Schulman, Pirkko-Liisa. 'Jac. Ahrenberg: The Man who Designed the Helsinki Synagogue.' In *Jewish Architecture – New Sources and Approaches*, eds. Katrin Kessler, and Alexander von Kienlin, 133–142. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010.

Sennett, Richard. *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.

Seymour, Michael. *Babylon: Legend, History, and the Ancient City*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2014.

Sianciunaite-Verbickiene, Jurgita, and Lempertiene, Larisa, eds. *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

Silver, Nathan. *The Making of Beaubourg: A Building Biography of the Centre Pompidou, Paris*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994.

Simmel, Georg. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life.' In *The Blackwell City Reader*, eds. Gary Bridge, and Sophie Watson, 11–19. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.

Bibliography

---. 'The Stranger.' In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff, 1–3. New York: The Free Press, 1950.

Smith, Mark M. *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Söderlind, Ingrid. *Barnhem för flickor: Barn, familj och institutionsliv i Stockholm, 1870-1920*. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 1999.

Solnit, Rebecca. *Wanderlust: Att gå till fots*. Göteborg: Diadalos, 2017.

Solomon, Thomas. 'Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia.' In *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*, ed. Jennifer C. Post, 311–327. London: Routledge, 2006.

Spiro, Lisa. "'This is Why We Fight:' Defining the Values of the Digital Humanities.' In *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold, 16–35. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

Stanislawski, Michael. *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.

Stare, Jacqueline, ed., *Judiska gårdshandlare i Sverige*. Stockholm: Judiska Museet, 1996.

---. 'Judiskt liv på Söder, en annorlunda värld.' In *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare, 185–204. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998.

---. *Porträtt: Speglingar av svensk judisk kultur*. Stockholm: Fallmarks, 1993.

Steinhoff, Anthony. 'Nineteenth-Century Urbanization as Sacred Process: Insights from German Strasbourg.' *Journal of Urban History* 37, 6 (2011): 828–841.

Stokes, Martin. 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music.' In *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes, 1–27. Oxford: Berg, 1994.

Svanberg, Ingvar, and Tydén, Mattias. *Sverige och Förintelsen: Debatt och document om Europas judar, 1933-1945*. Stockholm: Arena, 1997.

---. *Tusen år av invandring*. Stockholm: Dialogos, 1992.

Svenson, Anna. *Nöden – en shtetl i Lund*. Lund: Gamla Lund, 1995.

Tally, Robert T. Jr. *Spatiality*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Thies, Harmen H. 'Jewish Architecture in Europe: An Introduction.' In *Jewish Architecture in Europe*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Harmen H. Thies, 31–40. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010.

Torell, Ulrika. 'Sötsaksrum: Sockerbagarnas platser och den kommersiella scenografin.' In *Andra Stockholm: Liv, plats och identitet i storstaden*, eds. Bo Larsson, and Birgitta Svensson, 203–235. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Bibliography

---. 'Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye.' In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D. W. Meinig, 89–102. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Ulvroos, Eva Helen. *Dansens och tidens virvlar: Om dans och lek i Sveriges historia*. Lund: Historisk media, 2004.

Valentin, Hugo. *Judarna i Sverige*. Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964.

Valins, Oliver. 'Institutionalised Religion: Sacred texts and Jewish Spatial Practice.' *Geoforum* 31 (2000): 575–586.

Vogt, Peter. 'Connectedness in Hope: German Pietism and Jews.' In *A Companion to German Pietism, 1600-1800*, ed. Douglass H. Shantz, 81–115. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Volkov, Shulamit. 'The Jewish Project of Modernity: Diverse or Unitary?' In *The European Way: European Societies During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble, 226–252. Cambridge: Berghahn Books, 2004.

Wagner, Thorsten. 'Port Jews in Copenhagen: The Sephardi Experience and its Influence on the Development of a Modern Jewish Community in Denmark.' *Jewish History and Culture* 7, 1/2 (2004): 49–60.

Waldinger, Roger. 'A Cross-Border Perspective on Migration: Beyond the Assimilation/Transnationalism Debate.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, 1 (2017): 3–17.

de Waal, Edmund. *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.

Wästberg, Per, 'Släkten Hirsch i Stockholm – några porträtt.' In *Det judiska Stockholm*, eds. David Glück, Aron Neuman, and Jacqueline Stare, 159–184. Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 1998.

Weber, Max. 'Class, Status, Party.' In *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*, ed. Charles Lemert, 115–125. Oxford: Westview, 2004.

Weberling, Anne. 'Isak Feuerring – eine zionistische Biografie zwischen Deutschland, Schweden und Palästina.' In *Deutschsprachige jüdische Emigration nach Schweden: 1774 bis 1945*, eds. Olaf Glöckner, Lars M Andersson, and Helmut Müssener, 147–163. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017.

Weiss-Sussex, Godela. "'Ich gehe und gehe [...] und gehe und sehe:" Female Experience of the City.' In *Berlin: Kultur und Metropole in den zwanziger und seit den neunziger Jahren*, ed. Ulrike Zitzlsperger, 46–61. Munich: Publications of the Institute of Germanic Studies, 2007.

Wenger, Beth S. 'Notes from the Second Generation.' *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 14, 1 (1995): 93–100.

Wiberg, Jacob. 'Frödings sista färd.' *Populär Historia* 2 (2011), accessed: December 13, 2018, URL: <www.popularhistoria.se/kultur/konst/konstnarer/frodings-sista-fard>.

Winblad, Ewonne. *Frälst, förmögen, förskingrad: Historien om Hanna Lindmark och Margaretaskolan*. Stockholm: Bonnier, 2007.

Wirth, Louis. 'Urbanism as A Way of Life.' In *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz, 58–82. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Bibliography

Wobick-Segev, Sarah. *Homes Away from Home: Jewish Belonging in Twentieth-Century Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018.

Zitomersky, Joseph. 'The Jewish Population in Sweden, 1780-1980: An Ethno-Demographic Study.' In *Judiskt liv i Norden*, eds. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén, 99–125. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988.

Zupanc, Petr. 'Nutida judisk begravningssed.' In *Gravstenar berättar: Judiskt liv i Stockholm, 1775–1875*, ed. Yvonne Jacobsson, Gabriel Herdevall, and Petr Zupanc, 40–41. Stockholm: Helgraf Media, 2018.

Word Count: 74,063, excluding appendices, bibliography and footnotes.