

**Fig.8.1:** Hans Nielsen Hauge, bronze bust by Thorsten Christensen Flatmoe (1831–1886). Østfold fylkes billedarkiv. Photo: Kjell Bertheau Johannessen.

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# Chapter 8 "Preparing stones and chalk for Zion": Jerusalem, Hans Nielsen Hauge, and the Community of Friends

The Norwegian lay preacher and entrepreneur Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) sparked a movement that significantly came to shape Norwegian religion and society. His teachings were firmly rooted in the Pietistic tradition, with a special emphasis on the need for conversion and a puritan lifestyle. In his many writings, he frequently referred to the adherents of the movement as being on the way to the new or spiritual Jerusalem while currently living in the old. This chapter explores how Hauge's conceptions about Jerusalem influenced the Haugean movement and its relation to society.

God no longer dwells in man-made temples, but in a spirit that is meek and broken-hearted . . . . Therefore, let us turn toward the heavenly Jerusalem, which is holy, and into which no uncircumcised shall enter.<sup>1</sup>

The ministry of the greatest Norwegian promoter of pietism, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824), started, ironically, half a century after the Pietistic movement had been setting the agenda in Denmark-Norway. As a consequence, Hauge travelled around the country, preaching a message of consciousness of sin and a frugal lifestyle in an age which to a large degree had already moved on from Pietism to ideas of the Enlightenment, at least in the more learned circles. Despite repeated impediments from church and government, Hauge's ministry spurred a national movement, mainly in rural areas. What had started out as a typical Pietistic message of individual conversion, rapidly resulted in numerous groups of so-called "friends" around the country. The situation of the friends in society was often tense, especially in

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Nu boer da ikke Gud i Templer som er giort med Hænder, men hos en nedrig sønderknuset Aand . . . Derfor vende os om til det himmelske Jerusalem, som er helligt, og i hvilket ingen Uomskaaren skal komme." Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, *Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1949). All translations into English are my own. The English Standard Version is used for citations from the Bible wherever the biblical text is cited without too much adaptation.

**<sup>2</sup>** The "friends" was the name Hauge himself preferred for the adherents of the movement. In Hauge's time, people outside the movement often used pejorative nicknames such as "the readers,"

the early stages of the movement. In addressing this situation, Hauge sometimes used biblical topographical metaphors connected to Jerusalem and the Temple, in multiple ways. Not only could "the heavenly Jerusalem" be depicted as safe-haven for the friends who were considered to be "the true Temple of God"; Hauge also likened his entire ministry to "preparing stones and chalk for Zion" in the midst of a society which was seen as a resistant "Jerusalem."

Hauge's use of metaphors and ideas about Jerusalem have never been studied, despite the considerable amount of literature looking into the life and teachings of Hauge and the Haugean movement.<sup>3</sup> This chapter aims to investigate what Hauge's conceptions of Jerusalem were, based on his usage of metaphors such as "the Temple" and "Jerusalem," what these conceptions can tell us about how he understood the situation of the friends in society, and how this understanding came to influence the lives of the friends. I will attempt to show how Hauge's understanding of society as Jerusalem can help make sense of important traits of the early phase of the Haugean movement.4

## Hans Nielsen Hauge and the Haugean Movement

Hans Nielsen Hauge grew up on a farm in the South-Eastern part of Norway and started an active ministry as a lay preacher and devotional writer in 1796, at the age of 25, prompted by what he later described as an ecstatic religious experience and a calling.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;the writers," or "the saints." During the trial (see below), Hauge was interrogated about his "followers," a nametag to which he strongly objected since he did not consider himself "anyone's leader." Estimates of the number of friends in the movement before the trial vary enormously and have tended to be exaggerated. Hauge himself spoke moderately during the interrogation of "a few thousand friends." Attempts of (and objections to) estimations are given in Hans Christian Bang, Erindringer (Kristiania, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909); Halvard G. Heggtveit, Den norske kirke i det nittende aarhundrede, vol. 1 (Christiania: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1911), 62; Dagfinn Mannsåker, "Hans Nielsen Hauges Motstandarar," Historisk Tidsskrift, vol. 41 (1962), 74.

<sup>3</sup> Aarflot assessed the number of publications about Hans Nielsen Hauge to be approximately 500-600, see Andreas Aarflot, Tro og lydighet. Hans Nielsen Hauges kristendomsforståelse. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 35. Kullerud estimated the total number of publications about Hauge and the Haugean movement to be around 2500, most of which are in Norwegian, see Dag Kullerud, Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge (Oslo: Forum Aschehoug, 1996), 67. The most comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography about Hauge and the Haugean movement is given in Finn W. Sjursen, Den Haugianske periode, 1796-ca 1850. Litterær produksjon av og om Hans Nielsen Hauge og haugianerne: en bibliografi, vol. 3b (Bergen: NLA-forlaget, 1993), 85.

<sup>4</sup> This study is limited to Hauge's own lifetime, with a particular emphasis on the period of his active ministry, 1796-1804.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough discussion of the historical validity of the different (and differing) accounts of the religious experience, see H. Koch, "Hans Nielsen Hauges religiøse uvikling," Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift (1959), 63; Bjørn Kornerup, "Hans Nielsen Hauges religiøse udvikling,"

Being a "simple son of a peasant," as he favoured to style himself in his early booklets, he did not have any formal education beyond basic schooling, let alone any theological education. His religious learning was gained primarily from catechetical instruction and the reading of popular devotional literature and the Bible. In spite of this, and despite general restrictions against lay preaching in Denmark-Norway at the time (especially the so-called "Conventicle Act" of 1741), Hauge's ministry quickly escalated from talking to friends and neighbours, to making travels around Norway with an everexpanding radius. His ministry sparked what has come to be known as the Haugean movement and a "community of friends," consisting of and emerging from individuals and groups of Hauge's friends. The movement was to begin with solely religious in nature, but quickly developed a financial side to it, with the establishment of businesses and trade networks.8

The writing, publication, printing, and distribution of Hauge's books as well as other devotional literature came to be the driving force of Hauge's ministry and the Haugean movement. During his lifetime, Hauge wrote and published altogether 33 books and booklets, many of them in several printings. In addition to his many publications, he wrote a vast number of letters, several hundreds of which have been preserved, and the friends regularly kept in touch with each other through correspondence and travel. The writings and letters of Hauge reflect the ideological basis for the movement, as they addressed the current situation of the friends in society

Kirke og Kultur (1937), 66; Andreas Aarflot, "Hans Nielsen Hauge," in Norsk biografisk leksikon (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 2002), 36.

<sup>6 &</sup>quot;en ringe Bonde-Søn"

<sup>7</sup> In addition to his own account (Beskrivelse over Hans Nielsen Hauges reiser, viktigste Hendelser og Tildragelser, [Description of Hans Nielsen Hauge's Travels, Major Events and Incidents]) republished in Hans Nielsen Hauge, Skrifter VI, ed. Hans N. H. Ording (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1952), 58. The most detailed accounts of Hauge's travels and ministry are given in Anton Christian Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid. Et tidsbillede fra omkring aar 1800 (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1910), 40; Sverre Norborg, Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi: 1771-1804 (Oslo: Cappelen, 1966),78; Kullerud, Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge, 67.

<sup>8</sup> The economic side of Hauge's ministry is the main topic of Dagfinn Breistein, Hans Nielsen Hauge, "Kjøbmand i Bergen." Kristen tro og økonomisk aktivitet (Bergen: Grieg, 1955), 43; Johan Schreiner, "Hans Nielsen Hauge og 'Samfundets felleskap," Historisk Tidsskrift no. 29 (1933), 81. Grytten claims that Hauge was involved in the establishment of some 30+ businesses, Ola H. Grytten, "Haugianere som næringslivsaktører," in Gud og Mammon. Religion og næringsliv, ed. Bjørg Seland (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2014), 55. Characteristic traits of the Haugean community of friends is most recently discussed in Bjørg Seland, "I 'Fællesskab og Samfund'- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon," in Hans Nielsen Hauge. Fra samfunnsfiende til ikon, eds. Knut Dørum and Helje Kringlebotn Sødal (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), but see also Nils Sivertsen, Hans Nielsen Hauge og venesamfunnet (Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1946), 84.

<sup>9</sup> Estimates of the distribution of Hauge's publications before the trial average around 150 000 copies. It is commonly assumed that he was one of the most widely read authors in Norway around the year 1800, cf. Trygve R. Gundersen, Om å ta ordet (Oslo: Norsk sakprosa, 2001), 163; Kullerud, Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge, 30.

as the movement developed. They have therefore served as the primary sources for this inquiry.

Hauge's relation to church<sup>10</sup> and society was ambivalent, as he felt torn between loyalty to the laws of the king and the calling of God. 11 His ministry did not only make him friends, it also made him some mighty foes, most notably among the clergy and the civil servants. 12 He was apprehended a total of 10 times in connection with his travels and preaching activity. In 1804, he was finally arrested under direct orders of the central government in Copenhagen and charged with sectarian activity, violations of the Conventicle Act, and economic fraud. The subsequent trial against him lasted altogether 10 years and Hauge spent most of this time behind bars. This effectively hampered the growth of the Haugean movement and contributed to changing its nature as well. After the trial, the somewhat subversive early phase of the movement gave way to a more compliant attitude among its members, as the friends sought to comply with legal regulations of lay religious activity and were increasingly valued as role models in the local congregations.

# More than a Metaphor?

Hauge repeatedly addressed the relationship between the friends, the official church and the rest of society in his writings and letters, by means of biblical topographical metaphors. 13 For example, he frequently addressed his friends as "the true Temple of God" and encouraged them to "build and dwell on Mount Zion." Still, the fact that Hauge's metaphorical references to Jerusalem - and from here on, I use the word Jerusalem as representative of the whole cluster of biblical, topographical metaphors, such as Jerusalem, Zion, and the Temple – have not been studied previously is perhaps

<sup>10</sup> When the Reformation was introduced in Denmark-Norway in 1536, the king became the head of the official church, which as a general rule was the only legal religion in the two countries. The relation between the invisible church as its believing members and the visible church as its organisation and building was a much addressed topic in Hauge's writings and letters. For a discussion of Hauge's ecclesiology, se Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 378–430.

<sup>11</sup> Sverre Steen, "Hans Nielsen Hauge og Bondereisingen," Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift 46 (1945), 244.

<sup>12</sup> Both Bang, Lindbeck, and Mannsåker have made studies of the clergy's opinion of Hauge, with Lindbeck offering the most systematic analysis. Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid, 40; Anders Lindbeck, "Presteskapet sitt syn på Hans Nielsen Hauges religiøse vekkelse i 1804," (Universitetet i Bergen, 1999), 71; Mannsåker, "Hans Nielsen Hauges motstandarar," 74. Norborg emphasises the role of Frederik Julius Kaas who as president of the central government initiated the prosecution of Hauge Norborg, Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi, 79.

<sup>13 &</sup>quot;Writings" here refers to all of Hauge's publications. A complete collection was edited by Hans N. H. Ording in 9 volumes during the years 1947-54. Similarly, a collection of Hauge's letters was edited and published in 4 volumes by Ingolf Kvamen during the years 1971–76.

not too strange. 14 It is evident that when referring to Jerusalem in his writings, Hauge was forwarding metaphorical images already present in the New Testament, like comparing the believers with the temple or speaking of a heavenly Jerusalem as their final destination.<sup>15</sup> Besides, the friends being the Temple of God and heading for the New Ierusalem cannot be said to have been among the most prominent themes of Hauge's preaching. 16 Moreover, this metaphorical language fits hand in glove with Pietism's socalled "language of Canaan"; a characteristic, esoteric sociolect full of metaphorical figures of speech with which Hauge showed great familiarity. In this characteristic language, the "true" believers, were forsaking the "world" by striving to be "living stones in the Temple of God." They were on their way to the "spiritual Canaan" to dwell forever in "the heavenly Jerusalem." Hauge's extensive use of biblical references and his dependence on the Pietistic heritage have previously been thoroughly documented. His use of Jerusalem-images to describe the lives of the believers could at first glance seem to be little more than a continuation of this tradition.

Furthermore, whatever Hauge's understanding of Jerusalem, it neither led to an attempted building of a New Jerusalem on earth nor to the establishment of an isolated ideal society modelled after Jerusalem, as had been the case with other European Pietist movements. 19 It did not even lead to a separation from the official church, as Hauge in his so-called "spiritual will" famously admonished his friends to

<sup>14</sup> In the Bible, the ideas of a New Jerusalem and a new Temple are largely interchangeable, "simply because the one cannot be imagined without the other." Pilchan Lee, The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 5. As the idea developed, these two metaphors were to a large degree just different ways of expressing the same eschatological hope, which is why it is relevant to study them together. To get an overview of Hauge's use of Jerusalem, the temple and other possible synonyms as metaphors, I have searched his writings and letters for the following words: Jerusalem/Ierusalem/Salem, Zion/Sion, tempel/templ [temple], Guds Stad [City of God], Bierg [mount], Juda, Moria, Ofel, Kanaan [Canaan], Jacob, Israel, Jebus, lovede land [promised land], hellige land [holy land], Guds bolig [God's residence], Davids Stad [City of David], Ariel, Aelia Capitolina, Babel/Babylon, and Roma.

<sup>15</sup> The most explicit occurrences in the New Testament are found in John 2:19–21; 7:36–9; 1 Cor 3: 10-17; Gal 4:21-7; 1 Pet 2:4; Heb 12:22-4; and Rev 21:9-27.

<sup>16 &</sup>quot;Jerusalem" and synonyms appear altogether approximately 300 times in Hauge's writings and letters. For comparison, the word "salvation" [frelse] and derivatives occur 599 times; the term "flesh" [kiød] 1048 times; "world" [verden] 2203 times; and "sin" [synd] 2858 times.

<sup>17</sup> For the phenomenon of the "language of Canaan" in Pietistic movements, see Lucinda Martin, "The 'Language of Canaan': Pietism's Esoteric Sociolect," Aries 12, no. 22 (2012), 75.

<sup>18</sup> See especially Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 35; Gundersen, Om å ta ordet, 48.

<sup>19</sup> Famous attempts of the eighteenth century at building new Jerusalems were Ronsdorf (which sprung out of Calvinism) and Herrnhaag (which sprung out of Lutheranism), cf. Claus Bernet, "The Heavenly Jerusalem as a Central Belief in Radical Pietism in the Eighteenth Century," The Covenant Quarterly 63, no. 4 (2005), 41. The significance of the heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism in general is well described in Claus Bernet, "Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism," in A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 42.

remain within the church.<sup>20</sup> The understanding of Jerusalem, then, in some ways did not bring about any very remarkable consequences in contrast with other Pietistic movements and would seem to be sufficiently explained by Christian tradition. What could then justify a further investigation?

A couple of points seem relevant to mention. It is precisely Hauge's extensive use of and references to the Bible that is key to understanding the importance of Jerusalem for Hauge. It seems fair to assume that because Hauge's writings were saturated with biblical references, his interpretation of the biblical terms and concepts contained in those references must necessarily be of significance and consequence. Considering the impressive distribution that Hauge's publications had in Norway in the early years of his ministry, Hauge's ideas of Jerusalem, as expressed through his writings and letters must have had a substantial influence on his readers. Furthermore, just because Hauge and his friends did not break with the official church, it does not necessarily follow that his understanding of Jerusalem did not have any significant influence on his relationship with the church (actually, as I will argue, the opposite seems to be the case).

There is a more historiographic point to be made, too. Lucinda Martin has recently called for an increased appreciation of the theological accomplishments of the laity of Early Modern Europe.<sup>21</sup> Her point is that lay leaders of religious movements should be studied for their contributions to theology, not just for their roles as organizers and transmitters. Hauge's application and adaptation of Jerusalem as a metaphor for the situation of the friends in society naturally belong within such a study.<sup>22</sup> Hauge's role as catalyst of the Haugean movement is undisputed, but his theological contributions have often in posterity either been too easily forced into a Lutheran regime or waved off as mostly Pietistic or legalistic (surely, they were this too, but they were certainly more than this).<sup>23</sup> It should therefore not come as a surprise if Hauge's

<sup>20</sup> The majority of the friends remained within the official church, as Hauge requested in his will: "For such is my final will, that you henceforth as before exclusively follow our country's religion, so that you receive from the public instructors all that their public service involves. So, you will go to church, receive the sacraments, in marriage they officiate the ceremony, and in death the burial, and everything else that belongs to good order." ["Thi er min sidste Villie, at I herefter som forhen ganske ene holder Eder til vor Stats Religion, saa I modtager af de offentlige Lærere Alt, hvad deres offentlige Embede medfører; I gaar da i Kirken, annammer Sakramenterne, ved Ægteskab gjør dem Vielsen, samt ved Dødsfald Jordpaakaldelse og alt andet, der hører til god Orden." Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og Hans Samtid, 488.

<sup>21</sup> Lucinda Martin, "More Than Piety: The Historiographic Neglect of Early Modern Lay Theology," Church History and Religious Culture 98 (2018), 76.

<sup>22</sup> Although Hauge's life and ministry transitions from the Early Modern into the Modern period, he was theologically firmly rooted in the Pietistic currents of Early Modern Europe.

<sup>23</sup> In his comprehensive analysis of the writings of Hauge, for instance, Aarflot tellingly chooses the term "conceptions of Christianity" over theology, when analysing and systematizing the contents of Hauge's writings, arguing that Hauge was primarily a preacher, not a theologian, Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 206. Although that may be the case when it comes to form, it does not cover the

use of biblical metaphors in relation to his friends could turn out to be more than "just a metaphor." Consequently, it is through studying Hauge's use and interpretation of Jerusalem as a metaphor for a Christian life that this investigation will be conducted. How did Hauge understand the Jerusalem of the Bible and how did he apply this understanding to his own society?

#### Hauge and Jerusalem

References to Jerusalem, either as citation or metaphor, can be found in almost all of Hauge's writings and in many of his letters, spread out here and there, from both before, during and after the trial.<sup>24</sup> Some books contain more frequent references than others, given their literary genre. The popular hymnal that Hauge published contains several references to Jerusalem; often portrayed as a refuge for the believers after a strenuous life on earth.<sup>25</sup> Another concentration of references to Jerusalem is found in the 900-page postil that Hauge spent much of his time writing before and during an imprisonment in Trondheim in the winter of 1800. A postil was a book that traditionally contained expositions of the designated Gospel

facts regarding contents and impact. With all his biblical references and interpretations, Hauge was certainly creating and practicing theology, if not systematically writing it.

<sup>24</sup> In Hauge's writings we find both citations of biblical verses containing Jerusalem (and synonyms), and applications of Jerusalem as a metaphor. However, a theoretical and methodological differentiation between these types is hard to maintain when studying the material, as Hauge often cited verses from scripture in admonishing his readers, for instance, "for we should be the temple of the Holy Spirit, 1 Cor 3 C 16 V," Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 3, vol. 2 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1949), 478. In the following, these two different kinds of use will therefore be treated together, in as much as they both involved an element of interpretation.

<sup>25 &</sup>quot;De sande Christnes udvalgte Psalmebog" ["Selected Hymns for True Christians"] was published in several editions and in a total of 10 printings Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N.H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 4 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1951), 7-13. Approximately half of the hymns were taken from "Troens rare klenodie" ["The Rare Treasure of Faith"] (Bishop Hans Adolph Brorson's hymnal from 1739), some from other hymnals, and some were authored by Hauge and members of the Haugean communities. A portrayal of Jerusalem as a safe haven is expressed for example in "And then in struggle, cross and death, to follow you, until you fetch me to your heavenly city!" ["Og saa i strid og kors og død at følge dig, indtil du henter mig op til din himmel-stad!"] (Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 4, 88, 104, 142). The image of Jerusalem could also be used adversely, in reprimanding the persecuting side: "Arise, Zion! Do not be lukewarm anymore." ["Op, Zion! det er tid, at lunkenhed har ende."] (p. 22) and similarly, "Jerusalem, how you look! Such a sweet virgin bride, now become a whore?" ["Jerusalem, hvor seer du ud, er saadan deilig jomfrue-brud nu til en hore bleven?"], Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 4, 28.

and epistle-texts for each Sunday of the year. Some of the biblical texts mentioned Jerusalem and the temple, and consequently these were thoroughly expanded upon by Hauge. <sup>26</sup> A third concentration is found in the letters of Hauge, if we consider them as a group; often in the form of admonishment of the receivers.<sup>27</sup> The fact that we find references to Jerusalem in Hauge's personal letters – where the words and content are entirely the choice of the writer, and not only in the more genre-specific language of the hymnal and postil – attests to the meaningfulness of this metaphor to Hauge.

Hauge's use of Jerusalem-metaphors to speak of the friends' role in society was both varied and multivalent. He would claim God's presence among the friends and an eschatological hope, by describing how the spirit of Jesus dwells in the heart of every believer "so that it becomes his temple," that the friends should "build and dwell on Mount Zion," and that the believers were heading for "the Jerusalem above."28 However, there could also be elements of criticism of church and society in his message, as Hauge could contrast the believers as "Zion," with the rest of society as "Jerusalem," and condemn church services as services of "the Jerusalem in bondage."29 Finally, Hauge could also express personal engagement metaphorically, as when he in a letter to friends in 1801 likened his entire ministry with "preparing stones and chalk for Zion, so that it may be built."<sup>30</sup>

Hauge's different applications of the temple- and Jerusalem-metaphor seem to outline a gradual shift in his understanding of Jerusalem, in line with the changing stages of his life. The original context of the biblical temple- and Jerusalemmetaphors provided various points of identification for Hauge's ministry. At the beginning of his ministry, it was the hope of a heavenly Jerusalem that was stressed. The biblical hope of a new temple and a New Jerusalem had originated and developed within Judaism and Christianity when the temple and holy city were perceived

<sup>26</sup> The postil was re-published in two volumes: Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 3 vol. 1, 55; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 3 vol. 2, 56. Vol. 1 containing 1–388 and vol. 2, 388-612. The exposition of Luke 19:41-48 is found on 476-9 on 3rd Sunday after Trinity and the exposition of Matt 24:15-28 is found on 600-6 on 25th Sunday after Trinity. Other relevant expositions for this study are Luke 2:42-52 (82-7); Mal 3:1-4 (108-11); Matt 4:1-11 (159-63); Matt 21:1-9 (237-41); Luke 24:13-35 (280-5); Acts 13: 26-32 (286-9); Luke 24:36-48 (289-3); James 1: 22-7 (334-8); Acts 8:14-7 (380-4); John 10:1-10 (384-8); and Gal 5:16-22 (501-3). See also Chapter 12 (Eivor A. Oftestad), vol. 2, 235-57.

<sup>27</sup> See for example Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1 (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1971), 58, 77, 87, 129, 178; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 2 (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1972), 91, 117, 259; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Ingolf Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 3 (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1974), 47, 68, 78, 174.

<sup>28</sup> Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1, 178; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3 vol. 1, 338; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 3 vol. 2, 478.

<sup>29</sup> Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3 vol. 1, 195.

<sup>30 &</sup>quot;Gud kiender ieg haster at faae tillavet Sten og Kalk til Sion, saa den kan blive opbygt." Letter from Bergen to friends, March 27, 1801, in: Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1, 78.

as either out of bounds or defiled. 31 This was a situation with which Hauge strongly identified. From the very beginning of his ministry. Hauge was heavily influenced by his reading of the book of Revelation. 32 As part of what might be called an apocalyptic discourse, Hauge believed that society in general was at a crisis, that the "Temples of his time" – that is, the churches – were defiled, and that the "true believers" were heading for a New Jerusalem in the future.<sup>33</sup> Around 1800, at the prime of his ministry and while working on his postil, it was Jerusalem as a present reality that came to the fore. In the postil, Jerusalem's rejection of Jesus was taken as a typological example of contemporary society's rejection of Hauge's message in his own time.<sup>34</sup> Toward the end of his life, it was rather the Jerusalem of the past that came into focus when Hauge composed his *Udtog av Kirke-Historien* [Excerpts from the History of the Church, reflecting on how his own movement fit in with the rest of church history, which had started in Jerusalem. 35 There seems, therefore, to have been a gradual change of attention from that of the future to the past, from viewing Jerusalem primarily as an end-time hope at the beginning of his ministry,

<sup>31</sup> The idea can be traced back to the period of the Babylonian exile (587-539 B.C.E.), when the temple and city had been destroyed and a great portion of the people of Judah had been brought into exile. It develops in literature of the Maccabean period (around 167 B.C.E.), when the temple was defiled by the Seleucids, and the time after the destruction of the second temple. In the new Testament, the hope of a new temple or Jerusalem is given a Christological application as Jesus's death and resurrection is understood as having taken over the function of the temple, cf. Peter W.L. Walker, Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspectives on Jerusalem (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996), 91; Tom Wright, "Jerusalem in the New Testament," in Jerusalem Past and Present in the Purposes of God, ed. Peter W.L. Walker (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1992), 93.

<sup>32</sup> Both the first (Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed [Reflection on the Folly of this World]) and second booklet (Forsøg til en Afhandling om Guds Viisdom [Attempt at a Treatise on the Wisdom of God]) that Hauge published, contained several explicit references to the book of Revelation.

<sup>33</sup> There are several accounts of how local ministers protested when Hauge expounded texts from Revelation in local assemblies, as the book of Revelation was generally considered a "sealed book" at the time, Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid, 161; Kullerud, Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som vekket Norge, 132; Nils H. Magerøy, Hans Nielsen Hauges verksemd i Møre og Romsdal fylke. Etter eldre bøker og ymse andre kjeldor (Molde: Møre og Romsdal krins av det Norske misjonsselskap, 1945), 73. Hauge scoffed at the idea of a sealed or closed book, "as if God would have written books for another world." Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 5 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1953), 249.

<sup>34</sup> In two published lists containing "remarkable sayings in the Bible" (published in 1798 and 1801), we find references to verses containing Jerusalem: Luke 10:30; 21:24; and Gal 4:26, Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 2 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1948), 99, 132, 139. These can be considered footprints of Hauge pondering how best to interpret non-eschatological verses of scripture containing Jerusalem. The lists are simply indices of references to scripture, containing an extract of a verse, with no further explanation.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Hauge som kirkehistorisk aktør og betrakter," in Hans Nielsen Hauge. Fra samfunnsfiende til ikon, eds. Knut. Dørum and Helje Kringlebotn Sødal (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 2017), 38. The booklet was published in 1822, Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 8 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1954), 1–230.

to appreciating the historical significance of Jerusalem more towards the end of his life. Along the way, Hauge also reflected on the idea of Jerusalem as a spiritual reality in contemporary society.

## Hauge's Hermeneutics

In order to comprehend Hauge's understanding of Jerusalem, it is necessary to see it in light of his biblical interpretation in general, both in comparison with the tradition he drew on and as a result of his general interpretive practice. Andreas Aarflot, who most thoroughly has studied Hauge's interpretation of scripture, describes Hauge's biblical hermeneutics as a combination of "dependence" and "independence."36 Dependence, as in being indebted to Pietistic and orthodox tradition of interpretation of scripture with which Hauge was profoundly familiar; and independence, as in showing a high degree of confidence in his own abilities to interpret and apply scripture in his own context and in having the audacity and creativity to deviate from tradition.<sup>37</sup>

This combination of dependence and independence can be recognised in the way Hauge handled the biblical metaphors that he was familiar with, both from devotional literature and from the Bible. Hauge was well versed in the orthodox and Pietistic devotional literature and even republished several such writings himself.<sup>38</sup> The writings of Friedrich Eberhard Collin (1684–1727), several of whose books were published by Hauge, and Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum [Four Books on True Christianity] (1606–1610) were well known to Hauge and contemporaries; both used the image of Jerusalem as a picture of the Christian life.<sup>39</sup> There is no doubt that Hauge drew from these sources in his

<sup>36</sup> Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 205-8; Andreas Aarflot, "Skriftsynet i norsk lekmannstradisjon i det 19. århundre," in Bibelsyn og bibelgransking, ed. O. Øystese (Stavanger: Nomi, 1966), 34.

<sup>37</sup> For Hauge, the true meaning of the Bible was acquired through the "wisdom of God," not the "knowledge of men." He was aware of the criticism being brought against some of his more "independent" interpretations, but argued that as the ministers of the church were not doing their job, he had to do it for them, "even though he did not know Hebrew and Greek as they did." Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1953), 249.

<sup>38</sup> Hauge's theological and Pietistic background has been thoroughly investigated and described in Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 35. Amundsen provides a review of one of the most influential Pietistic writings in Norway, Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness], Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Oppvekkelsens steder. En lesning av Erik Pontoppidans Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed (1737)," in Vekkelsens møtesteder, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Lund Universitet/Kyrkohistoriska Arkivet, 2014), 37.

**<sup>39</sup>** Collin's Jesu Christi forklaring i sjelen [Exposition of Jesus Christ in the Soul] was published by Hauge in 1799; Lærdom af andres Bespottelse og Forfølgelse for Christi Navn Skyld [Lessons from the

understanding and application of the biblical metaphors in his own writings. However, there is also a difference to be observed. Whereas these writers mostly focused on the individual believer, Hauge frequently spoke of the believers collectively, as the true Temple of God and as building and dwelling on Zion. This emphasis on the believers as a community is stronger and more frequent in Hauge's use of the metaphor than in the tradition he drew on.

We find that the same tendency applies in relation to the use of the metaphor in the New Testament. There, the temple-metaphor is applied both to the believers and to Christ. In other words, both the Church (that is, the community of believers) and Christ can be called the Temple of God. 40 In Hauge's own writings, however, the temple-metaphor is exclusively applied to the church as the believers, as in this exposition of the temptation of Jesus (Matt 4:1–11):

Jerusalem was considered by the Jews to be the Holy City, and the Temple was the House of God. But we must interpret them to be the communion of saints, which is the true Temple of God. 41

Quite remarkably, Hauge not even once referred to Christ as the Temple in his writings, even though he obviously was familiar with this use of this metaphor in the New Testament. When comparing Hauge's use of the metaphor with that found in Pietistic tradition and the New Testament, therefore, a strong Haugean attention on the community of believers and their situation in society becomes apparent.

The second point regards Hauge's interpretive practice. Much of Hauge's independence and innovation when interpreting scripture, came from "allegorizing interpretations."42 Hauge primarily saw the Bible as God's living word addressing contemporary society. Its "true" or "spiritual" meaning was therefore to be found in interpreting it with regards to the present, not the past or future. This was also the case when interpreting biblical references to Jerusalem, as justified by Hauge in his postil, when commenting on Jesus' prophecy of cosmic destruction in Matthew 24: 15-28:

This Matthean description uttered by Jesus could be interpreted with regards to the destruction of Jerusalem, especially considering the words he says in the beginning of the chapter. Alternatively, this destruction can be interpreted with regards to the end of the world. But as

Cursing and Persecution of Others for the Sake of Jesus Christ] and Christelige levnetsregler [Christian Rules of Life in 1800. References to Jerusalem in Four Books on True Christianity can be found in Johann Arndt, Den Sanne Kristendom: Bok 1-3 (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1955), 28, 85, 135, 301, 514. See also Chapter 2 (Walter Sparn), 55-73.

**<sup>40</sup>** As in John 2:19–21; 7:36–9; 1 Cor 3:10–7: and 1 Pet 2:4.

<sup>41 &</sup>quot;Jerusalem var det vel, som Jøderne regnede for den hellige Stad, og Tempelen Guds Huus. Men vi maae udlægge det til hellige Menneskers Samfund, som er den rette Guds Tempel." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3 vol. 1, 162. My italics.

<sup>42</sup> Aarflot, Tro og lydighet, 209.

Jerusalem is destroyed and we don't know whether we will experience the end of the world or not, we must interpret it specifically with regards to ourselves, and our own time.<sup>43</sup>

Although Hauge's interpretation of the text with regards to the present had much in common with Pietistic biblical interpretation and was by no means unique, it does exhibit a particular Haugean emphasis. 44 If we use the terminology of the medieval quadriga, Hauge's choice of interpretation could be described as a matter of reading the text allegorically/typologically and above all tropologically (i.e. morally), rather than asking for its literal sense or the anagogical (i.e. eschatological) sense. Hauge did not actually deny that the text could be read literally/historically (as in the universities) or eschatologically (as by more radical Pietistic movements). His interpretation was more a question of relevance to his own situation: what was important to Hauge was how the text, as God's word, addressed his own present time and society. What it once had meant or would come to mean was subordinate. 45 As a consequence of this view of scripture, the historical and physical bodies, whether the temple, Jerusalem or Israel, for Hauge came to be relatively uninteresting in themselves. 46 Their true meanings were as spiritual entities, as (the homes of) the community of friends and they had value principally as such. In interpreting scripture in this way, Hauge was partly forwarding tradition and partly innovating; consistently interpreting Jerusalem for his own time.

# Jerusalem in Bondage and Freedom

With these Haugean interpretive emphases in mind, how did Hauge understand the Jerusalem of the Bible and how did it colour his understanding of contemporary

<sup>43 &</sup>quot;Denne Mathæi Beskrivelse, som Jesus haver sagt, kunde vel udlægges om Jerusalems Ødelæggelse, især formedelst de Ord, som han først i dette Capitel siger; ellers kan og denne Ødelæggelse udlægges paa Verdens Ende. Men som Jerusalem er ødelagt, og vi veed ikke, om vi oplever Verdens Ende, saa maa vi især udlægge den paa os i denne Tid." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3 vol. 2, 600. My italics.

<sup>44</sup> Valentin E. Löscher, *The Complete Timotheus Verinus* (Northwestern Publishing House, 2006), 77. Löscher (1673–1749), a defender of orthodoxy, criticised the German Pietists in general for preferring the spiritual sense over the literal.

<sup>45</sup> This tendency of interpretation with a consistent view to the present was already observed by Hauge's first biographer, professor of theology Stener Stenersen, who claimed that, for Hauge, repentance from a sinful life was emphasised to the degree that the past was practically converted into the present. Stener J. Stenersen, Hans Nielsen Hauges Liv, Virksomhed, Lære og Skrifter (Copenhagen: F. Tengnagels bogtrykkeri, 1827), 87.

<sup>46</sup> In the biblical literature this is different, as the distinction between the hope of a New Jerusalem/ temple on earth versus a heavenly Jerusalem is not always clear, cf. Lee, The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation, 70.

society? Although Hauge nowhere gave an extensive or coherent account of his understanding of Jerusalem in the Bible, it seems that through his work on the postil and a planned exposition of the Bible, Hauge gradually gained an understanding of a general "interpretive key" concerning all the references to Jerusalem in the Bible. 47 In 1804 he briefly stated this understanding in the preface to the said exposition:

In scripture there are evil and good angels, Rev. 12 C 7 V, evil and good animals, Rev. 4 C 13 V, evil and good laws, Isa. 11 C 7 V, Rev. 5 C 5 V, Zion and Jerusalem, in bondage to sin and in freedom. 48

This statement seems significant for understanding Hauge's conception of Jerusalem in the Bible, and consequently his application of the metaphor in his writings. According to this statement, Zion/Jerusalem sometimes refers to the Zion/Jerusalem in bondage to sin, while at other times to the free Zion/Jerusalem. 49 According to Hauge, there were thus two antithetical "Jerusalems" in the Bible; one in bondage and the other in freedom. The historical Jerusalem of the past and the eschatological Jerusalem of the future were interpreted as spiritual realities of the current society, and the implied job of the interpreter was consequently to decide in each case which of the two was meant. With Hauge's "interpretive key" in mind, we can try to describe or reconstruct these two cities by piecing together citations and metaphors referring to Jerusalem from his own writings. The two cities would then look something like this:

The Jerusalem in bondage, or "the Jerusalem below," consisted of "the children of this world" who "call themselves Christians but are worse than heathens." They had "the Gospel of the Kingdom of God," yet they were blinded by sin. The children of the city "live under a cover of hypocrisy, retain their hardened heart and relish the desires of the flesh." They "do not recognise their time of visitation," just like the Jerusalemites did not recognise Jesus when he rode into the city. This Jerusalem "trusts in its own wisdom, the wisdom of men." It "worships its unclean Temples of this world, which have been built by men" and is "enslaved to sin and walking on its broad road."50

<sup>47</sup> The exposition itself was probably finished by Hauge in 1804 and printed shortly after, but is no longer extant. According to the preface, it consisted of excerpts of the Bible, with commentary, and was meant for "those simple of faith, who do not have a Bible of their own." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5, 249. My translation.

<sup>48 &</sup>quot;[I] Skriften er tvende Slags, onde og gode Engle, Aab 12 C 7V, onde og gode Dyr, Aab 4C 13 V, onde og gode Lover, Es 11 C 7 V, Aab 5 C 5 V, Zion og Ierusalem, i Syndestand og i Frihed." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5, 251. My italics.

<sup>49</sup> The wording in the citation is ambiguous and could in principle also be taken to mean that Zion is in bondage, while Jerusalem is in freedom. This interpretation does not correlate well, though, with how Hauge uses these terms in other references.

**<sup>50</sup>** The description is assembled from references to Jerusalem in Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans* Nielsen Hauge 1, 87-8; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 1 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1947), 195; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 161, 213, 384; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 69, 238, 257, 351; Hauge and Ording,

Its counterpart, the Jerusalem in freedom or "the Jerusalem above" consisted of the children of God, who "were not of the world." With a typical Haugean puritan emphasis, they "subdue all their desires and let their body and soul be overcome by Jesus", they "hate evil and love those who fear the Lord." As they are living in this world, they follow their Lord "through perils, struggle and death." The enemy "pours rivers of scorn, lies and persecution after them, but they find their refuge in Christ." This life is a "journey that every true Christian must make to the spiritual Canaan." While they are on earth, the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem are "the Temple of God," because they have "put off their old self and have become new in Christ." As his Temple, they have been "sanctified by Jesus and are sustained by him." Just as Jesus made his entry into Jerusalem before Easter, he has made his "spiritual entry into their hearts, which constitute the true Temple of God." This temple is not made by hands but consists of "the humbled hearts of the true believers" who are destined for "the heavenly Jerusalem." 51

From Hauge's multivalent mentioning of Jerusalem in relation to the friends and society, it seems clear that Jerusalem for Hauge was more than both an ancient city and a future hope. It was that too, but more importantly it was a designation for the present spiritual and social reality that he and his friends lived in. Very much reminiscent of Augustine's image of two cities, this must be said to be quite an impressive theological adaptation from a "simple son of a peasant."52 The Jerusalem in bondage was not just a thing of the past. It still existed, as an adversary of God's work, whenever it opposed the ministry of the friends. On the other hand, the Jerusalem of the future was already there in a Lutheran "already, but not yet"-way. The friends were on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem and were building that city stone by stone, friend by friend. Here and now they were the true Temple of God, building on Mount Zion. These two spiritual entities were in a sense projected from the past and the future onto the present stage. With this conception of Jerusalem, it makes very much sense for Hauge to exclaim: "God knows that I am

Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 465, 603, 609-10; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 2, 28, 114, 231; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges Skrifter: 6 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1952), 177; Hans Nielsen Hauge and Hans N. H. Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 7 (Oslo: Andaktsbokselskapet, 1954), 176. Hauge similarly depicts other biblical places in similar ways, like "Ephraim, the poor soul who serves sin and its eagerness": It shall not prevail; "Nazareth, the most despicable place," and "Capernaum, exalted not by God, but by men."

<sup>51</sup> Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1, 178; Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 3, 78; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 1, 214-5; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 81, 151, 153, 213; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 13, 69, 114, 240, 285, 338; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 440, 478, 497. Hauge also uses other biblical topographical metaphors to describe the believers, such as "the victorious Jacob," "the true children of Israel," and "the Goshen of the land of Egypt."

<sup>52</sup> Hauge shows some familiarity with Augustine's thoughts and actually cites De Civitate Dei [The City of God], Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 56.

preparing stones and chalk for Zion!" Through his ministry he was convinced that he was preparing for and even helping to build the Jerusalem above.

How, then, did this understanding of Jerusalem as a spiritual reality influence the lives and practices of the friends? The following discussion of this question will be limited to two areas: How the understanding of Jerusalem as a future hope helped justify a devout lifestyle among the Haugeans, and how the understanding of contemporary society as Jerusalem in bondage influenced the friends' view of and relation to the official church.<sup>53</sup>

### The Hope and Fear of a New Jerusalem

In contrast with several other Pietistic movements, the general down-to-earth attitude of Hauge meant that he did not waste much time speculating about how things would be in the eschatological Jerusalem or the events of the end-times. The heavenly Jerusalem was first and foremost a goal indicating the right direction, not a thing to meditate upon. 54 However, as a goal, it was also a standard toward which the believers must align their lives in order to be admitted. Consequently, the hope of a New Jerusalem was not exclusively a cause of joy for the Haugeans, as it came with certain requirements.

The issue of moral requirements of true faith was a much-expounded one among the Haugeans. In his writings, Hauge often quoted long lists of vices as examples of unchristian behaviour and attitude. Sverre Norborg describes how "mutual exhortation became a regular topic in the extensive correspondence among the

<sup>53</sup> The Jerusalem of the past also played an important role for the Haugeans but will not be discussed further here. Suffice it to say that not only did the city of Jerusalem which rejected Jesus often serve as a cautionary tale to the friends, but the historical New Jerusalem, the first congregation, served as a role model for a true Christian lifestyle. This most distinctly manifested itself in a wish to introduce collective ownership among the friends, as "in the time of the apostles."

<sup>54</sup> Hauge describes how he in the beginning of his ministry spent a lot of time trying to figure out "the dates and times of eternity," but in the end concluded that it was wrong to try to make sense of the holy scriptures using his mind, instead of believing the word of God and acting thereupon, Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 6, 138. Only once in his writings did he explicitly direct the attention of his friends to contemplate the Jerusalem above, and even here his reservation against speculation is almost palpable: "So let Jerusalem now arise in your mind, a Jerusalem depicted with gates of gold and jewels and its light as crystal, Rev 21 C. Though in comparison it is but a mirror, for the New Jerusalem or the bliss of eternal life and the glory of God cannot be grasped or comprehended by the human mind, much less be expressed in words." ["Saa lad nu Ierusalem opgaae i Eders Tanker, et Ierusalem, der afmales, for Porterne ere af Guld og Ædelsteene og dets Lys som Chrystal, Aab 21 C. Dog i Lignelse er det allene som et Speil; thi det nye Ierusalem eller (det) evige Livs Lyksalighed og Guds Herlighed kan ikke begribes eller tænkes med menneskelig Fornuft, mindre udtrykkes med Ord." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5, 247.

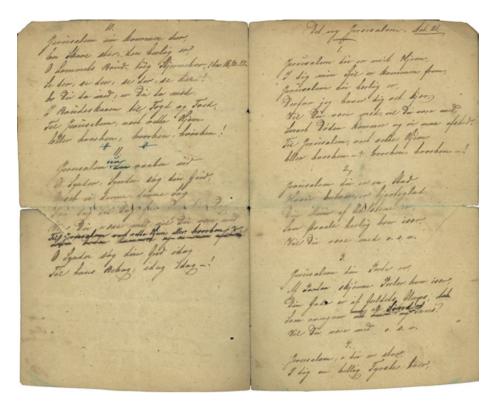


Fig. 8.2: Hymn entitled The New Jerusalem, Revelations 21 by an anonymous adherent of the Haugean movement. Heggtveitsamlingen, MF The Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society Archive. Photo: Kristin B. Aavitsland.

friends."<sup>55</sup> Salvation was not just a matter of trusting in Jesus, like the Moravian brothers too easily preached (according to Hauge).<sup>56</sup> A true life of faith was a "constant battle," a "continuous purging," a "forsaking of this world" in preparation for the respite in the spiritual world.

An important rationale for this pious emphasis was the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem as a place without impurity. Tellingly, one of the phrases that Hauge cited most frequently regarding the New Jerusalem was from Revelation 21:27, that "nothing unclean" will ever enter it (or, as Hauge usually rendered it, "nothing

<sup>55</sup> My translation. Norborg, Hans Nielsen Hauge: Biografi, 192.

<sup>56</sup> Hauge's relationship with the Moravian brothers was ambivalent and a cause of mutual distrust. It is most thoroughly described in Daniel Thrap, Brødremenigheden i Norge (Christiania: i kommission hos Jacob Dybwad, 1908), 89; Daniel Thrap, "Seeberg og Hauge," Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift (1910), 90. See also Oluf Kolsrud, "Smaating um Hans Hauge fraa arkivet i Herrnhut," Særtryk av Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift (1913), 64.

common or unclean"): "Be sure that you do not refrain from hearing this voice, that nothing common or unclean shall enter the New Jerusalem, Rev 21 C. 27 V."57 The phrase "nothing common or unclean" is only a detail from the whole biblical vision describing the city as it descends from heaven, yet for Hauge it became the definition of the New Jerusalem. Only this phrase did he cite again and again, whereas he omitted to mention other parts of the vision of the New Jerusalem, like its purported glory and splendour. In this way, Hauge's understanding of Jerusalem as a place without impurity, strongly influenced the piety of the friends. As he interpreted the formulation "nothing unclean" as referring to *moral* impurity (as opposed to *ritual* impurity), this attribute of Jerusalem served as an important incentive for the Haugeans to strive to live morally pure lives so as to "qualify" for the spiritual city. This even affected the rendering of the Bible itself, as Hauge (with a Freudian slip?) once substituted "nothing" with "no one": "No one unclean will enter the New Jerusalem, Rev 21 C. 27 V, who does not have the mind of Jesus Christ."58 So strong was this emphasis on a Christ-like lifestyle and forsaking of "the world," that Hauge would even describe it as a foundation for the Christian life: "God knows that just as he has placed a cornerstone in Zion, so he has taught me to make a foundation thereupon, in forsaking myself and the world."59

The emphasis on purity as a requirement for entering the heavenly city meant that the hope of a New Jerusalem brought with it a fear of the same to the Haugeans. The friends were notorious for their tendency to be strictly morally lawabiding and for heavy sighing, downward gazes, and contorted voices. 60 These were all meant as expressions of piety, of acknowledging one's own sinfulness.

<sup>57 &</sup>quot;Seer nu til at I ikke undslaaer eder for at høre denne Røst, at intet almindeligt eller ureent skal komme ind i det nye Jerusalem; Aabenb. 21 Cap. 27 v." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 110. Other occurrences are found in Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen sauge 2, 259; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 155; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 110; Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 503. Close in wording is also Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 84 (no one uncircumcised) The rendering of the verse as "nothing common or unclean" is characteristic of Hauge and translates the original single Greek word koinos with both the literal meaning "common," and the contextual meaning "unclean." Hauge seems to have adopted this reading from Pontoppidan, excerpts of whose book "The Mirror of Faith" Hauge published. There, we find the same rendering of Rev 21:27: "Nothing common or unclean shall enter the New Jerusalem." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 267.

<sup>58 &</sup>quot;Der kommer ingen ureen ind i det nye Jerusalem, Aab 21 C. 27 V som ikke haver Jesu Christi Sind." My italics. Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 155.

<sup>59 &</sup>quot;Gud veed at som han haver sat en Hiørnesteen i Sion, haver han og lært mig at lægge Grundvold derpaa, i at fornægte mig selv og Verden." My italics. Hauge and Kvamen, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1, 58.

<sup>60</sup> Svein I. Langhelle, "Haugianske møteplasser og samlingsformer med eksempel fra det sørvestre Norge 1820-1850," in Vekkelsens møtesteder, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Lund: Lunds universitets kyrkohistoriska arkiv, 2014), 68; Svein I. Langhelle, "Då det blei synd å le: dei haugianske

However, there were also reports of exaggerated consciousness of sin leading to depression and even suicide among the friends, and this characteristic trait of the movement made it into the trial as an accusation against Hauge's ministry for leading to "harmful consequences." 61

The fear of not making it into the New Jerusalem also meant that the friends could never be certain about their salvation. A scene from the deathbed of one of Hauge's friends, Maria Pedersdatter Hougen, strikingly illustrates this ambiguity of hope on the one hand and fear and uncertainty on the other. The girl was still in her teens, and her family and friends stood gathered around her as she bade them her final farewells. In his portrayal of the death-scene, Hauge describes how after all had been said and done,

she sang about the spiritual Jerusalem. And when she no longer could pronounce the words, the onlookers heard the sound of the melody. And this sound persisted until she fell asleep in the Lord, satisfied and glad.62

The situation described is both solemn and hopeful. Yet, in the middle of this almost hagiographic account of the girl's death, it is also reported what had occurred just a few moments before: A fellow friend, standing by the girl's side, had asked her bluntly whether she truly "felt the assurance of faith of having her heavenly bridegroom."63 Apparently, one could not be certain of entering the heavenly Jerusalem, even when singing about it on one's deathbed.

## The Friends as the Temple of God

The self-conception of the friends as Zion and the Temple led to a complex and somewhat ambivalent relation to society and the official church, understood as "the Jerusalem below." Sometimes Hauge would distance himself and the friends from the official church and society and portray them as antagonists of the "true temple"

vekkingane som forandra Rogaland," in Levende religion. Globalt perspektiv – lokal praksis, eds. Anna Rebecca Solevåg and Anne Kalvig (Stavanger: Hertervig Akademisk, 2015), 69.

**<sup>61</sup>** The derogative nametag "the saints" probably alludes to the strong emphasis on a life of purity among the friends. Reports of (often female) friends entering into depression as a result of Haugean preaching were common in the interrogation reports from the trial. In the report from Lyster, several neighbours insisted that in the case of a suicide of certain female Haugean, it was the "madness" caused by Hauge's message that had caused it. This was strongly denied by the local friends. Justisdepartementet, Kommisjon i saken mot Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804 [Proceedings from the trial against Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804], RA/S-1151/D/L0001, package 5, item 321. Riksarkivet/The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

<sup>62</sup> Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 7, 6.

**<sup>63</sup>** Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 7, 6.

and even as their enemy.<sup>64</sup> At other times the distinction was less clear, and the church was rather seen as a mission field, as the *potential* Jerusalem above.

Hauge's relation to the official church has often been portrayed as one of faithfulness despite conflict. It is argued that he had attended church all his life, had admonished his friends to do the same, and that he only preached "the elementals of faith" and "the teachings of Pontoppidan," as he used to claim. <sup>65</sup> Although this is largely true, it is equally true that Hauge also in several ways devalued the church institution and church buildings in his teaching and through his actions. In his writings, Hauge expressed that God no longer dwelled in "man-made temples," as he called the churches. 66 He also spoke of the church services as being "in bondage."67 Although Pontoppidan had expressed similar views in his Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness] (1737), there seems to be a significant difference between his and Hauge's views.<sup>68</sup> Pontoppidan had regarded going to church on Sundays as the primary way of worshipping God, and the personal contemplation in the "inner temple of the heart" not as something contradictory, but as a necessary supplement. <sup>69</sup> For Hauge, though, these two forms of worship could be said to be essentially different and even opposite. For Hauge, the heart was not only the "inner temple" of God, as Pontoppidan had called it, it was the *only* temple of God. Where Pontoppidan had seen personal contemplation as a necessary supplement, Hauge rather saw attending church as something done mainly "out of necessity."

The practical consequence of this view can be seen in the way Hauge and the friends went about their ministry. They chiefly went around conducting "religious assemblies"70 in people's homes, and claimed Jesus as their example as they

<sup>64</sup> Antagonists of the movement could be called "the enemy," a name also used for the devil, cf. Seland, "I 'Fællesskab og Samfund'- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon," 107.

<sup>65</sup> This was Hauge's usual line of defence against repeated accusations of heresy. Bishop Pontoppidan's Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed [Truth unto Godliness], first published 1737, was an exposition of Martin Luther's small catechism and consisted of over 700 questions and answers. Although knowledge of its contents was still a prerequisite for confirmation and consequently for entering adulthood in Norway, by Hauge's time the ideas of Pontoppidan were considered obsolete by many. During the trial Hauge's defence lawyer made an effort to justify and excuse this old-fashioned theological affiliation. See Erik Pontoppidan, Sannhet til Gudfryktighet. Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1964, 80.

**<sup>66</sup>** Hauge claimed that God had not dwelt in the Jewish temple before its destruction either, since it was already defiled. He deduced this from the fact that Jesus, according to the Gospels, visited the temple only three times during his lifetime, and therefore could not have dwelled there, Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 602.

<sup>67 &</sup>quot;just as we see now, with Jerusalem or our church services, which are currently in bondage." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 1, 195.

**<sup>68</sup>** Amundsen, "Oppvekkelsens steder," 37.

**<sup>69</sup>** Pontoppidan, Sannhet til Gudfryktighet, 38–39.

<sup>70</sup> The Conventicle Act of 1741 used the term gudelige Forsamlinger [godly assemblies] for religious meetings outside the church. In the trial against Hauge, the most commonly used term was religieuse Forsamlinger [religious assemblies].

preached "in the open fields, the temple courts, the houses of the poor and prisons."<sup>71</sup> In a letter to friends. Hauge even lamented that resources spent on adornment of churches was a squandering of money. 72 According to Hauge, the best place for the preaching of the Gospel was not inside the churches, where God did not live, but outside. Hauge even claimed Martin Luther in support of this view:

Martin Luther also wished, that all churches or temples should become a heap of stones . . . and that the Gospel should be preached in the homes, and this we can understand he had reason to wish for.73

Hauge in this way shifted the idea of a holy place from the church building, to basically anywhere else. Borrowing the vocabulary of Doreen Massey and human geography, it could be said that Hauge in this way emphasised a "relational" understanding of space over a "two-dimensional" one, as he stressed that it was the people who were holy, not the places.<sup>74</sup>

Hauge's ambivalent relation to the church also came to expression in other ways. Not only would the friends sometimes designate themselves "the church" or "the congregation."<sup>75</sup> They even had their own religious books, published by Hauge: not only the must-haves, the hymnal, postil, and catechism, but even their own "essential Bible" and "epistle-collections." Spiritually, and this was what really mattered to Hauge, the community of friends in many ways functioned as a religious community of its own. They practiced "tactical religion" as Michel de Certeau would say it, with their verbal devaluation of the buildings of the official church and their use of their own liturgical

<sup>71</sup> Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 384. By temple courts Hauge referred, in his metaphorical language, to the common ground outside the churches (kirkebakken). A typical situation is vividly described by a local postmaster, Peder Knoph, explicitly not a follower of Hauge: "Whenever the witness was at Wasaas church in the years 1803-04, and in the beginning of 1802, he always saw a cluster of people around some person.", Justisdepartementet, Kommisjon i saken mot Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804 [Proceedings from the trial against Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804], RA/S-1151/D/L0001, package 5, item 321. Riksarkivet/The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

<sup>72</sup> In a letter to friends, Hauge lamented that "the holy temple, or house of God, 1 Pet. 2 is poorly funded compared to the worldly temples with their dead paintings and precious things of this world . . . " Letter to friends, 1800, in: Hauge and Kvamen, *Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 1*, 47. In the letter, Hauge made the point that he wished money would be channelled to his trade and enterprises, as they contributed to the printing of religious books, and so forth, instead of being spent on church buildings.

<sup>73</sup> Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 3, vol. 2, 602. Hauge also took Jesus's reaction to Jerusalem's rejection as a role model for how the friends should relate to the church: "Christ wept for those who did not know their time of visitation, so must we." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 384.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Doreen Massey, For Space (London: Sage, 2005), 77.

<sup>75</sup> Seland, "I 'Fællesskab og Samfund'- Haugebevegelsens organisasjon," 107.

<sup>76</sup> The already mentioned "Exposition of the Bible," see above. Exemplars of book-bound collections of letters from Hauge and other friends have been preserved, resembling how the congregations of the early church collected the epistles of Paul.

books, in opposition to the "strategic religion" of the official church.<sup>77</sup> The friends never established themselves as an organisation distinct from the official church (another typical trait of tactical religion, according to de Certeau), as this was not really a viable alternative in the absolutist monarchy of Denmark-Norway. However, the accusation against Hauge in the trial of having established a religious sect, was in this regard not completely off the mark. In the way that had any real value to the friends, the spiritual way, they both considered themselves as a church in the sense of a community of true believers, and functioned as such. 78 Participation in the official church was more a matter of conforming to society. It is therefore neither surprising nor unfitting what reason Hauge gave in his final will to his friends for remaining within the church: They were to do so simply because it belonged to "good order."

#### The Friends as Zion in Jerusalem

On the other hand, the church services were not altogether useless in Hauge's eyes. Not only was attending church "good and proper behaviour," about which Hauge was genuinely concerned; in the homogenous Lutheran society of Denmark-Norway, society and church were quite indistinguishable, and all the ministers of the church were the king's men. This point was not lost on Hauge, who recognised the value of a society built on "God's law." Hauge could even call the ministers of the church "the guardians of the walls of Zion," acknowledging their significance for true faith. 80 This situation of living as true believers in a society where everyone was part of the Lutheran church, was probably what lay behind a comment he once made about the relationship between Zion and Jerusalem. It reflects a much more sympathetic relation to church and society than described above:

Furthermore, Zion is understood as more glorious than Jerusalem, as the city was built on the hills of Jerusalem, but on Mount Zion was the temple, which was the holiest [place] and where there was worship, more than the other places.81

<sup>77</sup> Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 44; Linda Woodhead, "Tactical and Strategic Religion," in Everyday Lived Islam in Europe, ed. N.M. Dessing and L. Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2016), 92.

<sup>78</sup> However, Hauge was generally ecumenically minded and did not claim heaven exclusively for the friends. It was for anyone who lived "according to the Gospel," as is evident from his correspondence with the Quakers, see below.

<sup>79</sup> Already in his first writing, Hauge makes a point of commending the king's laws as "forwarding the kingdom of God," cf. Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 83.

**<sup>80</sup>** Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 2, 234.

<sup>81 &</sup>quot;Ellers forstaaes og Zion i større Herlighed end Ierusalem, da Ierusalems Bierge var Staden bygt paa, men paa Zions Bierg var Templen, hvilke var helligst og blev holdt Lovsang i, mere end i de andre Stæder." Hauge and Ording, Hans Nielsen Hauges skrifter: 5, 251.

Here, it is not the antagonism between the Jerusalem in freedom and the Jerusalem in bondage which is emphasised, but rather the similarity between them. In analogy with the architectural plan of the Jewish temple, with an increasing degree of holiness towards the centre, Hauge described Zion and Jerusalem as essentially the same, but with Zion as "more glorious," since it was the mountain upon which the temple was built. Applied to Hauge's own society, the friends were living as a holy core (Zion) in the midst of society (Jerusalem); not in a society of infidels.

When Hauge claimed to be preparing stones and chalk for Zion, therefore, he was aware that he was doing it in a Christian society, in "Jerusalem." The members of church and society were a valuable mission field and could even be supportive. This was in stark contrast both to some other contemporary religious groupings and to the ideas of earlier Lutheran theology. As for contemporary religious groupings, the Norwegian Quakers with whom Hauge was in contact after the trial had a much more hostile attitude to the church than Hauge. They apparently had the practice of demonstrably getting together for their own devotions while services were being held in the churches, a practice toward which Hauge objected in his correspondence with them. One of Hauge's arguments was how people a number of times had come up to him in church to talk to him about matters of faith; people who would not otherwise have frequented the Haugean devotions.<sup>82</sup>

Furthermore, However sharply Hauge might express himself against the ministers of the church, the idea of who "the others" were had changed over the centuries. Breaking with the church was not an option, not just because this was not practically possible during the absolutist monarchy, but because Hauge understood the rest of society as "Jerusalem," not something completely different. Northrop Frye has, in his analysis of biblical metaphors, argued that biblical apocalyptic imagery occurs in positive types and corresponding demonic antitypes. The image of God has as its demonic antitype; Satan. The garden of Eden has as its demonic antitype; the desert or the Dead Sea. Jerusalem has as its antitype Babylon or Rome.<sup>83</sup> A century earlier, Danish and Norwegian theologians would have recognised their own society in this setup. To them, their own society could be equalled to Jerusalem, just as countries under Catholic domination would be "Rome" or "Babylon."84 To Hauge, however,

<sup>82</sup> Hauge further explained that just as Jesus had gone to the temple to pray, so also believers should go to church. Getting together in separate gatherings during the church service could provoke people to hatred, which in turn could cause unnecessary suffering to the believers. Hauge's point was that, although God does not live in the churches, one should not provoke authorities unnecessarily, Andreas Seierstad, "Hans Nielsen Hauge Og Kvekerane," TTK (1943), 148-51; Hauge and Kvame, Brev frå Hans Nielsen Hauge 2, 117.

<sup>83</sup> Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982), 167; Jan Inge Sørbø, Essay om teologi og litteratur (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1994), 305-310.

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 12 (Eivor A. Oftestad), vol. 2, 235–57; Chapter 15 (Marius Timmann Mjaaland), vol.2, 282-97; Chapter 16 (Otfried Czaika), vol. 2, 298-313.

living towards the end of the eighteenth century, the dualism took a different form. The antitype of the believers was no longer Rome or Babylon, as the friends were part of a per definition Christian society of Denmark-Norway. The antitype of the friends was not anything outside society, but society itself. Jerusalem was society in general, and the friends lived in it as Zion.

## **Concluding Remarks**

Through his interpretation of the Bible and by way of a considerable effort in expounding the biblical text to his friends, Hauge developed a comprehensive theological understanding of Jerusalem. This understanding was frequently expressed in addressing the friends' situation in relation to society. Hauge's extensive application of Jerusalem as a metaphor further meant that his theological contribution also made its influence on the friends in several ways.

Morally speaking, Hauge's emphasis on the heavenly Jerusalem as a place without impurity seems to have provided important impetus for the inflated attention to expressions of piety among the friends. Further, the allegorical identification of the destroyed Jewish temple with the church buildings of his time served as a convenient rationale for the movement's mission strategy of conducting religious assemblies in people's homes. But perhaps most importantly, the understanding of the friends as Zion, living in the middle of Jerusalem, helps explain why breaking with the church was not an alternative for Hauge. Hauge's understanding of society as Jerusalem meant that he saw church and society more as a mission field than an enemy or counterpart. As much as Hauge encouraged his friends to be "the true temple of God," he was aware that he they were all the time living in "Jerusalem." And just as it was Jerusalem that had rejected Jesus, and not the other way around, so also Hauge never rejected society, but strove to "prepare stones and chalk for Zion," while living in "Jerusalem."