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The GIS prism: Beyond the Myth of Stockholm's *Ostjuden*

Abstract: In this chapter, I argue that the GIS approach holds the potential to challenge historiographical master narratives in Jewish urban history. Using Stockholm's modern Jewish population as a case study, I propose that the digital, quantitative studies associated with GIS can be used as analytical prisms through which to explore qualitative sources. In the case of Stockholm's Jewry, this methodology allows for a re-examination of spatially inscribed tropes, particularly the so-called *Ostjude*.

I begin the article by describing the largely unchallenged historiographical idea that Stockholm's Jewish pre-1939 population was divided into two groups: the integrated, Reform, and northern-residing Jews, and the Eastern European, poor, orthodox, and southern-residing Jews – the *Ostjuden*. Introducing the analytical possibilities and methodological challenges of the GIS approach, I thereafter use ArcGIS to digitally map Jewish economic engagement with Stockholm's urban topography in relation to members of two synagogues, one Reform and one orthodox. The results show that the two religious groups utilized a unified geographical integration and created communal connections across religious barriers.

With this new framework in mind, I lastly turn to a newspaper article, written by a reformed Jew in 1905, that describes a shabbat service in the orthodox synagogue. Textual analysis reveals the author's construction of the spatially inscribed stereotypes previously mentioned, in particular the ostracized trope of the *Ostjude*, and their loose ties to the Jewish community's social reality. Thus, this chapter shows that the GIS approach is vital for understanding the Swedish Jewish community's creation of tropes to sustain inner-communal hierarchies.

Keywords: digital, settlement patterns, inner-communal relations, urban topography, Swedish Jews

1 Introduction

Exiting a staircase and standing on the threshold into a room on the right-hand side, a reporter from the Swedish daily newspaper *Daily News* encounters the following scene in the shul of Adass Jisroel on March 5, 1905:

> 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 despite oppression, persecution, ridicule and contempt, ceremonies that might have been performed by my own forefathers some millennia ago in Solomon's own temple. But as I get back to the vestibule again, I am yet again in the twentieth century. The electric tram turns down the street, and unabashedly, I light my cigarette, even though it is Sabbath.[1]

The writer, using the signature "H V-n," describes a shabbat service at the shul, located in a rented room in a former Pietist girls' orphanage on the slum and industrial island of Södermalm in southern Stockholm. In the article, Hugo Vallentin – the Jewish editor behind the signature[2] – depicts members of Adass Jisroel as fundamentally different from "acclimatized" Jews, who supposedly attend the "grand" and "sophisticated" services in the purpose-built Great Synagogue in the northern, central parts of the Swedish capital. Indeed, according to Vallentin, members of Adass Jisroel and the Great Synagogue are socially and culturally dichotomized, divided by ethnic background, religious practices, and economic status. He inscribes these differences into the city's topography, locating integrated, Reform, and modern Jews in the northern district, and Eastern European, poor, and orthodox Jews in the southern district. On the shabbat morning of March 5, 1905, as Adass Jisroel's members with "dark eyes" and "long beards" pray, Hugo Vallentin, Swedish-born and among the Great Synagogue's third richest members,[3] exits the building, lights a cigarette, and hops onto a tram to get back to his home in northern Stockholm,[4] trusting that readers will under-

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1 H V-n, "De rättrogna," *Dagens Nyheter*, March 5, 1905, 3, at Swedish Royal Library (henceforward referred to as SRL). All subsequent quotes from "H V-n" originate from this article.
2 Register of pseudonyms and signatures, SRL.
3 Hugo Vallentin was born in 1860 in Gothenburg. In 1909, he paid 120 Swedish *kronor* for his membership to the Mosaic Congregation in Stockholm; see: Register of taxpayers for 1910, SE/RA/730128/01/A1a79, Swedish State Archive (henceforward referred to as SSA).
4 According to the register of Stockholm's taxation records, available at Stockholm's City Archive (henceforward referred to as SCA), Hugo Vallentin lived on Tegnérgatan 37 in 1905 and 1909.

stand that he is breaking a shabbat rule, and, therefore, is not a member of the Jewish "colony" in southern Stockholm.

Is Vallentin's depiction of a dichotomized, spatially inscribed Jewish community in Stockholm in the beginning of the 20th century correct? The narrative has not lost its potency in the last hundred years and has been reproduced and cemented in Swedish Jewish historiography and historical memory. Although some researchers have noted that Stockholm's small Jewish population of some 3,000 people never established an Eastern European, Jewish urban district comparable to, for example, Scheunenviertel, the East End, Marais, and Leopoldstadt in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna respectively, the supposed division between integrated, Reform, northern-residing Jews and Eastern European, poor, orthodox, southern-residing Jews – Stockholm's version of the *Ostjude* – persists. In this chapter, I show that geographical analysis through a GIS (Geographic Information Systems) approach challenges the established historiographical narrative and accentuates a "more chaotic, more contingent, more fluid, more uncertain, more ambiguous, more immediate – in other words, more fully human"[5] experience of Jewish life in Stockholm. Facilitating an analysis based on quantitative sources, GIS stresses the pivotal role of Stockholm's topography, uniquely defined by islands, islets, peninsulas, inlets, bays, streams, and straits, in shaping Jewish negotiations on social integration, religious practices, and internal relations. As I will argue, a GIS approach is highly useful to debunk spatially inscribed, historiographical master narratives and highlight the complexity of the Jewish, urban experience.

In order to show the promise of GIS I firstly introduce the historiographical narrative of Stockholm's dichotomized Jewish population pre-World War II. The synagogues mentioned in Vallentin's article, Adass Jisroel and the Great Synagogue, receive particular emphasis, since their divergent geographical positions and religious affiliations have previously served as a foundational framework for understanding Jewish life in the Swedish capital as divided. The potential of the GIS approach to challenge historiographical discourses, despite current discussions on its limitations, is secondly highlighted, and I argue that GIS functions as a prism through which qualitative sources, such as Vallentin's article, should be evaluated and examined. I also introduce some of the multiple methodological challenges associated with the digital software tool ArcGIS, and how I have

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5 David J. Bodenhamer, "Chasing Bakhtin's Ghost: From Historical GIS to Deep Mapping," in *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*, ed. Ian Gregory, Don DeBats, and Don Lafreniere (London: Routledge, 2018), 539.

approached them in my own study. Having thus explained the historiographical setting and the digital methodology, I revisit the Jewish community in Stockholm and compare the economic status of members of Adass Jisroel and the communal organ the Mosaic Congregation, which mainly supported the Reform community belonging to the Great Synagogue. As I will show, the GIS approach efficiently determines their economic and geographical similarities, raising the question whether they should indeed be regarded as two groups. With this new framework in mind, I lastly return to Vallentin's article and his, and the Swedish Jewish historiography's, narrative of a dichotomized Jewish community, and argue that Stockholm's *Ostjude* was an ostracized trope created as a result of the community's internal hierarchy, shaped by the local, urban fabric.

2 Stockholm's Jewry: A Narrative of Dichotomy

Echoing editor Hugo Vallentin's narrative, scholars in Swedish Jewish history have ever since the publication of *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (The History of Jews in Sweden) by Jewish historian Hugo Valentin (not to be mistaken for the above-mentioned Hugo Vallentin) in 1924, crudely divided Jewish migration groups moving to Sweden from the 18th century until the Holocaust into two groups. The first Jew to be allowed to practice Judaism settled in Stockholm in 1775, and relatives, business colleagues, and friends subsequently moved from mainly Mecklenburg to Sweden. Danish Jews simultaneously extended their businesses into Sweden. This first migration group from central and northern Europe is known for aiding the development of Sweden's commercial consumption through sugar and textile productions, the foundation of banks and modern industries, and involvement in the construction of railroads and extraction of ore.[6] Later generations became influential in cultural spheres as well, being artists, writers and intellectuals, financial donors to the capital's Concert Hall, constructers of Stockholm's modern architecture, publishers of the national literary canon, and owners of department stores and famous restaurants.[7] During the decades before the emancipation in

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6 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*, ed. Lars M. Andersson, and Carl Henrik Carlsson (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2013), 17–47; Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964), 85–95.

7 See, for example: Mia Kuritzén Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet: Framväxten av en symfoniorkester och ett konserthus i Stockholm, cirka 1890–1926* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis

1870, many Jews in Stockholm moved from the medieval district on the island of Stadsholmen, today called Old Town, into modern developments on the northern mainland.

The purpose-built Great Synagogue was built in the vicinity of this newly established commercial and cultural city center. Constructed during the 1860s, the new synagogue received an architectural design linked to the emerging Reform Judaism, aimed at modernizing Jewish religion in Europe. In contrast to its central location in the previous synagogue in Old Town, the bimah was instead placed at the eastern end of the ship in the new synagogue, close to the Aron Hakodesh, facing an organ and space for a choir at the other end. Its inauguration ceremony on September 16, 1870 included sermons and hymns in Swedish, the latter accompanied by the organ. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the rabbi's attire was furthermore inspired by Christian priests, "confirmation" for girls was added, and many members discarded the practices of kashrut and shabbat. The Great Synagogue became a space for modernized religious practices, inspired by the Protestant environment in Sweden.

The second group of Jewish migrants included some 3,000 to 4,000 Jews migrating from mainly Grodno, Kovno, Suwalki, Vilna, and Vitebsk to Sweden between the 1860s and 1917.[8] 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.[9] Although many worked as peddlers,[10] Eastern European Jews were not a static group of poor Jews. Rita Bredefeldt shows that they used both industrial and trade sectors to advance economically and integrate socially.[11] Individuals from Eastern Europe were also successful in commerce, and some were famous artists,

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Upsaliensis, 2017); Jacqueline Stare, *Porträtt: Speglingar av svensk judisk kultur* (Stockholm: Fallmarks, 1993), 26–52.

8 These areas had not experienced widespread pogroms but rather crop failures, famine, and military conscriptions. In 1890, about a fifth of those who had arrived in the last 30 years had used Sweden as a transit nation, continuing their travels towards America. The migration to Sweden largely stopped in 1917 with the introduction of passports. See: 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.

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

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

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

such as painter Isaac Grünewald. Reconstructing an ordinary day on Södermalm at the beginning of the 20th century, Mats Franzén notes that although Eastern European Jews and Italians were both considered as strangers in the streetscape, the former integrated occupationally and culturally faster.[12] Putting together these historical fragments, it is clear that Eastern European Jews arriving in Stockholm were generally determined to integrate into the capital's society.

In response to the construction of the Reform-aligned Great Synagogue, Adass Jisroel was created in 1870, and as mentioned above, it was set up in a Pietist orphanage on the island of Södermalm, south of Old Town. Hugo Vallentin describes in his article that the bimah was placed at the center of the room rented on the first floor, and a women's balcony was constructed. Correspondence from Adass Jisroel's leaders throughout the first decades of the 20th century describes the place as a "shul," "synagogue," "minyan," and "chevra" respectively, and its religious orientation is ambiguous, ranging from "traditional" and "orthodox" to "conservative." Dedicated male members, however, participated in morning and evening prayers, families kept kosher, but also had to navigate the rules of shabbat. Some, for example, used the tram to get from their home to shabbat services in the synagogue,[13] although the payment of the tickets was a break of shabbat rules. Despite the unclear religious stance of Adass Jisroel, it was noticeably more traditional than the Great Synagogue.

Research has only scratched the surface of these two groups' relationship beyond Vallentin's and Valentin's suggested dichotomy. Carl Henrik Carlsson's study on Eastern European Jewish acquisition of Swedish citizenship at the turn of the 20th century shows that the first group, as leaders of the Mosaic Congregation, more often than not wrote favorable character descriptions to Stockholm's Police to assist the process.[14] Studies on Jewish philanthropy in Stockholm similarly show that wealthier Jews aided some of the poorer families arriving from Eastern Europe. They built cheap apartments, established a youth leisure center, provided clothes, shoes and food for children, and formed a summer youth camp on an island in Stockholm's archipelago.[15] Anna Besserman argues that "the only

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12 Mats Franzén, *Den folkliga staden: Söderkvarter i Stockholm mellan krigen* (Lund: Arkiv förlag, 1992), 144–54.

13 Interview with Henry Blideman (October 21, 2014).

14 Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*.

15 See, for example: Anna Besserman, "'...Eftersom nu en gång en nådig försyn täckts hosta dem upp på Sveriges gästvänliga stränder': Mosaiska Församlingen i Stockholm inför den öst-judiska invandringen till staden, 1860–1914," *Scandinavian Jewish Studies* 5 (1984): 32; Svante Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad: Flyktingverksamhet i Mosaiska församlingen i Stockholm, 1933–1950* (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2004), 62.

existent contact space was between the needy and the philanthropists."[16] Other scholars and public educators have adopted and circulated this dichotomized image between established Jews and Eastern European Jews, inscribing supposed religious, ethnic, and economic differences into the urban space. Some echo Vallentin and argue, without much research evidence, that there existed a territorial division between the groups, mainly due to Eastern European Jews' "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."[17] The discourse was reconfirmed in scholarly work as late as 2004.[18] In late 2021, the City Museum in Stockholm offered guided tours on "Northern Jews and Southern Jews," describing the Jewish community as "divided into two groups into the late 1930s" in their marketing.[19]

On the other hand, Carl Henrik Carlsson notes that "the real correlation 'Western Jew'/Reformed Jew respectively 'Eastern Jew'/orthodox Jew is not necessary as strong as it seems or is usually emphasized."[20] In an article on Jewish migrants making Sweden their new home as a consequence of World War I, he calls orthodox yet economically affluent Jacob Ettlinger, chairman of Adass Jisroel from the end of the 1910s, a "typically untypical Jew" and an example of how the dichotomized identity "templates are not always true."[21] Suggesting that there were more "typically untypical" Jews, Carlsson was the first to question the historical memory of Stockholm's Jews.

The internal structure of the Mosaic Congregation also connected the majority of Jews living in Stockholm, whether rich or poor, reform or orthodox. The Mosaic Congregation 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 a Jewish individual to join a community with societal status in the non-Jewish sphere. The membership itself could, however, be too expensive for less wealthy Jews, as it was calculated in proportion to one's income, and difficult for migrants

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16 Besserman, "Eftersom nu en gång," 29.

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

18 Hansson, *Flykt och överlevnad*, 44.

19 "Norrjudar och söderjudar," *Stadsmuseets kalendarium*, accessed September 13, 2021, https://stadsmuseet.stockholm.se/kalendarium/2021/11/16/norrjudar-och-soderjudar-sodermalm/.

20 Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*, 34.

21 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), 168–70.

to obtain, since Swedish citizenship was a prerequisite for membership from 1882 on. Because the Swedish government discriminated against Eastern European Jewish naturalization processes, Swedish citizenships were difficult for migrants to achieve.[22] Consequently, the presence and influence of poorer, migrant Jews in the Mosaic Congregation were inhibited.

My previous study on the construction of the Great Synagogue in the 1860s relatedly portrays the power relation between the two groups, and how they negotiated the future sacred space. As leaders of the Mosaic Congregation, established Jews did not invite Eastern European Jews into the planning process, and even ignored and belittled their wishes on the inclusion of a mikveh in the new synagogue.[23] The negotiation, although unbalanced, shows that the two groups had more complex roles to play than those of philanthropists and the needy, with Eastern European Jews actively striving to influence how the community's shared spaces would be shaped. As I will show, the Swedish *Ostjude* presented in Hugo Vallentin's article from 1905 – the poor, orthodox, Eastern European Jew living on Södermalm – which has been reproduced and cemented by both Swedish Jewish historiography and Stockholm's heritage industry, does not align with the Jewish community's actual topographical engagement with Stockholm. Instead, I argue that the use of a GIS approach as framework for understanding the Jewish community's relationship to urban topography firstly, helps us to locate spatial stereotypes, and secondly, in combination with qualitative sources, suggests the importance of said stereotypes for internal structures and communal relations.

3 GIS: Analytical Possibilities and Methodological Challenges

Although GIS is fundamental for developing my argument, critics have pointed out its limitations in exploring human complexity. GIS tools involve the capture, plotting, and analysis of geographical data through collected, quantifiable information at a specific time and place. They have, therefore, been accused of producing "static residential spaces,"[24] trapping mobile environments and actors within the boundaries of a chosen date and location of mapping, yielding precise,

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22 Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*.
23 Maja Hultman, "The Construction of the Great Synagogue in Stockholm: A Space for Jewish and Swedish-Christian Dialogues," *Arts: Synagogue Art and Architecture* 9 (2020): 33.
24 Don Lafreniere and Jason Gilliland, "'All the World's a Stage': A GIS Framework for Recreating Personal Time-Space from Qualitative and Quantitative Sources," *Transactions in GIS* 19 (2015): 226.

organized snapshots, void of lived experience or agency.[25] Encountering these methodological problems, researchers in digital and spatial humanities have in recent years further fine-tuned the use of GIS to support digital analyses of human ambiguity. Some add physical attributes, relational information, and narrative sources to the various software programs to analyze social networks in the streetscape over time. Others use PGIS (Participatory Geographic Information Systems) or deep mapping to involve the public in studying temporal multilayers of meanings attached to a small geographical area.[26] I, however, dispute a quick dismissal of GIS and argue that by using it as a prism for examining qualitative sources, human complexity can indeed be captured and explored.

Within Jewish Studies, the GIS approach has proved vital in contradicting accepted historical narratives. The assumed predominance of urban Jewries in the Byzantine Empire has, for example, been disproved with a GIS-supported analysis.[27] Mapping population patterns of Jewish communities in pre-World War II Poland, Malgorzata Hanzl finds individual motives for migration and settlement.[28] Other studies have used GIS to explore the shape of Jewish/non-Jewish relations and inner-communal relations in urban settings.[29] Although providing a static picture of human life, GIS can clearly be used to debunk historical myths and deliver a geographical grid to be filled with human experiences, encounters, practices, and meanings. By placing a GIS-informed, quantitative analysis at the forefront of this study, the stereotypical trope of the Swedish *Ostjuden*, found in qualitative sources, is revealed as a constructed, reproduced, and cemented image, a product of social webs and internal hierarchies. The use of GIS, in tandem

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25 Trevor M. Harris, "From PGIS to Participatory Deep Mapping and Spatial Storytelling: An Evolving Trajectory in Community Knowledge Representation in GIS," *The Cartographic Journal* 53 (2016): 319–21.

26 Harris, "From PGIS to Participatory Deep Mapping and Spatial Storytelling."

27 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*, ed. Justin Yoo, Andrea Serbini, and Caroline Barron (New York: Routledge, 2019), 116.

28 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*, ed. Osvaldo Gervasi et al. (Cham: Springer, 2017), 231.

29 See, for example: Mary Anne Poutanen and Jason Gilliland, "Mapping Work in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal: A Rabbi, a Neighbourhood, and a Community," *Urban History Review* 45 (2017): 7–24; Máté Rigó, "Ordinary Women and Men: Superintendents and Jews in the Budapest Yellow-Star Houses in 1944–1945," *Urban History* 40 (2013): 71–91.

with qualitative sources, sheds light on the ambiguity and complexity of human experiences.

In this chapter, I will use GIS to map Jewish residences in Stockholm in 1909 and 1935. The geographical distribution of Jewish homes is analyzed in relation to economic and religious aspects. The specific geographical locations of Adass Jisroel and the Great Synagogue are shown to be part of a complicated and unbalanced web of communal relations, and as such, they stand as an example of the religious, ethnic, and economic complexity that existed within Stockholm's Jewish community before World War II. As the economic links and spatial resemblances between the Mosaic Congregation and Adass Jisroel become clear, I will argue that their members were more similar than previously believed.

Using a GIS approach is not without practical and methodological challenges, however. Choosing to work with the software program ArcGIS, the georeferencing of historical maps, placing historical images on top of today's geographical grid, was a particularly time-consuming task, and the final result received a rather high RMS (Root Mean Square) error number, which potentially offsets the exact location of Jewish residences.[30] Furthermore, the application of ED (Enumeration District) boundaries, which allow the map to be divided into urban districts, and thereby for subsequent comparisons between different districts, proved too time-consuming for this project.

A second challenge was the collection of quantitative data from a variety of sources, located in different archives. Data was collected from the Mosaic Congregation's membership list in 1939, records of "alien faith believers" in local church parishes, and local city taxation records from 1935.[31] Together, they provide information on residential address, name, gender, marital status, age, occupation, birthplace, and, in case of a membership in the Mosaic Congregation, internal taxation. To make sure that I included only people who defined themselves as Jewish, I firstly collected names from the Mosaic Congregation's membership list and those who were not members of the Mosaic Congregation but defined themselves as "Mosaic" in public records related to local church parishes. Although I came across other Jewish-sounding names in the taxation list, I did not include them, since I had no proof of their Jewish identification. Different name spellings in handwritten sources made the manual cross-reference between the list of Jews,

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30 The historical map that was used is: H. Hellberg, and A.E. Påhlman, "1934 års karta över Stockholm med omgivningar (1917–1934)," SE/SSA/Stockholmskartor, SCA. The RMS error number is 29,1225.
31 Mosaic church books at SSA; Christian parish books of Adolf Fredrik, Engelbrekt, Gustav Vasa, Jakob, Johannes, Katarina, Matteus, Oscar, Sofia, and S:t Göran at SCA; Stockholm's taxation records at SCA.

gathered from the membership list and church parishes, and their addresses from the city taxation records difficult, time-consuming, and likely incomplete. Still, I was able to localize 49.8% (2,488 adults) of Stockholm's approximately 5,000 Jews – adults and children – in 1935,[32] which gives me a representative sample of the whole Jewish population.

It was not easy to locate which of the 2,488 Jewish individuals that were affiliated to Adass Jisroel. Going through the private archive related to Adass Jisroel's chairman Jacob Ettlinger, I came across an undated document that listed members of the shul.[33] It includes two lists, one typewritten and one handwritten, possibly suggesting that the individuals named had variously strong or limited affiliations. From its position in the archival folder, as well as some cross-referenced addresses in city taxation records, it is likely that the lists were compiled in the 1940s. Using this document to deduce Adass Jisroel's members, I found the addresses of those who lived in Stockholm and were adults in 1935. I am thereby able to compare their settlement pattern in relation to that of the Mosaic Congregation's members.

The last methodological hurdle was related to the lack of material. Whether it is due to Stockholm's historically non-unitary approach towards the administration of non-Protestant inhabitants in the beginning of the 20th century, or the loss of archival material during a later stage, records of "alien faith believers" do not exist for all local parishes. Some parish books were, furthermore, unavailable for research in 2018, when I collected data for the project, due to Swedish law on public confidentiality.[34] This resulted in missing data from five of Stockholm's 15 geographically defined parishes in 1935.[35] Many Jewish individuals were, however, found multiple times in the ten available records, meaning that non-members of the Mosaic Congregation frequently moved across parish borders. Tests on the robustness of digital, quantitative network analysis using pools of data with missing components also show that results are not as affected by missing data as previously presumed.[36] Although voices from Jews in poorer

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32 Clemens Maier-Wolthausen gives Stockholm a Jewish population of 7,000 individuals in 1939 in his book *Zuflucht im Norden: Die Schwedischen Juden und die Flüchtlinge, 1933–1941* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018), 300; and Pontus Rudberg states that 3,063 Jewish refugees had arrived in Sweden in 1939 in *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust* (London: Routledge, 2017), 111. The Jewish population can therefore be deduced to some 5,000 Jews in 1935.
33 List of possible members of Adass Jisroel, SE/RA/720483/5/1, SSA.
34 The Swedish law 2009:400 states that archival documents must be older than 70 years to be published online.
35 The unavailable parishes were: Högalid, Maria, Hedvig Eleonora, Storkyrkan, and Kungsholmen.
36 Yann C. Ryan and Sebastian E. Ahnert, "The Measure of the Archive: The Robustness of Network Analysis in Early Modern Correspondence," *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 7 (2021): 57–88.

circumstances and/or lacking a Swedish citizenship are missing, the missing data potentially has only a modest effect on the analytical results.

These methodological challenges notwithstanding, I use ArcGIS to compare and contrast the geographical distribution of members of both the Mosaic Congregation and Adass Jisroel, as well as determine their connections. The results from the analysis of quantitative, geographical data reveal insights that overturn scholars' previous understanding of Jewish traditional life in Stockholm. This geographical analysis of a Jewish population is, to my knowledge, the first within Jewish Studies that endeavors to use GIS to explore religious minorities and internal hierarchies in urban environments. Using class as the analytical entry point into the Jewish population's relationship with Stockholm's urban fabric and the Jewish community's religious spaces,[37] the following section will showcase the potency of GIS to question historical myths, reveal communal webs, and define internal hierarchies.

4 Revisiting Stockholm's Jewry: Connections Across the City

In the beginning of the 20th century, the city of Stockholm was composed of 14 islands in Sweden's third largest lake. Naturally, the inlets, bays, and channels divided urban districts from each other, and although bridges were continuously built, the topographical divisions exacerbated and cemented socio-economic differences. The islands of Södermalm in the south and Kungsholmen to the west became increasingly associated with industry and slum. In contrast, modern Haussmann-inspired urban developments changed the north-eastern parts of the city. The topography of Stockholm accentuated socio-economic division and was used by Hugo Vallentin, among others, to describe the *Ostjuden* who attended Adass Jisroel, located on Södermalm, as poor. But who were Adass Jisroel's members? Did they differ that much from Hugo Vallentin and the other members of the Mosaic Congregation? Were they mainly poor and Eastern European? And did they cluster on Södermalm?

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37 Discussing Max Weber's distinction between class and status, Till van Rahden uses the concept of class to research income and actual economic possibilities and limitations among Breslau's Jewish community. See: Till van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860–1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 23.

The first analysis (Figure 1) shows the residential distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members in 1935 in relation to their economic capabilities. The Mosaic Congregation's membership fee was, as previously mentioned, proportionally determined by each member's income, and an analysis of the fee can therefore reveal the economic dimension of urban relationships. As can be observed in the map, residences belonging to members paying 0–100 *kronor*, 68% of the total population, were located across the whole city. Clearly, apartments for the working-classes existed in all districts, making no urban space impenetrable for the lower classes. In this sense, economic standing did not automatically lead to topographical segregation. On the other hand, the Mosaic Congregation's wealthiest members did not set up homes in any urban district. The residences were located mainly in the modern, north-eastern area of Stockholm, but also along waterfront promenades connected to the main water bodies. Some also lived on Kungsholmen and Södermalm, in areas with views of the capital's natural features and urban skyline. Consequently, if members of the Mosaic Congregation could afford it, they would establish homes in urban districts that allowed for an immersion into the modern or uniquely natural environment of Stockholm.
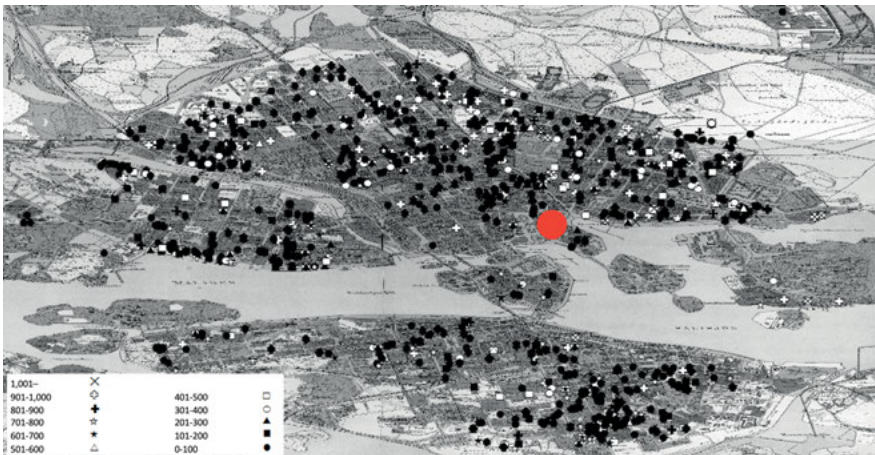
Figure 1: The residential distribution of the Mosaic Congregation's taxed members (in Swedish kronor) in 1935. The red circle represents the location of the Great Synagogue.
*Source*: H. Hellberg and A.E. Påhlman, 1934, City Archive, Stockholm.

A similar pattern is found among Adass Jisroel's members in 1935 (Figure 2). Curiously, members of Adass Jisroel were oftentimes also members of the Mosaic Congregation. As mentioned earlier, although the Mosaic Congregation was mainly run by descendants of the first migration group at the beginning of the 20th century, and was decidedly linked to Reform Judaism, its membership was the only way for an individual to join a Jewish community with legal, societal status. The social status of the membership seemingly encouraged traditional practitioners to join, connecting people to two religious places. Therefore, the links between the Mosaic Congregation and traditional practitioners were many. Adass Jisroel's wealthiest members also lived in the modern, north-eastern area of Stockholm. While members untaxed by the Mosaic Congregation – meaning that they were either too poor to afford to pay the membership fee, were not yet Swedish citizens, or did not want to be affiliated to either the Reform orientation or the leadership – indeed clustered on the southern parts of Södermalm, the rest of the members were scattered all over Stockholm. It would have taken between 30 and 45 minutes for some to reach the shul for morning and evening prayers. Indeed, the residential distribution of traditional practitioners essentially mirrors the pattern of the larger community, showing that neither class nor the location of religious institutions were large influences on the membership of the shul. Instead, both Reform and traditional Jews adopted the same relationship to the city and settled in more modern and developed areas if economic means allowed.

Figure 2: The residential distribution of Adass Jisroel's members, taxed or non-taxed (in Swedish kronor) by the Mosaic Congregation, in 1935. The red circle represents the location of Adass Jisroel.
Source: H. Hellberg and A.E. Påhlman, 1934, City Archive, Stockholm.

Class clearly shaped Jewish life in Stockholm. While not limiting Jews from settling wherever they wanted, it was simultaneously used to gain access to modern and status-infused areas in the city. The ArcGIS analysis shows that the geographical distribution of Jewish residences was not influenced by religious orientation. Many attending Adass Jisroel in the 1930s were not only living off Södermalm, but also had comparably comfortable economic means. In other words, Adass Jisroel's members were not only poor Jews living on the southern island. Was this also the case when Hugo Vallentin visited Adass Jisroel in 1905? No membership list for Adass Jisroel exists from the time, but taking Hugo Vallentin's, and Swedish historians', argument that the shul's members had no links to the Mosaic Congregation, I have also analyzed the residential pattern of Jews not taxed by, and therefore without membership in, the Mosaic Congregation in 1909. Again, an equal residential distribution across the whole city emerges (Figure 3). Whether the untaxed people were poor, did not hold a Swedish citizenship, or did not want to be a part of a community synonymous with Reform Judaism, they were living in diverse urban districts. In contrast to, for example, Viennese Jews,[38] Jews in Stockholm did not settle or resettle in the vicinity of other Jewish individuals with a similar economic status or religious affiliation. Instead, when setting up
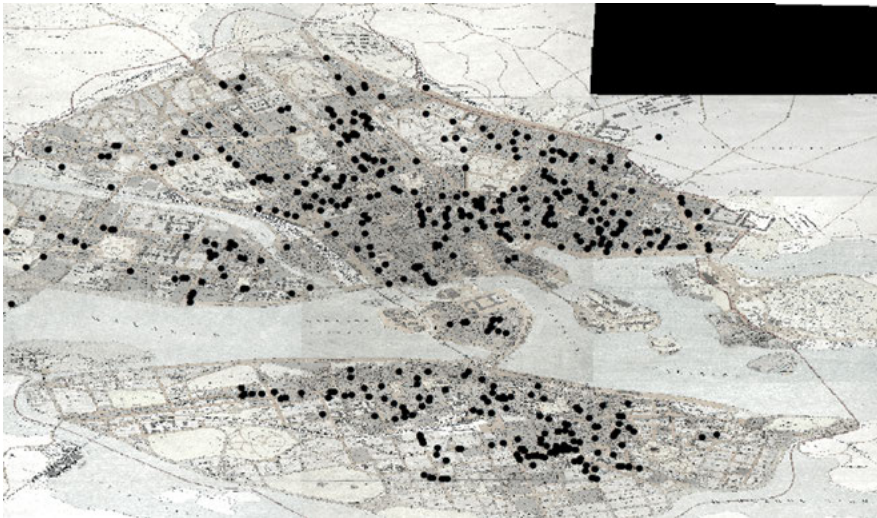
Figure 3: The residential distribution of Jews not taxed by the Mosaic Congregation in 1909. *Source*: Alfred Bentzer, 1909, City Archive, Stockholm.

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38 Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 71–98.

their private homes in Stockholm, Jews aligned to class divisions topographically inscribed into the urban landscape.

Accordingly, there is a stark difference between the image of the *Ostjude* delivered by Hugo Vallentin, and the cemented historiographical narrative of a dichotomized population, and the result of the ArcGIS mappings conducted in this research. While previous assumptions have crudely inscribed two divergent stereotypes into Stockholm's topography, the digital analysis shows that there were connections and similarities between traditional Jews and the Reformist Mosaic Congregation. Not only had members of both synagogues a similar distribution of economic means, but many individuals were also members of both communities. Although the synagogues were positioned in two different urban districts, their members were both socially interlinked and formed similar relationships to the urban landscape. Despite understanding and practicing Judaism differently, the members of Adass Jisroel and the Mosaic Congregation thus had more in common than has previously been communicated through the image of the *Ostjude* and the idea of a dichotomized Jewish population.

With this spatial framework in mind – a unified geographical integration and communal connections across religious barriers – Hugo Vallentin's exotified description of Adass Jisroel's members gains new meaning. In his article, Vallentin argues that the general, traditional practitioner exclaims "He is leading us towards baptism!" when the Mosaic Congregation's rabbi makes "trivial simplifications and swedicizes the [religious] ritual." Many members of Adass Jisroel did, however, belong to both religious communities. Similarly, Vallentin describes that "many of its members are retailers, with or without a shop. There is also one or two artisans, and their numbers are probably growing due to the commendable efforts of the upper class to lead the younger generation onto new paths." Although his and earlier scholarly studies' emphasis on the traditional Jew as a Jew in need of philanthropic aid, sources show that Adass Jisroel had members of similar economic caliber as the Mosaic Congregation. Lastly, Vallentin notes that most members of Adass Jisroel lived on Södermalm, while my spatial analysis has determined the obvious similarities of unclustered residential patterns between the Mosaic Congregation and Adass Jisroel.

Vallentin was, clearly, not relaying the social reality of Jewish life in Stockholm, but rather a constructed, imaginary image. As portrayed by Steven Aschheim, an antipathy flourished among integrated German Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries towards the traditional, and often also Eastern European, Jew.[39] The Swedish

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

Ostjude was similarly a trope created by established Jews to belittle poorer Jewish immigrants and their cultural practices. Although members of Adass Jisroel were as economically and spatially integrated as members of the Mosaic Congregation, they were associated with the industrial and slum topography of Södermalm. This created a trope that, in tandem with philanthropy and the exclusion from membership in the Mosaic Congregation, ostracized Eastern European Jews, downplayed the importance of traditional rituals, and belittled the agency of poorer Jews. Using a GIS approach to explore the topographical context of Vallentin's article, an underlying internal hierarchy, determined by the social and religious prejudice of the Mosaic Congregation's bourgeois members, is exposed. The quantitative, digital analysis reveals the connections between Stockholm's Jews across geographical, economic, and religious borders. When exploring qualitative sources relaying personal experiences of Jewish space through this framework, the contemporary condescension and ignorance of this Jewish social fabric instead ignites questions of how and why stereotypical tropes emerged, and how they influenced people's relations with the Jewish community and the larger city. In other words, the GIS approach exposes the complex and ambiguous experience of being Jewish in Stockholm at the beginning of the 20th century, and its prism can guide and direct future scholars' explorations of Jewish urban life.

5 Conclusion

Starting with Vallentin's prejudiced depiction of a shabbat service in Adass Jisroel in 1905, this chapter has, with the help of ArcGIS, excavated the topographical reality of the shul's members in the beginning of the 20th century. I argue that today's historiographical narrative of divergent *Ostjuden* and established Jews has little bearing in historical results of social connections and unified economic behaviors, and is a persisting, monolithic image that does not reflect Adass Jisroel's community at the time. Using a historically informed GIS approach allows us to go beyond the imaginary *Ostjude*, a product of class-based power structures inscribed in Stockholm's topography. Through quantitative and data-driven, digital methods, we can explore the complexity and ambiguity that defined Jewish life in Stockholm at the beginning of the 20th century.

Neatly situated in the recent trend of scholarly work on Jewish local, urban communities,[40] this research's emphasis on quantitative data and use of digital

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40 To mention only a few examples from the pool of excellent research: Barbara E. Mann, *A Place in History: Modernism, Tel Aviv, and the Creation of Jewish Urban Space* (Stanford, CA: Stan-

methods is relatively rare.[41] While most urban historians in this field base their research on various and multivocal qualitative material, I would argue that topographical patterns derived from quantitative sources provide vital frameworks for contextualizing and understanding such research. My joint use of quantitative data and digital methodology in performing spatial analysis based on archival primary sources can hopefully encourage other researchers of Jewish, urban communities to dive deeper into the Jewish relationship with urban settings across the globe, despite the computational literacy and time-consuming data collection needed. What other – or similar – stereotypical tropes can we uncover, and what patterns of spatial integration do we find across modern Europe? Is there perhaps a Jewish border-crossing, transnational practice of urban integration and inner-communal relations that awaits future exploration with GIS?

Digital humanities indeed hold further possibilities for in-depth explorations of Jewish inner-communal relations through the topographical lens. While the GIS approach reveals internal hierarchies and the use of imagined tropes within Stockholm's Jewish community, deep mapping, as applied by scholars in spatial humanities,[42] can help to further explore disparate Jewish spatial experiences of Stockholm, as well as other cities. Developed to excavate temporal multilayers of meanings attached to a small geographical area through multifarious methodologies and sources, deep mapping is a digital and methodological entry point into "spatially framed identities."[43] It emphasizes the use of non-traditional sources, such as folklore, memories, and art, to reach beyond hierarchies of knowledge. It is a methodology that puts multivocality at the forefront, and promotes a "nuanced, non-reductionist"[44] view of the world, in order to "amplify the voices of marginalized stakeholders, both socially and ecologically."[45]

ford University Press, 2006); Natan M. Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); Devin E. Naar, *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

41 Van Rahden produces excellent research from his quantitative data, and he also attempted to produce a digital, geographical analysis, but lost his work. See: van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans*.

42 William Least Heat-Moon, *PrairyErth (a Deep Map)* (Boston: Mariner Books, 1999); Les Roberts, "Deep Mapping and Spatial Anthology," *Arts* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–8.

43 David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, "Introduction," in *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015), 3.

44 Harris, "From PGIS to Participatory Deep Mapping and Spatial Storytelling," 320.

45 Selina Springett, "Going Deeper or Flatter: Connecting Deep Mapping, Flat Ontologies and the Democratizing of Knowledge," *Humanities* 4 (2015): 624.

Since deep mapping not only includes but centers digital research on minorities and individuals positioned in societal peripheries, it would be specifically useful for uncovering and analyzing the different meanings attached to, for example, Adass Jisroel and the Great Synagogue. I have collected a variety of qualitative material, such as newspaper articles, architectural designs, photographs, poems, and private letters, that reveal different uses, emotions, and imaginations of Jewish spaces in Stockholm. The use of a deep mapping approach could enable the visualization of multiple, disparate spatial stories on top of the quantitative, data-driven analysis of the GIS approach and help to find new connections or disconnections between them. Furthermore, the online publications of such mappings, for instance with a tool like ArcGIS, enables us to invite readers (or users) to join in the academic endeavor, and thereby, facilitate open-ended, public-related research.[46] Deep mapping can thus not only help to further destabilize the current master narrative of a dichotomized Jewish population in Stockholm, as in the specific example of this article, but more generally highlight the complexity of Jewish urban life and the experiences of previously marginalized voices.

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46 As is one of the goals of deep mapping, see: Bodenhamer, Corrigan, and Harris, "Introduction," 3.

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