

*The Spirituality of the “Sichtungszeit”*

***The Spirituality of the “Sichtungszeit”,  
as expressed in the thirty-four homilies on  
the Litany of the Wounds.***

***By***

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## **1.0 Introduction**

This dissertation is a reading of the *vier und dreyszig Homilien über die Wundenlitaney* as they were published after Zinzendorf gave them at Herrnhag in the summer months of 1747.

### **1.1 Text and analysis**

The main part of this dissertation will be the analysis of the thirty-four homilies on the Litany of the Wounds. I will examine how central features of the spirituality of Zinzendorf are expressed throughout the homilies. These include bridal mysticism, blood and wounds theology, the imitation of Christ, the Passion, knowledge, and the simplicity of the believer. The following paragraphs describe necessary factors that should be considered before this analysis.

The homilies contain many of the metaphors and images connected with Zinzendorf's spirituality and my dissertation is an attempt to perform a thorough reading of the whole text assisted by important scholars within the field. The texts are rich in imagery and complexity and are thus challenging to translate into English. Important aspects can be "lost in translation." Thus, many citations are in German.

The biblical references Zinzendorf uses are varied and can seem rather unordered and randomly used at first, almost like a flow of thought. A close reading reveals a deliberate intent regarding the use of the Bible. Some biblical passages are cited, others are paraphrased and can be harder to identify.

Identifying the biblical passages is necessary when analysing the homilies. I intend to identify the most important ones and observe how they are used to explain the liturgy. Relevant research questions in this connection are: Several texts dominate the text, but how are they used to support his argumentation? Which texts does he choose for the homilies and what is the basis for his choices?

### **1.2 The text as commentary to the Litany of the Wounds.**

Why was the Litany of the wounds considered important enough to be used as the inspiration for giving thirty-four homilies?

Zinzendorf himself said that it was unusual for him to explain liturgies. Nevertheless, he chooses to do so, even though liturgy is to be “understood with the heart”.<sup>1</sup>

I will present the Litany of the Wounds, as it was practised by the Brethren as liturgy. This will be the departure point before moving on to the thirty-four homilies that were given inspired by that liturgy. The homilies were given upon liturgy that the Brethren would be familiar with, and I will describe the place the liturgy held in the life of the Brethren. However original, the liturgy was not considered controversial, but was used for common worship in the settlements.

It is important consider that often a distinction is made between liturgy and litany. However, amongst the Brethren, those two terms were used almost interchangeably.

I intend to explore the structure of the litany, its form, and characteristics.

Zinzendorf even gives an overview in the introduction to the homilies where he identifies where the different parts of the Litany are used. This would help the reader to gain a better understanding of the argumentation.

### **1.3 Herrnhag- time and place**

The homilies were given during a controversial period in the history of the Brethren.<sup>2</sup> This was *die Sichtungszeit*.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, a description of the period will be necessary before discussing the homilies.

They were given by Zinzendorf over a short period from 24 April–13 August 1747. The choice of Herrnhag<sup>4</sup> was no coincidence as this was one of the most important settlements of

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<sup>1</sup>See 5.3, Die Erste Homilie

<sup>2</sup> The followers of Zinzendorf go by many different names. I will mainly use two of them: the Brethren and the Moravians.

<sup>3</sup> The name itself refers to Luke 22:31: “Simon, Simon, Satan has asked to sift all of you as wheat” (NIV). The duration of the period is debatable, but the most common timeframe is the years 1743–1750. This will be discussed in Chapter Two. “The Sifting Time” is the common translation of the German term *Sichtungszeit*.

<sup>4</sup> Herrnhag, just north of Frankfurt am Main, was the first community planned and built entirely according to Moravian architectural principles, the first true congregational town. Herrnhag was a planned city with large communal structures constructed around a central square. (Peucker (2015), 21.)

the Brethren in this period.<sup>5</sup> Life in a Moravian town, and especially in Herrnhag, was characterised by festiveness, a sense of elegance, and splendour: instrumental music, singing, paintings, architecture, and landscaping testified to great religious joy. It was a diverse community with people from different regions, countries, social class, or origin.

#### **1.4 Controversial mysticism and predecessors.**

As mentioned, the *Sichtungszeit* was a controversial period. Thus, it was important for the Brethren not to be identified with some of the most controversial figures of German mysticism. The consequences of such an identification could be critical for the Brethren in the aftermath of die *Sichtungszeit*.

Several representatives of German mysticism could be mentioned as inspiration for pietism, but Jakob Böhme had a significant impact as his ideas were rediscovered in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Those ideas later merged with those of Johann Arndt, a theologian of lifelong importance for the theology of Zinzendorf.<sup>7</sup> For Zinzendorf these include Böhmes writings on both gender and the trinity.<sup>8</sup> This influence was an object of accusations against Zinzendorf.

The Mother Eva Society will also be described as a possible source of importance, but most of all as a group that it would be critical to be associated with. As such, *die Sichtungszeit* represented a real danger for the Brethren. It could put them in a very challenging position. The society emphasised certain views and practices upon gender, marriage, sexuality, and the body. The rituals held great importance within the group, as it was for the Brethren in the late 1740s.

#### **1.5 Bridal mysticism- gender and sexuality**

Gender is an important aspect in the homilies, especially regarding bridal mysticism. In classic bridal mysticism Christ is considered to possess the only male soul; all the souls of humans are female. This particular form of mysticism holds a prominent position in the text, and I will attempt to identify how this is emphasised in the homilies. I intend to observe

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<sup>5</sup> Its location gave the settlement considerable importance. It was situated in the area of Wetterau, and this was a religiously tolerant and diverse region. Thus, Herrnhut was replaced as the centre for the Moravians.

<sup>6</sup>See 3.1

<sup>7</sup>See 3.1

<sup>8</sup>See 3.1

whether the bridal mysticism of the homilies deviate from this classic interpretation. Two questions are important to ask: What distinction is made between the gender of Christ and the gender of the believer? Are there expressions of a female Christ in the homilies or is he exclusively male? Can the gender fluidity of the occurrences in Herrnhag be observed in the homilies? In general, the presentation of the gender of Christ has been considered so important that it has been a debate for decades. This is still a current debate amongst Zinzendorf scholars. Before the analysis I will present a relevant debate between scholars Peter Vogt and Aaron Spencer Fogleman as a backdrop for observing how gender is presented in the homilies.<sup>9</sup>

### **1.6 Imitating Christ**

The imitation of Christ holds a prominent position in the homilies. I intend to observe the character of Christ as exemplary for the believer. How is this related to everyday life in the world? I intend to investigate the view upon the Bible, and how it is to be read according to the example of Christ. I will also note how simplicity is a focus for imitating Christ. Furthermore, I intend to examine how the passion of Christ is emphasised. I will observe how even the physical appearance of the suffering Christ is exemplary for the believer.

## **2.0 Setting the Stage**

### **2.1 Reception History**

The following chapter is intended as an introduction to the reading of the homilies. Thus, some biographers and theologians provide a necessary backdrop. Why have scholars constructed a “Sichtungszeit”? Why was the period 1740–1750 so controversial that such an endeavour was pursued? Those years have been overlooked, ridiculed, seen as madness, or considered as a culmination of Moravian worship. Scholars have tried to capture the essence of this period whilst defining different sources of inspiration in Zinzendorf’s other works that

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<sup>9</sup> This debate followed the publication of Aaron Spencer Fogleman’s 2007 work, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Peter Vogt’s 2015 article, “The Masculinity of Christ according to Zinzendorf: Evidence and Interpretation,” *Journal of Moravian History* 15: 97-135, may be perceived as a contribution to this debate amongst Zinzendorf scholars.



were read amongst the Brethren.<sup>10</sup> The *Sichtungszeit* has been interpreted both historically and theologically and identified with various sources of inspiration.

Two of the first major contributions, by Spangenberg and Cranz, were written shortly after Zinzendorf’s death. These two are typical of eighteenth-century “historiography,” written by two major figures among the Brethren. The third is Hermann Plitt’s major three-volume work on Zinzendorf published in 1871. The current dating of the *Sichtungszeit* is still influenced by the model outlined by Hermann Plitt. A general trend amongst a “biographer” like Spangenberg and the “historian” Cranz has been to conceal the occurrences in Herrnhut, disconnect Zinzendorf from them, or distance the Moravian church entirely from the period.

I will also give an outline of some of the latest contributions to the field. The first is by director and archivist at the Moravian archives, Paul Peucker. The contribution by Peucker differs from those of his predecessors since his approach has been not to characterise the entire period, but to emphasise certain events, simply calling them “occurrences.” He focuses mainly on the festivals of the time. Furthermore, I will refer to the debate regarding the gender of Christ with examples from the works of Aaron Spencer Fogleman, Professor of History at the Northern Illinois University, and Peter Vogt, Doctor of Theology and Moravian minister.

### **2.1.1 August Gottlieb Spangenberg’s “Biography”**

August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704–1792) was the successor of Zinzendorf. His biography *Leben des Grafen Zinzendorf (1772–1774)*<sup>11</sup> is a significant work among Zinzendorf’s contemporaries. The description of a “Sichtungszeit” is influenced by an intention to tone down its significance and isolate it to events where Zinzendorf’s connection with it was

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<sup>10</sup> Several names have been given (and used) for the inhabitants of Herrnhut (1722–) and followers who gathered there and subsequently settled elsewhere in the world in the following years. As a general (but not entirely consequent) rule, the German congregations were referred as “the Brethren” (*die Brüder* or *die Brüderkirche*), while the title in English-speaking countries was “the Moravians.” The term *Moravians* is an anglicisation of the German *Mährische Brüder*, which simply connects the religious group to the geographical area Mähren.

<sup>11</sup> Few sources have been translated into English. However, Spangenberg’s biography has. I have taken the liberty of using the abbreviated one-volume version from 1838: August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1838), *The Life of Nicolas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (Or Moravian) Brethren*, trans. Samuel Jackson, ESQ; introduction preface by the Rev. P. La Trobe. Samuel Holdsworth (London: Amen-Corner).

reduced to a minimum. Spangenberg simply refers to the events as the "circumstances" of Herrnhag.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Spangenberg's own intention (agenda) was to distance his own person even further from the period. He was already assuming a greater deal of leadership within the church, and its future was in peril.

Spangenberg writes that

As Zinzendorf was leaving for America, he received a letter, and it uttered several proofs of the "thoughtless enthusiasm" which had gradually infected the deceivers and the deceived in the Church.<sup>13</sup>

Thereafter, Spangenberg documents that Zinzendorf prepared a letter to all the churches of the Brethren in which he

alluded to everything that he knew or apprehended in a pointed manner. He expressed himself in such a manner as to achieve the desired effect.<sup>14</sup>

Spangenberg does not explain what kind of effect he refers to. He mentions none, but according to Spangenberg, Zinzendorf

attacked the thing itself without sparing anyone; and because many of the brethren and sisters, who ought to have served as an example to others, were chiefly to blame for things which were unbecoming of a church of Christ, his letter was particularly directed against them.<sup>15</sup>

In the conclusion, Zinzendorf wrote: "He that is on the Lord's side, let him join me; and he that is disobedient shall bear his own judgement, whoever he be."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 375.

<sup>13</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>14</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>15</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>16</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

Zinzendorf had enough copies printed and had them sent to all the churches by 10 February 1749. In this connection he also writes to his son Christian Renatus who had become connected with the occurrences. Spangenberg writes that this was obviously done with good intentions, but also through what he calls the "deceitfulness of sin." Zinzendorf made it clear for his son "the evil into which he had fallen," removed him from his position, and summoned him to London.<sup>17</sup>

Spangenberg concludes that the Lord blessed these efforts of the Count so that the faithful, who:

"sighed over the extravagancies committed," began to breathe more freely, while "those who had grieved the Church" gradually were brought to reflection.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, Zinzendorf did not put the matter to rest with a general warning but reflected upon how this evil had found an entrance, and how it could be removed. Spangenberg writes that:

He found it necessary to commence the work in the character of a physician, in order that the souls of those who had been infected by the evil and become a disgrace to the Saviour and their Brethren might be saved.<sup>19</sup>

Spangenberg describes the ambivalence of Zinzendorf's reaction, filled with compassion and dissatisfaction. This mixed reaction even leads to alienation:

Firstly, he had great compassion with those heedlessly drawn into it, and secondly, expressed his great dissatisfaction and displeasure at their conduct, and for a long time, did not suffer them to come near him.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>18</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>19</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 386.

<sup>20</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 387.

According to Spangenberg, Zinzendorf took great pains to restore them to "the path of simplicity." If the occurrences were of such a grievous character, it is rather peculiar that Spangenberg continues by writing that

Zinzendorf shortly thereafter both forgave and restored them to their offices and commissioned them to reform the disorders which had taken place amongst their own people, and to minister to the amendment of those whom they had previously encouraged in their vagaries. He examined the sources of their fanaticism, which had spread itself among them in order to eradicate them; and believing that they originated in the wish of some, to find something superior to, and more excellent than the doctrine of the cross, he renewed his determination and his practice to preach nothing but Christ, and him crucified.<sup>21</sup>

Spangenberg presents his own thoughts upon the matter and even discloses his disappointment. In fact, he admits that he was "very displeased with the Count at that time, and Zinzendorf no less, because he knew his sentiments." He states that "this went so far, on both sides, that it could not remain concealed from the church, although they," according to Spangenberg, "loved each other cordially."<sup>22</sup>

One may wonder if this description is merely tactical from Spangenberg. He attempts to distance Zinzendorf from *die Sichtungszeit*, but at the same time (just in case) he distances himself from the Count. It is well worth noting that this occurred just before Spangenberg became leader of the Brethren. It is written in Zinzendorf's defence, but at the same time he is cautious to keep a safe distance.

Furthermore, Spangenberg writes about Zinzendorf that he

acted thus out of fear for himself, and that if he had been informed of everything at the time, he might have been too highly incensed against certain persons, to whom he was,

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<sup>21</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 387.

<sup>22</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 387.

notwithstanding, much attached. That would have led to him withdrawing the confidence he reposed in them, and have given them up entirely, and perhaps even have lost courage himself.<sup>23</sup>

Spangenberg continues by implying that it might be possible that Zinzendorf was unwilling to engage himself in the “circumstances” since he had other pressing affairs at the time. He implies that this could be the cause for Zinzendorf’s unwillingness.

### **2.1.2 David Cranz**

David Cranz (1723–1777) wrote the first history of the Brethren.<sup>24</sup> Cranz was one of the Brethren himself and a part of Zinzendorf’s inner circle of associates. It becomes evident that Cranz also wishes to disassociate the Brethren from the Sichtungszeit. In Cranz’s work, ordered in paragraphs, §154 onwards described this period, especially in §159.<sup>25</sup> He writes that a “Sifting” broke out in the congregation,

which should with its melancholy circumstances be related thereafter. The extravagances attending it, both in doctrine and practice, and the dissatisfaction of a great part of the Brethren at Herrnhag on that account could not remain unknown in Büdingen<sup>26</sup> and brought the proper instruments of these disturbances upon the scheme of promoting a separation from the greatest part of the inhabitants of Herrnhag from the church of the Brethren.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting to note that Cranz seeks to create a distance between the Brethren and Zinzendorf himself. This is totally in accordance with the intent of disassociating the group from the radical expressions of the period. However, Cranz favours Zinzendorf by writing positively about him:

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<sup>23</sup> Spangenberg (1838), 388.

<sup>24</sup> The full title is: *The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren: Or a Succinct Narrative of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren or Unitas Fratrum, in the Remoter Ages, and particularly in the Present Century* (London: W. and A. Strahan).

<sup>25</sup> David Cranz (1780), *The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren*, trans. Benjamin La Trobe (London: W. and A. Strahan), 357ff.

<sup>26</sup> The town neighbouring Herrnhag.

<sup>27</sup> Cranz (1780), 357.

it must be owned to his praise that, notwithstanding all the adverse insinuations and much disgust taken against the inhabitants of Herrnhag not without a cause, he faithfully took care to prevent the breaking out of this inimical disposition against the Brethren.<sup>28</sup>

The more thorough description of the period follows in §159. Cranz operates with a timespan from 1746 until 1750, and in so doing chooses a relatively short period compared to others. However, he admits a preliminary departure point around 1743 when Zinzendorf returned from his journey to Northern America. At that time, the Count was obliged to engage in what Cranz describes as

many difficult and intricate affairs relating to Wettaravia, Gotha, Brandenburg and Livonia. Many writings of adversaries, and many libels appeared in public; and it could scarcely be supposed otherwise than that the congregation, in many places, was at the eve of persecution.<sup>29</sup>

The increase of congregations at that time led to many being anxious about dangerous consequences of the *Sichtung*.

Cranz writes:

Zinzendorf, during his stay in Pennsylvania, had acquired a farther insight than he had before about the emptiness and pernicious tendencies of all the methods of sanctification, which are not deduced from the merits of Jesus. Upon his return to Europe Zinzendorf encountered many new inhabitants in the congregations of several persuasions and forms. This made him anxious for a similar evil, and he laboured against this in discourses and hymns endeavouring fully to enthrone the merits and wounds of Jesus.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Cranz (1780), 358.

<sup>29</sup> Cranz (1780), 367.

<sup>30</sup> Cranz (1780), 368.

According to Cranz, this "labouring" was due to the publications in the congregations, especially the *Wundenlitaney*. This litany inspired the thirty-four homilies. It will be discussed at length in Chapter Four. By doing so, the Count wished to convey not only that the forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation could be obtained from this source, but also to show that the cleansing of sins and our true sanctification "only flows from this fountain."<sup>31</sup> At this time, according to Cranz, the blood and wounds, especially the holy side wound of Christ, became the focal point in his discourses. The consequence was that the only way one, being a sinner, could come to Christ was by his wounds. Cranz saw this as an "obvious advantage" and wrote: "Several anxious minds achieved evangelical freedom, self-righteousness was exploded, and hypocrisy exposed. Those who were offended by this went away."<sup>32</sup> Cranz writes that the "evil" first became visible in Wetterau that year (1746) while Zinzendorf and most of the labourers were absent in Zeist and in England.<sup>33</sup> However, he somewhat tones down the implied critique of Zinzendorf and writes that due to the Count's absence in 1748 and 1749 on account of negotiations in Saxony and England, "the evil now, like a pent-up torrent broke forth with more violence."<sup>34</sup>

Cranz offers quite vivid descriptions of the occurrences:

They (He may refer to the settlement of Herrnhag) began in such a manner to refine upon, and overcharge with various poetical figures and unintelligible expressions, the subject of the sacred wound made in the side of Jesus, that his precious merits were almost totally set aside. Each of this sort of people (*sic.*) strove to out-do the other in strange and unintelligible new expressions and poetical productions, deviating very far from the pattern of the old church-hymns, and the spiritual songs hitherto in use in the congregations of the Brethren.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Cranz (1780), 368.

<sup>32</sup> Cranz (1780), 368.

<sup>33</sup> Cranz (1780), 370.

<sup>34</sup> Cranz (1780), 370.

<sup>35</sup> Cranz (1780), 370.

Furthermore, Cranz adds that others, who had formerly read mystical books, brought "all manner of fanatical ideas upon the carpet." These people all at once "fell into liberty unbecoming children of God, which, in some proceeded into a licentious impudence."<sup>36</sup>

At this point, he emphasises that:

A certain spirit of sifting and temptation infused this poison under a specious appearance, with an inconceivably captivating power into everyone who did not keep a strict watch over their heart. It ran, like wild-fire through more congregations.<sup>37</sup>

He also states that:

A considerable amount (*sic.*) of the Brethren who were carried away without being able to resist the torrent couldn't do nothing but sigh and weep. Others, viewing the malady as inexcusable, left the congregation.<sup>38</sup>

This is followed by a description of Zinzendorf's actions when he acquired knowledge of the occurrences in the congregation. Cranz comments that:

After having received this knowledge in his residence in London (1749) he wrote a letter of reprimand and sent some of the Brethren to the German congregations, which also had the desired effect. He also sent his son-in law bishop Johannes Watteville on a journey to speak with every member of them in an affectionate, but at the same time earnest manner to lead them again to the pure evangelical way.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> This may be pointing to the "occurrences" in Herrnhag.

<sup>37</sup> Cranz (1780), 370.

<sup>38</sup> At this point, Cranz adds a rare and significant footnote. He claims that: "the beginning of this 'sifting' did not arise from irreligious principles; nor did it end in immoral practices. The cause of it was an extravagant and fanatic joy, which gave occasion to inconsiderate expressions. A certain joyous perfection was eagerly pursued; which, however, was not attained to (*sic*) since the depth both of human depravity, and of the atonement and sanctification through the blood of Christ, which twofold knowledge can alone produce and preserve a true and solid peace of mind, was forgotten." (Cranz (1780), 370n33)

<sup>39</sup> Cranz (1780), 371.



Cranz describes how the Count himself travelled to Germany in the summer of 1750 to the synod held in Barby, which was concluded in 1751. Cranz writes about the participants in the *Sichtung*:

Our Saviour gave grace, that almost all, that had taken share in these excesses in doctrine and practice, acknowledged their error with shame, sought, and found forgiveness with Jesus. Such, upon whom a relapse was to be apprehended were dismissed from their offices.<sup>40</sup>

Cranz concludes by stating that:

Thus, the hidden danger, like a long lurking malady, slowly operating to destruction were, at the right time, brought to light, and upon a solid acknowledgment of the deviations, with many penitential tears, removed.

However, Cranz admits that:

The after-pains lasted longer; and to this day (1780) serve as a salutary remembrance, and as a warning against all hurt, which may be apprehended from the imperfection of a congregation and the indwelling sin of its members.<sup>41</sup>

For Cranz, the whole period becomes an example of a church gone astray. In Cranz's time, it becomes absolutely necessary to facilitate a secure distance towards the period. His strategy is to isolate and condemn the occurrences and deviations referred to and blame the incidents on several unnamed persons of the congregations.

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<sup>40</sup> Cranz (1780), 372.

<sup>41</sup> Cranz (1780), 372.

## **2.2 Theological Interpretation**

### **2.2.1 Hermann Plitt**

Hermann Plitt (1821–1900) wrote the first attempted academic treatment of Zinzendorf’s theology. He describes how it may be divided into three periods, and this has been almost commonly accepted as an appropriate timeframe. Thus, Plitt’s three-volume work has had significant impact. The second volume, *Die Zeit krankhafter Verbildungen in Zinzendorf’s Lehrweise (1743–1750)*,<sup>42</sup> is particularly important in our context. The title of the volume is revealing. Plitt carries great respect for Zinzendorf’s early period but seeks to reject *die Sichtungszeit* as a period of “sickness,” hence the name of the volume. The first paragraph is even called “Allgemeine Betrachtung der Lehrverwirrungen Zinzendorfs in jener Zeit.”<sup>43</sup> It is of relevance first to identify Plitt’s sources. Even though he cites and interprets works of Zinzendorf, he also draws upon both Spangenberg and Cranz.<sup>44</sup>

The major shift that Plitt represents is that elements which were deemed too controversial in Zinzendorf’s time are elaborated upon, not kept secret. Plitt presents what he considers as one of the main challenges: Why would a man with an original theology full of spirit show an unrecognisable image of himself as compared to the earlier period?<sup>45</sup> Plitt formulates the following question:

Der Hauptsache nach aber ist es wirklich eine krankhafte Verbildung nicht sowohl des Inhalts der zinzendorfschen Theologie, was diese Jahre uns zeigen, als vielmehr der Form der Lehr-Weise?<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> It translates: “The time of pathological deformations in Zinzendorf’s teaching.”

<sup>43</sup> Hermann Plitt (1871), *Zinzendorf’s Theologie* V2. *Die Zeit krankhafter Verbildungen in Zinzendorf’s Lehrweise (1743–1750)* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes Gotha), 1.

<sup>44</sup> Plitt (1871), 34.

<sup>45</sup> “Ein Mann, tief und lebendig gegründet in dem Evangelium, genährt mit dem Marke der evangelisch-reformatorischen Wahrheit, mit seiner Theologie voll Geist und Originälitet, wie wir im ersten Bande sie dargestellt haben (...) dieser Mann zeigt uns in dem nun folgenden Jahrsiebend mit seiner Lehrweise ein Bild, in welchen wir auf den ersten Blick denjenigen kaum wiederzuerkennen vermögen, mit welchem wir durch unsere bisherige Betrachtung vertraut geworden sind.”, Plitt (1871), 1

<sup>46</sup> Plitt (1871), 3.

Plitt continues to elaborate upon how this "sickness" makes itself evident. It is an evolving process. The real cause would not be evident without this examination.<sup>47</sup>

Plitt claims to have seen traces of what he calls the "infamous period" at the Synod of Marienborn (1740), and further in 1741. During this period Zinzendorf also travels to North America for the second time (1741–1742) and writes what is to become "der elfte Anhang zu dem Herrnhutischen Gesangbuch." When this appendix is published,<sup>48</sup> it is with an introduction, which represents a significant key for Plitt. The believers are characterised as dear, little blood-worms:

Ihr Blut-Würmlein im Meer der Gnaden! Ich bin hier in der Wüste und lauere auf Wilde, wie sie auf wilde Thiere. Meine Seele handelt mehr mit dem Lamme, als mit den Menschen, und in dieser Gemüths-fassung ist dieser elfte Anhang vollends zu Stande gekommen.<sup>49</sup>

Plitt considers the celebration of Pentecost in 1744 as a decisive point during which the announcement of the Holy Spirit as mother to the church was declared to congregations and associates. The importance of the side wound becomes more evident in the period. It is open and constantly bleeding for the believer and is the source of life:

Dies stellt sich der dichtenden Anschauung darinn dar, daß wie überhaupt aus den Wunden der Gemarterten, so insonderheit aus der Seitenwunde, des Sterbenden wie ein Strom sein Blut sich ergossen hat, das Blut "in welchem das Leben ist"; dies Blut des Gottmenschen bringt neumals eine neue Lebenspotenz in Seel und Leib der Seinen ein, in ihm schwimmen und haben sie, aus ihm quillt ihnen Friede und Freude, Trost und Kraft, Fähigkeit und Trieb dem Bräutigam zu leben.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Plitt (1871), 4.

<sup>48</sup> Plitt (1871), 6.

<sup>49</sup> Plitt (1871), 5–6.

<sup>50</sup> Plitt (1871), 11.

As shown in the citations, Plitt identifies certain aspects that became evident at the time, and thus it is the first contribution that places Zinzendorf as an active character during the Sifting. Plitt provides a useful, systematic overview of texts that had a significant impact during the Sifting and is thus helpful for understanding the homilies.

## **2.3 Recent Scholarship**

Many works could have been mentioned between Plitt and the extensive modern research. I have chosen to emphasise the possible shift in scholarship that Paul Peucker represents. The latter has a different departure point than previous scholars. As we shall see, his main goal is not to focus on the entire period of 1743–1750, but to describe and analyse occurrences in Herrnhag during the late 1740s.

### **2.3.1 Paul Peucker: “A Time of Sifting”**

Paul Peucker is director and archivist at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem Pennsylvania. He is the author of the latest work on Zinzendorf and *die Sichtungszeit, A Time of Sifting: Mystical Marriage and the Crisis of Moravian Piety in the Eighteenth Century* (2015). He gives an extensive overview of biographies, historiography, and scholarship, and concludes that none of the definitions of *die Sichtungszeit* suffice.<sup>51</sup> His project is to find out what “really happened” and caused Zinzendorf and other leaders to intervene. He attempts to investigate what the reason for Zinzendorf’s letter of reprimand and disapproval really was. Drawing on numerous sources, the book contains vivid descriptions of the “festivities” in Herrnhag in the late 1740s.

From the outset, it becomes clear that Peucker maintains the thought of *die Sichtungszeit* as a phase in Moravian history, although he puts great emphasis on the fact that some of the occurrences were kept hidden by the Moravian church for centuries to come. He attempts to prove that the *Sichtungszeit* was a culmination of Moravian theology of the 1730s and 1740s.

Unlike other scholars, Peucker describes, as far as the material allows it, what the celebrations at Herrnhag were like.

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<sup>51</sup> Peucker (2015), 44.

### **2.3.2 The “Occurrences” at Herrnhag**

The year 1747 represents an important shift in the spirituality of the Brethren. In Herrnhag, they started to celebrate Good Friday as the anniversary of the origin of the side wound. The metaphor of the side wound held a prominent place in Moravian piety prior to this, but throughout 1747 the side-wound theology was further developed, and became the centre of meditations, sermons, hymns, and anthems, as well as a natural feature in the frequent celebrations that took place in the Moravian communities. By September 1747, the focus had shifted from the actual physical wound in Jesus’s side to a more metaphorical concept of the side wound. For Zinzendorf, all souls were born from the side wound into a new life in faith. He called the side wound a central point of his theology, from which all other ideas could be derived. The essence of the Christian faith could be explained through this single symbol.<sup>52</sup>

Many of the expressions of spirituality in Herrnhag can be found in *die vier und dreyszig Homilien über die Wundenlitaney*. It is important to note that the blood and wounds of Christ, especially the side wound, is not the sole focus. It is intertwined with bridal mysticism, teachings on the Trinity, and original interpretations of biblical texts. Eventually, extravagant ideas, and the festivities that accompanied them led to the abandonment and dissolution of the settlement at Herrnhag, completely disbanded by July 1753.

Celebrations held a central position in the life of the different Moravian settlements and congregations, and mostly so in Herrnhag and Herrnhut. These festivities became so elaborate, so grand and, to some extent, so peculiar, that Paul Peucker, as mentioned, simply calls them “occurrences.” Zinzendorf’s views on sexuality are different from those of other radical pietists since many rejected sexual practices and considered a life of abstinence to be the ideal for the truly converted.

Zinzendorf regarded sexual intercourse as a most holy act and a duty for each married couple. The contrast becomes further evident when some radical pietists would even believe that a

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<sup>52</sup> Peucker (2015), 76.

sexual relationship would prevent the believer from attaining union with divine wisdom. Zinzendorf, on the other hand, considered intercourse as a way to experience union with the divine.<sup>53</sup> Peucker refers to Moravian teaching on marriage, which he considers to be far from the notion that romantic love should be the basis for marriage. It was a communal affair, arranged and controlled by the church. Simultaneously, it was a sacred state. Marriage was considered as a reflection of the union between Christ, the husband, and the church, his wife. This union between Christ and his believers could be experienced and enjoyed during sexual intercourse.<sup>54</sup>

According to this, Moravians referred to heterosexual marital sex as a sacramental act. The Australian historian Lyndal Roper provides a helpful explanation of the importance of sexuality amongst the Moravians. Roper argues for an understanding of sexuality in Pietism as "deriving from a physical theology in which the body was saturated in moral and religious significance." She argues that in order to resolve the opposition that had been constructed in the Catholic Church between the body and the holy, between the sense and the spirit, some reformers, Anabaptists, and pietists preferred to "spiritualise the sexual" within marriage and make the body a gateway for the divine. This represents a redefinition of the body and the sexual in Zinzendorf's thought and practice. This demonstrates a reformulation of "the place of the body and sexuality in relation to the holy, by purifying marriage of sin and creating a morally perfect relationship."<sup>55</sup>

At the height of *die Sichtung*, 6 December 1748, Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf led the infamous gender-changing ceremony at Herrnaag. He gathered the single men in the chapel and declared them all to be women. The next day, he and his fellow elder Joachim Rubusch went to nearby Marienborn, seat of the church's theological seminary, and repeated the ceremony with the single men present there.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Peucker (2015), 23.

<sup>54</sup> Peucker (2015), 166.

<sup>55</sup> Katherine Faull (2010), "Speaking and Truth-Telling: Parrhesia in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Church," in *Self, Community, World. Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World*, ed. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker (Bethlehem: Lehigh University), 162.

<sup>56</sup> Peucker (2015), 1.

Many of the Brethren saw the events of the fall of 1748 as the start of a new era. Two days prior to the ceremony (4 December) the church observed the Festival of the Husband (*Mannesfest*). This was first celebrated in 1745, and the motif was “the marriage of the lamb to our souls.”<sup>57</sup> The difference compared to earlier years, however, was that in 1748 the single brothers no longer desired to celebrate this in expectation of what was to come. At this point, they believed that the division between heaven and earth was no longer relevant. The night before *das Mannesfest*, all single brothers received red choir ribbons.<sup>58</sup> The mentality of Herrnhag at the height of *die Sichtung* was that the end of days was approaching.

There are few primary sources for the ceremony, but three still exist: two Moravian and one non-Moravian. The first two mention that the ceremony contained both a foot-washing and Communion. The first source is short, the second more elaborate. According to Paul Peucker, the first is found in the private diary of Johann Christoph Becker, who experienced the ceremony in Marienborn a day after Christian Renatus first performed it in Herrnhag. Becker wrote (in Peucker’s translation):

December 7<sup>th</sup> (1748). After the brothers in Herrnhag were all confirmed and pronounced as single sisters the day before, we have now experienced this astounding thing here as well this evening. We were given the benediction by the dear Renatus [Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf], Rubusch and Caillet by the laying on of hands. There was Communion and foot washing, I left in the middle of this fever and went to Bethlehem.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Peucker (2015), 104.

<sup>58</sup> Garments carried important symbolism during the occurrences in Herrnhag. Christian Renatus had introduced white surplices at the single brothers’ festival of 2 May 1748. Christian and the other brothers at Herrnhag attached their own specific symbolism to the surplices. This finds its expression in a poem written during this period where Christel refers to the white garment as a wedding dress for their marriage with Christ. If this was the case, the wreath can also be read as a bridal wreath. Zinzendorf himself wrote that these white surplices had their equivalent in the white uniforms of the sisters. As such, they had the same symbolism as the white festive dresses of the women. In addition to a reference to the robes of Revelation 7:9, they held a threefold symbolism: the wedding dress, the festival dress, and the burial shroud. The surplices were, according to Paul Peucker, the dress of the believer who had mortified all sinful desires of the flesh, had become pure, and was ready to wed Christ. This was even more developed when Christian Renatus, during a Communion service, wore a purple surplice, and twelve others distributed Communion in white robes. This symbolised Christ and the twelve apostles. Peucker (2015), 60-61.

<sup>59</sup> Peucker (2015), 105.

The second reference is found in the diary of the single brothers in Marienborn. It has survived, unlike the diary of the single brothers in Herrnhag. The diary spans the years 1748 and 1749 because an editor, attempting to save the diary, blackened the critical passages. The entries for 6 and 7 December 1748 are still legible. It describes 6 December as an “indescribably blessed day” for their choir. He confirms that “the side hole declared us all to be sisters and sealed us through our eating and drinking his side hole.”<sup>60</sup> This was accompanied with foot-washing and singing. The third and most detailed description also confirms the events of the ceremony. It was written by Christian Hart, a former Moravian who published his experiences among the Moravians in Herrnhag and Zeist. Christian Hart described the same gender-changing events extensively. He also wrote how the single brothers should no longer be called brothers, but single sisters or maidens. He describes how a meeting was held with the communicant brothers to “absolve them, to forgive them all of their sins, however great they were, not only those that had happened but also those that were still to happen.” He describes how the elders first gave the benediction to each other. Then they gave the benediction to the others by the laying on of hands and made them all sisters.<sup>61</sup>

Many of the images and practices stem from Zinzendorf’s own works, but at this point Zinzendorf chose to intervene, and issued a letter of reprimand, which was to be delivered to all congregations on 10 February 1749.

There were several characteristics of the period, for instance childlike behaviour, playfulness, anti-intellectualism, and silliness. These would also eventually lead to the more sexually related incidents. Even though Zinzendorf himself defended “childlike character”<sup>62,63</sup> and “foolish nature” of a true believer, he later realised that the playfulness had led to excess.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Peucker (2015), 105.

<sup>61</sup> Hecker described the writings of Christian Hart, Hecker (1751), 50–52.

<sup>62</sup> Peucker (2015), 60

<sup>63</sup> Pia Schmid (Professor Emerita at the Martin-Luther Universität) has emphasised how children, according to the Moravians, attained a deeper connection with the Saviour. Schmid concludes that they, viewed from the outside, succeeded in adapting the pious standards of their community where being and remaining in “true connection” with the Saviour was the most important issue of one’s life. For further reading see Pia Schmid (2010), “Moravian Memoirs as a Source for the History of Education,” in *Self, Community, World. Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World*, ed. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press), 168-186

<sup>64</sup> Peucker (2015), 61.



Religious play seemingly had its origin in the first few months of 1746. In the diary of the single brothers in Herrnhag, meetings had previously been characterised as "blutig" (bloody) and "selig" (blessed) but were, during that year, increasingly called especially "lustig" (jolly), but also "vergnügt" (cheerful, joyful).<sup>65</sup>

Peucker claims that the blood and wounds theology, the adoration of the Holy Spirit as mother, the language of the Litany of the Wounds, and an "over-emphasis on religious devotion" should be seen not as particular aspects of *die Sichtungszeit*, but as general characteristics of Moravian piety in the eighteenth century. He attempts to establish which developments in the 1740s contemporaries found so disturbing that they perceived them as a crisis.<sup>66</sup> According to Peucker, Zinzendorf's theology was authoritative and dominant among Moravians. However, his followers developed his ideas further and sometimes came to conclusions which revealed undesired consequences. Nevertheless, he states that *die Sichtungszeit* was the logical consequence of Zinzendorf's teachings.

### **2.3.3 Die Sichtungszeit and Sexuality**

Paul Peucker considers the sexual aspects of *die Sichtungszeit* and points to both heterosexual and homosexual intercourse. Sexuality is a prerequisite for understanding the *Sichtungszeit* according to Peucker. He claims that Zinzendorf considered his teaching on marriage and sexuality the central point in his theology, and even called it a "primum principium," "the root of the church tree," and "the biggest secret" Christ had revealed to the Moravians. Peucker refers to Zinzendorf's "Zeister Reden" and concludes that Zinzendorf considered sexual intercourse a way to experience union with the divine.<sup>67</sup>

He mentions two other persons who held prominent positions during the period: Johannes von Watteville and Friedrich von Watteville. It is interesting to note how they evaluated the period immediately after it was brought to an end. At the Barby synod (1750), they both used the term *fleischlich*, which translates as *carnal*. This was used when discussing the crisis. At the

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<sup>65</sup> Peucker (2015), 63.

<sup>66</sup> Peucker (2015), 6.

<sup>67</sup> Peucker (2015), 23.

end of Zinzendorf’s letter of reprimand, he uses the words “unbridled carnal freedom.”<sup>68</sup> This also suggests that sexual matters were at the core of the crisis.

Zinzendorf wrote an official diary and inserted an interesting paragraph the same day he wrote his letter of reprimand. Peucker claims that this paragraph has gone largely unnoticed.<sup>69</sup> Zinzendorf wrote an account of his activities during the week, and after citing an address about recent imputations against the Moravians, he wrote as follows:

*Nota Ordinarii:* I cannot hold against the world that they speak and think so badly about us, when I consider what ungodly consequences our own people sometimes draw from my addresses—for example that since the souls of the single brothers are sisters, brothers can have physical relations with sisters in a physical way without harm.<sup>70</sup>

This note could in fact summarise the nature of the Sifting. It reveals that the single brothers of Herrnhag and Marienborn had taken Zinzendorf’s teachings quite literally, especially all souls being feminine, reaching the conclusion that they had become so Christlike that all sinful thoughts and feelings were already mortified. The implication of this was that the men had become “virginal” on earth, and thus they could have sexual encounters with women even outside of marriage. Peucker concludes that despite his later denials, Zinzendorf knew very well what was happening in Herrnhag,<sup>71</sup> and that *die Sichtungszeit* to a great extent revolved around sexual excesses. It is also of importance to ask whether these activities also included same-gender sexual activity. Peucker claims that when the single Brethren sang about the kisses of Christ, they kissed one another, in the belief that they had kissed Christ, and Christ had kissed them. He asks whether it is possible that, as the men sang, they wanted to go “deep therein” (*tief hinein*), or that they wanted to “nuptially embrace” the side hole, that these words were accompanied by actual actions.<sup>72</sup> Could this be the true meaning of what Christian Renatus told the single brothers in Herrnhut in July of 1748 about “how being in the side hole

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<sup>68</sup> Peucker (2015, 122.

<sup>69</sup> Peucker (2015), 123.

<sup>70</sup> From the Congregational Accounts, February 15, 1749 in Peucker (2015), 123 [Peucker’s translation].

<sup>71</sup> Peucker (2015), 123.

<sup>72</sup> Peucker (2015), 125.

is not to be taken spiritually, but one may and can realistically enter it with body and soul?”<sup>73</sup> The marriage between the single men and Christ was in this respect not a metaphor, but more seemingly appears as praxis.

Thus, Peucker argues that it was quite possible that single men—most likely a group of initiates—practised ritual same-gender sex not as an exchange of expressions of romantic love, but as a way of bestowing upon each other the love of Christ.<sup>74</sup> Thus, they did not experience the affection of their partners; rather, they were enjoying their marriage with Christ.

Accordingly, it seems that extramarital sexual activities lay at the core of *die Sichtungszeit*. After the ceremony of December 1748, all single men were absolved from any sinfulness and could engage in any act previously considered sinful. From then, Peucker states, the mystical union with Christ could be celebrated outside the realm of marriage.

#### **2.3.4 Moravian Art and Installations during *die Sichtungszeit***

Peucker puts great emphasis upon the importance of art and installations during the festivities. They were key features during the occurrences in Herrnhag and conveyed the spirituality of the celebrations. One example of an installation is the one made for the celebration of Christian Rensus’s birthday on 19 September 1747. The windows of the brothers’ house in Herrnhag were decorated with red and green stars and pyramids. Above the main door, “side hole” was written in large letters. The main piece was a giant image of the side hole in the shape of a heart on the second floor of the building. Inside the side hole there was a newly made bed and a table laden with food, as well as a depiction of Christian Rensus. Around the side hole was a canal full of fish and swans, swimming in the blood and water coming from the side wound.<sup>75</sup>

The devotion of the side wound continued to develop after 1747. The report of the brothers’ festival of 2 May 1748 concerns this matter. The side wound had now become a synecdoche

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<sup>73</sup> Peucker (2015), 125.

<sup>74</sup> Peucker (2015), 128.

<sup>75</sup> Peucker (2015), 75.

for Christ, replacing previous names like Lamb and Saviour. The brothers even began praying to the side hole, they honoured the side hole, and they wanted to unite with it. That night (2 May) another festive decoration was revealed. As the brothers were gathered in front of the choir’s house, the main door opened and an effigy of the Saviour under a triumphal arch appeared, smeared with blood, and with his wounds clearly visible. As the brothers sang, a single brother, dressed like a soldier, walked up and pierced Jesus’s side with a spear. Blood gushed out of the side even splattering onto some of the bystanders. Christian Renatus approached the bleeding Christ figure, getting red blood on his green choir ribbon as he washed his hands in the blood. While the bleeding Saviour became paler and paler, a verse was softly sung:

*The manifold Saviour  
About whom we used to sing  
Has disappeared with all his wounds  
Into the side hole.*

After this was repeated two times, the effigy of the Saviour disappeared, and in its place appeared a large side hole serving as an entrance into the brothers’ house. Through the side hole and inside the house, a table was visible on which the body of Christ lay carved and neatly served in pieces. First Christian Renatus passed, then other members of the choir. Viewing the side hole as an entrance was not a new idea. It had been preached a year earlier by one of Zinzendorf’s closest associates, Johannes von Watteville. By entering the side hole, a transformation occurred. The entire choir had now entered the side wound, implicating that they had attained a state of blessed union with the divine, which was the central message of the choir festival.<sup>76</sup>

These ideas were also expressed in paintings, even though few of them survive as they were systematically destroyed during the aftermath of the Sifting. One of them depicts two Moravian sisters tending to Jesus’s corpse in the grave. The text accompanying the painting is “do not ask me how I do it; I have enough when I can be more than a day in the grave where I

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<sup>76</sup> Peucker (2015), 79–80.

can see, kiss, have and embrace Jesus’s dear corpse.” According to Zinzendorf, by approaching the dead and senseless body of Christ, the believer could be “cold and stiff” against sin.<sup>77</sup>

### **2.3.5 The Gender of the Believer—The Gender of Christ**

In his work *Jesus is Female*, Aaron Spencer Fogleman has argued that the so-called “side-wound cards” are a key feature in understanding the views upon the gender of Christ. They were carried as small objects representing both erotic and maternal qualities of the side wound of Jesus. On the cards, sensuous expressions about penetrating the side wound were inscribed. This reveals an erotic relationship with Christ. Several of the cards also depict the side wound bearing similarity to female genitalia. Many of them also depict the believer inside a womb-like wound where they performed daily activities like eating, sleeping, or going for a walk, secure and sheltered from the world.

According to Fogleman, these images reflected the Brethrens understanding of both maternal and erotic female qualities of Christ. Believers appear to celebrate Christian joy in everyday life within the safe, protective confines of the womb.<sup>78</sup> He claims that the Moravians also used the cards as explicit, detailed instructions on how married couples should have sex.

Fogleman also outlines how the instructions on the cards explained that the husband blessed the wife during ejaculation and even suggests that the husband read aloud an appropriate verse when this occurred. At this point, one of the little cards was pasted in the margin and read “Little Side Hole’s marrying.” Inside the side wound was a bed and a bench, and according to his interpretation, they stood for the two preferred methods of intercourse amongst the Moravians. He concludes that: “thus the Moravians directly linked an erotic female image of the side wound of Jesus to human male orgasm during ritualized sex between married couples.”<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Peucker (2015), 87.

<sup>78</sup> Fogleman (2007), 82.

<sup>79</sup> Fogleman (2007), 82.

However, the idea of a female Jesus, as Fogleman suggests, is controversial amongst scholars. The critique by Peter Vogt is interesting in this context. Vogt claims that the radicalism of the Brethren lay elsewhere and doesn't interpret the side wound cards as a testimony of a female Jesus. Vogt disagrees and argues that Jesus has always been portrayed as a man in art. Vogt addresses the period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance when a naturalistic presentation of Christ emerged. He was depicted naked or with a lightly covered genital area. This was represented in common scenes such as the nativity, the crucifixion, and the Passion. The purpose was to present the human nature of Christ and underscore his male gender by depicting his sexual organ from birth and onwards.<sup>80</sup> Zinzendorf referred to the circumcision of Christ as the pivotal moment, the testimony that the Saviour was born truly human and exclusively male. Furthermore, he writes that the circumcision is a typological sign of the suffering of Christ, and a reference to the spiritual "circumcision of hearts" of the believers.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the circumcision constitutes an important connection between the Christ as male, and the blood and wounds theology. The consequence for Zinzendorf was a crucial theological conviction. Through the incarnation of Jesus as male, the shame that was connected to the genitalia since the fall was abolished, and thus it was no longer necessary to reject sexuality as sinful.<sup>82</sup> According to Zinzendorf, the sanctification of humans came from the purity of the genitalia of Jesus. Vogt underscores one of the petitions from the Litany of the Wounds to convey the symbolism of circumcision and connects it to the heart of the believer: "Deine heilige erste Wunde, helf uns zur Beschneidung des Herzens!"<sup>83</sup>

Vogt also claims that Christ will keep his maleness in eschatological fulfilment, while men will lose their maleness, and have the same form as women, thus constituting a collective of female souls (brides).<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Peter Vogt (2011), "Er ist Mann". Der Männlichkeit in der Theologie Zinzendorfs," in *Der Herr wird seine Herrlichkeit an uns offenbaren": Liebe, Ehe und Sexualität im Pietismus*, ed. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Breul and Christian Soboth (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen), 176.

<sup>81</sup> Vogt (2011), 179.

<sup>82</sup> Vogt (2011), 182.

<sup>83</sup> Help us circumcise our hearts!

<sup>84</sup> Vogt (2011), 195.

### **2.3.6 Complimentary rather than Opposites?**

However, are these views really juxtapositions? Could they in fact be complimentary interpretations regarding the views upon the gender of Christ? A third position is also worth mentioning. It is of great interest to note what Oskar Pfister emphasised regarding Zinzendorf's views of gender and sexuality. Pfister also points to the side wound as the female birth organ.<sup>85</sup> He writes:

Zinzendorf schildert mit aufdinglicher Beredsamkeit der "Seitenhölchen" als weibliches Genitale, und zwar einerseits als Geburtsorgan, andererseits als Ort der maximalen Befriedigung des mit allen Merkzeichen der primären gleichgeschlechtlichen Sexualbetätigung ausgestatteten religiösen Eros oder der in die religiöse Sphäre gedrängten Homosexualität. Daher die enorme Affektbetonung.<sup>86</sup>

Pfister argues that it is impossible to grasp fully the "hole" as the female sexual organ without being acquainted with the psychology of homosexuality in line with the presentation of Jesus as groom, and the devout as bride and woman. He claims that only a person of the same sex seeks female characteristics in the male sexual object. Hence, the wishful phantasies apply parts of the female anatomy to the desired object.<sup>87</sup>

The homosexual relation to the Saviour connects Zinzendorf's attention most accurately to the sexuality of the object. According to Pfister, the circumcision of Jesus becomes material for intense phantasies and frequent homilies for Zinzendorf.<sup>88</sup> It proves that Jesus was truly human and could only be a man. Pfister claims that the importance of the circumcision of Jesus also found an expression when a special celebration was introduced commemorating

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<sup>85</sup> Oskar Pfister (1910), *Die Frömmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Ein phychoanalytischer Beitrag zur Kenntnis der religiösen Sublimierungsprozesse und zur Erklärung des Pietismus*. Schriften zur angewandten seelenkunde. Herausgegeben von prof. Dr. Sigmund Freud. Achstes Heft (Franz Deutcke, Leipzig und Wien), 58ff.

<sup>86</sup> Pfister (1910), 58.

<sup>87</sup> Pfister (1910), 59.

<sup>88</sup> Pfister (1910), 66.

this. According to him, this had an obscene aftertaste, and he cites one of the songs that was sung on this occasion (written by Cammerhof).<sup>89</sup>

The emphasis upon Jesus's member was also evident at the celebration for the young boys (*Knabenfest*). Pfister notes how the Count even includes the children: "die theuern kleinen herzen" and makes them familiar with this imagery. What, then, are the conclusions Pfister arrives at? Not surprisingly, he finds the key in Zinzendorf's person and his sexuality. At first, his heterosexual desire was satisfied with the relations aunt, grandmother, and mother, but after puberty, he repressed all peripheral sexual activity. What was now to happen, Pfister writes, when Zinzendorf had directed all his sexual desires towards Christ, but still had a strong desire for women?

Pfister formulates a compromise:

Zinzendorf schloß das Kompromiß das seine Frömmigkeit und Ethik maßgebend bestimmt: An seiner libidinösen Übertragung auf Jesus hielt er zähe fest und stellte die Ehe als Mandat des Heilands hin.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, Zinzendorf emphasised the desire for unity with Jesus. The consequence was not abstinence from sexual relations, or the view that intercourse was solely for procreation. All aspects of marriage were sanctified, even intercourse.

### **2.3.7 The Reputation of the Moravians**

Peucker writes that while Zinzendorf elevated the status of marriage as the exclusive place from which to physically enjoy union with Christ, Christian Rensus transgressed the marital bounds and reduced the pre-eminence of heterosexual marriage. This absolution resulted in sexual freedom and led to the crisis that touched upon core elements of Moravian theology:

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<sup>89</sup> "Haupt-Oeconomus der Reihen, die als Jünglinge gedeihen bey dem Gnaden-Volke, beim Kirchelein, zum heiligen Seiten-Schrein, zu der durchgrabenen Hände weh, & proprie, zur allerheiligsten Bundes-Wunde, die's Knäblein Jesus am glied empfunde, das sonst pudendum, die Shaam genannt, zu ewger Schmach verbannt; aber durch diesen Schnitt, den Er an sich erlitt', das Ehren-Zeichen, das ihm gebührt, wieder recuperirt, und zum verendo wird, bis sich die Männin gürt- sey mit hunderttausend Zähren angebetet von den Chören..." Pfister (1910), 67.

<sup>90</sup> Pfister (1910), 107.



marriage, sexuality, and union with Christ. Consequently, the Moravians now found themselves in the company of radical groups such as the Pennsylvania New-Born, the Ronsdorf Sect and, worst of all, the society of Mother Eva.<sup>91</sup> These connections were highly undesirable in the church’s progress of being recognised as a church with a sound and traditional Protestant doctrine. After Zinzendorf’s death they were thus willing to abandon anything that connected them to radical religion: the strong position of women within the church, bridal mysticism, the sacramental nature of marital sex, and even the communal household that existed in their settlements in Pennsylvania.<sup>92</sup>

Peucker concludes that the changes of the post-Zinzendorf era went further than has previously been realised. Therefore, his study is also about change within a religious movement and about how Moravians changed from a radical, controversial religious group to a more mainstream, conventional denomination.<sup>93</sup> The occurrences during the *Sichtungszeit* were infamous. In the following, I will identify some “ghosts of the past” which were groups with which association was to be avoided at all costs.

### **3.0 “Ghosts of the Past”**

#### **3.1 German Mysticism with Emphasis upon Jakob Böhme**

One of the major “ghosts of the past” which the Brethren wished to avoid being associated with was the German mystic Jakob Böhme. He has been given various names, like the “illuminated Instrument of God,” “the greatest of the Mystics and the “father of German philosophy.”<sup>94</sup> Böhme’s main concerns were with the nature of creation and how it came into being, the origin and presence of evil, and the attainment of salvation through a process of inward spiritual regeneration and rebirth.

It has been claimed that the influence of Jakob Böhme was almost universal among the pietists, and furthermore that Böhme’s teachings were known both in Halle (Francke) and

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<sup>91</sup> See 3.3 where I give an overview of her teaching on sexuality and rituals that were practiced. This will hopefully outline why this association was to be avoided at all costs.

<sup>92</sup> Peucker (2015), 167.

<sup>93</sup> Peucker (2015), 168.

<sup>94</sup> Sarah Apetrei and Ariel Hessayon, ed. (2014), “Boehme’s Legacy in Perspective,” in *An Introduction to Jacob Boehme: Four Centuries of Thought and Reception* (London: Routledge), 1.

amongst the Brethren (Zinzendorf).<sup>95</sup> Böhme developed views on both gender and the Trinity that differed from Protestant doctrine. He started developing heterodox views, causing outrage amongst local clergy. This includes his understanding of the Trinity, which he was accused of denying through his introduction of a fourth “person” which he referred to as “Sophia.” According to Böhme, Sophia symbolised the “Noble Virgin of Divine Wisdom.” He outlined explanations for the fall of Lucifer and the so-called “rebel angels,” thus naming this a first fall from paradise, preceding the second fall of humanity from paradise. Furthermore, he claimed that Adam had a prelapsarian androgynous nature.<sup>96</sup> Some scholars claim that Böhme drew ultimate inspiration from an ancient theology that embraced currents of Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, and Christian adaptations of the Jewish Kabbalah.<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, even though Böhme was not a staunch millenarian, he expected an imminent period of great tribulation, hence his apocalyptic thought has been compared with Joachim of Fiore’s eschatological scheme.<sup>98</sup> The hope of a new Reformation is found in Böhme’s *Aurora* (1612), where he described the insights gained from his experience of the light of God. There, Böhme claimed being illuminated by the “works and creation of God within his spirit.” In his view, he offered the readers a true philosophy, describing the origin of all things in God; a true astrology, explaining the struggle of God and evil in all things; and a true theology, discussing the kingdom of Christ and how, by faith, humanity can triumph over evil and gain eternal salvation.<sup>99</sup> He describes the coming age of the Spirit, outlining how all things will be restored to their eternal essence and paradise will “turn green once more.” His vision was a new day for the church, in which the reborn believers would come together from all different confessions. This renewed spiritual church would consist of members in whom Christ dwells. Böhme divided world history into a sevenfold scheme—from Adam in the garden of perfection, to disintegration, toward reintegration and the end of history.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Douglas H. Shantz (2013) *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 31.

<sup>96</sup> Apetrei and Hessayon (2014), 1.

<sup>97</sup> Apetrei and Hessayon (2014), 5.

<sup>98</sup> Shantz (2013), 5.

<sup>99</sup> Shantz (2013), 33.

<sup>100</sup> Shantz (2013), 36.

Two developments are important to consider when assessing Böhme’s impact on different pietist groups in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between 1644 and 1662, his works were translated into English, and the writings soon found new life in England among Jakob Böhme study circles led by John Pordage (1607–1681) and later amongst the Philadelphians under the lead of the prophetess Jane Leade (1624–1704). Leade founded the London Philadelphian society in 1694 as a gathering place for the children of God who had forsaken the “Babel” of the various denominational churches. Inspired by Böhme, they looked for God to establish, at the end of time, an interconfessional community marked by the experience of the inward Christ and Christian love. In the time that followed, the writings of Leade and Pordage as well as Thomas Bromley were translated into German in the 1690s and eagerly read by German pietists, especially in the small counties of Wittgenstein, Ysenburg-Offenbach, Solms-Laubach, and Solms-Braunfels.<sup>101</sup> Thus, the thoughts of Jakob Böhme returned to Germany via England, interpreted by Philadelphian thinkers.

The teachings of Jakob Böhme also returned to Germany via Holland. In 1676, Johann Jakob Schütz worked with a Jakob Böhme circle in Nürnberg to bring the writings of Böhme from Holland through Frankfurt into Germany and Austria. Schütz was agent for the Amsterdam publisher Heinrich Betke and transported books from Holland to Frankfurt. Consequently, at the return of these works, Johann Georg Gichtel produced the first complete German edition of Böhme’s work in 1682.<sup>102</sup>

The consequence of this edition was that several pietists were either openly or covertly influenced by Böhme’s thinking. As Böhme’s works became more available, Orthodox denunciations of Böhme became more vehement. It was common for Orthodox Lutheran officials to routinely ask pietists whether they owned or had read books by Jakob Böhme.<sup>103</sup>

German polemic literature of the seventeenth century mentions “Böhmisten” and the “Jakob Böhme sect” as if they consisted of a cohesive group, but they were in fact disparate groups and individuals who adhered to selected aspects of Böhme’s thoughts.<sup>104</sup> Many pietists picked

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<sup>101</sup> Shantz (2013), 36.

<sup>102</sup> Shantz (2013), 36.

<sup>103</sup> Shantz (2013), 37.

<sup>104</sup> Lucinda Martin (2014), “Jacob Boehme and the Anthropology of Germany,” in Hessayon and Apetrei, *An Introduction to Jacob Boehme*, 121.

up on Böhme’s ideas regarding the end of days, but even though he didn’t specify a time when this should occur, many pietists did. Pietist apocalyptic speculation was often associated with Böhme. However, these utopian plans bore little resemblance to anything Böhme had conceived.<sup>105</sup>

Böhme’s teaching upon “church” also had profound influence upon pietist groups. Böhme had contrasted what he called “walled churches” to an “individual spiritual church” of the godly of all faiths. His teaching was that every individual had to find God on his own. Consequently, this challenged the authority of the church to mediate between God and the parishioner and was claimed to undermine the necessity of the sacraments. Böhme’s ideas merged with those of others, especially those of Johann Arndt.<sup>106</sup> It is well worth noting that Zinzendorf had Johann Arndt’s “Vier Bücher des wahren Christentums” translated and sent to them as a gift to Cardinal Noailles in Paris, after having met him on his “Bildungsreise” in 1719. It may also be important to observe that Noailles was a Jansenist, and some of the thoughts he represented were not so different from what Zinzendorf stood for. The Count wrote that from that time he was determined to discover the best in all religions (denominations), to attain a better and more benign understanding of their teachings and what might be removed as a hindrance to godliness.<sup>107</sup>

Pietist groups operated with a division between true Christians and superficial “worldly” Christians of various denominations. In this context it is well worth noting the emphasis upon the use of language, termed a “language of Canaan,” drawing upon the language that Böhme used.

Lucinda Martin has posed the theory that one of the most lasting artifacts of this language stems from Böhme’s text “On the new Birth” (“Von der neuen Geburt”).<sup>108</sup> According to Böhme, Luther’s doctrine of justification by grace alone (*Sola Gratia*), did not suffice to justify the sinner. The individual had to make a choice to be “born again.”

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<sup>105</sup> Martin (2014), 127.

<sup>106</sup> Martin (2014), 128.

<sup>107</sup> Shantz (2013), 256.

<sup>108</sup> Martin (2014), 128.

In Böhme’s teaching, this happened through the rebirth of the believer by the divine Sophia. This rebirth was the precondition for the believer to be able to call oneself a true Christian. This characterised many of the different pietist groups in the German states. Martin Brecht has even stated that “Whenever Pietism replaces justification with rebirth, it usually goes back to the tradition of Böhme.”<sup>109</sup>

It is highly relevant for the teachings of Zinzendorf that Böhme’s theological concept inspired the development of this rebirth. The reborn believer would be provided with a different, divine nature. The rebirth would be considered, amongst many pietists, as producing a new kind of human being—and the consequences of sin were forever removed. Being a “true believer” would be recognisable in their speech, behaviour, and even in their physical appearance. The latter can still be observed when observing portraits of followers of Zinzendorf.

Böhme’s teaching regarding gender is also of great interest when it comes to the Brethren, and especially for the “occurrences in Herrnhag.”

According to Böhme, God encompasses everything in the cosmos and simultaneously reconciles opposites such as hot-cold, life-death, as well as male-female. Thus, God transcends the human desire (some would even say programming) to think in binaries.<sup>110</sup> Since Böhme claims that God possesses both male and female characteristics, he also believes that the first human being, created in God’s image, had both masculine and feminine qualities. He called this “Urmensch,” original human. This being had the “tincture of all being” within itself. As a microcosm of the universe, the original human shared a measure of all the substances and principles of the cosmos, including male and female.<sup>111</sup>

It is also of relevance to observe that Böhme taught that the goal of human love is to regain the original unity of God. A unity that transcends binaries. Men and women seek in the opposite sex what they have lost. However, it is possible to overcome the separation into two

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<sup>109</sup> Martin (2014), 128.

<sup>110</sup> In my thesis, this term is applied from the work of the gender theorist Judith Butler and chiefly from her work *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge).

<sup>111</sup> Martin (2014), 129.

irreconcilable sexes. Böhme emphasised that it is only in heaven that human beings will regain their lost form—that is, their androgynous bodies.

The writings of Böhme inspired several pietist groups to build alternate communities. In those they lived their lives within self-sustained enclosures. Amongst the Moravians there are many examples of this way of building “Zion” or the “New Jerusalem” on earth.<sup>112</sup>

The interest in Böhme inspired a variety of experiments with gender roles, sexuality, and social structures.<sup>113</sup>

Inspired by Böhme, this became praxis in the ceremonies of the Sifting, as roles as well as gender identity were bent to such an extent that the members of the Choir of the Single Brothers in Herrnaag even feminised their names. Martin also emphasises this, and states that “male Pietists such as Zinzendorf touted and strove after ‘female’ traits like spiritual empathy and the ability to nurture.”<sup>114</sup>

Many of the experiments that occurred within groups within Pietism—of marriage, sex, and living arrangements—found their ideological basis in the works of Böhme, especially his teachings on Sophia and the androgynous “Urmensch.” The Moravians perceived the relationship between men and women in new ways. They did not consider women merely subservient helpers, but instead viewed both men and women as servants of God.

The consequence of this was the establishment of a system where both sexes worked in parallel ecclesiastical and communal structures, with organised child-care enabling women to have careers, even as church administrators. It is interesting that the criteria for success were individual ability and religiosity, not education or social status.<sup>115</sup>

Amongst the Moravians men and women lived in separate but comparable houses. Marriage existed within the community but was subordinated to the needs of the church, and the elders even arranged weddings between believers as they saw fit. Marital relations were viewed

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<sup>112</sup> For instance, Herrnhut, Herrnhag, and Bethlehem.

<sup>113</sup> Martin (2014), 131.

<sup>114</sup> Martin (2014), 132.

<sup>115</sup> Martin (2014), 132.

positively since sex within marriage was a sacramental act (albeit not a full sacrament). It served God, not individuals.<sup>116</sup>

### **3.2 Predecessors of the Brethren**

As we shall see later, the gender-changing ceremony at Herrnhag was one of the crucial occurrences of the Sifting. Even though the message of the ceremony seems clear (all humans are considered female except Christ), the function and expression of gender and sexuality in the period is rather more complex. To fully understand the anxiety the occurrences in Herrnhag caused amongst the Brethren, one must consider the sources of this radical view upon sexuality and gender.

For the generations preceding the Brethren, the female imagery held great importance. Female imagery of Jesus became part of the spiritual life of numerous radical pietist groups in the early modern period. This included prophetesses and visionaries in England and mystics in Germany and some puritan theologians in New England.<sup>117</sup> The Fifth Monarchist<sup>118</sup> Anna Trapnel used maternal imagery in her characterisation of Jesus as well, exhorting “sucklings” to take in milk that ran through Christ’s breasts, and Eleanor Davies portrayed God as female.<sup>119</sup>

### **3.3 Eva Margaretha von Buttlar and the “Buttlar Gang”**

The year 1700 was a year of apocalyptic significance for many German radical groups on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>120</sup> At that time a new society formed in Allendorf on the Werra around the noblewoman Eva Margaretha von Buttlar. This was referred to as the “Mother Eva Society.” Later, they moved to the Wetterau area, one of the well-known refuges for religious

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<sup>116</sup> Martin (2014), 133.

<sup>117</sup> Fogleman (2007), 84.

<sup>118</sup> The Fifth Monarchists was an extreme puritan sect, active in England from 1649 to 1660 during the interregnum following the English Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. The name was taken from a prophesy in the book of Daniel that four ancient monarchies (Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman) would precede the kingdom of Christ. They also referred to the year 1666 and its relationship to the biblical “Number of the Beast” indicating the end of earthly rule by carnal human beings.

<sup>119</sup> Fogleman (2007), 84.

<sup>120</sup> Fogleman (2007), 34.

radicals.<sup>121</sup> The society was to become infamous for developing beliefs and practices concerning gender, marriage, sexuality, and the body. The rituals held great importance within the group (as it was for the Brethren later), and the society performed initiation, purification, and a rebirth ritual called Beschneidung.<sup>122</sup> The Society emphasised the importance of divine wisdom (Sophia). The process of purification had three stages: the *via purgativa*, *illuminative*, and *unitiva*. The departure point of this journey to *unio mystica*, the goal of the mystical experience, is the cleansing of the Spirit from sinful acts, desires, and the impurity of the soul's desire.<sup>123</sup> The content of all three stages can be observed in modified form and, with different emphasis, in the ideas of the Mother Eva Society. It was the task of Eva to purify and sanctify her children, and finally to unify them with herself. The mystics perceived the purification as a basis for the way of spiritual development, while the society of Mother Eva saw the whole way as a process of purification. Sleeping with Mother Eva, often in the presence of her husband Justus Gottfried Winter, purified the man from sexual lust and desire. Like in other Philadelphian circles, it was believed that the restoration of the image of God in humans would be the restitution of the androgynous original man. In Eva von Buttlar's view, this was described as an incremental process towards purification, as mentioned above.

A circumcised woman could transfer her new purity to a man during ritual sex. For men in the society, sex with Eva became an initiation and purification rite, just as circumcision was for women.<sup>124</sup> Members of the society believed in an androgynous Christ and Adam before the fall, and the Trinity as father, mother, and son.<sup>125</sup> Her society was part of the revival of these beliefs in seventeenth-century Germany. She taught that depravity and sexual relations began because of the fall, when the pure, whole androgyny of Adam was lost. Only ritual purification could resolve the problem.

The way of purification included the rejection of one's own will, liberation from all selfish lust and desires, and the complete surrender to God, respectively God's human representative,

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<sup>121</sup> The settlement Herrnhag was established in the same area.

<sup>122</sup> A description of this ritual is given in Willi Temme (1998), *Krise der Leiblichkeit. Die Sozietät der Mutter Eva (Buttlarsche Rotte) und der radikale Pietismus um 1700* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 351–62.

<sup>123</sup> Temme (1998), 363.

<sup>124</sup> Fogleman (2007), 35.

<sup>125</sup> This view of the Trinity is also represented in Zinzendorf's theology.



Eva von Buttlar. The "sign of the union" through which "further grace" would be delivered was an act of initiation, with a promise, comparable to monastic vows. Here, the initiated person would promise to belong to the Society until death and, if need be, lay down his life for it.<sup>126</sup> The rebirth "in" Mother Eva had a gender-specified orientation, where only the male members of the society "intermingled" (had intercourse) with Mother Eva. This rebirth is obtained at the time of the eschatological fulfilment of man. Thus, the people brought back to the original state were the ones that Mother Eva prepared for rebirth as children of God.

The outset of fulfilment and rebirth was 1702, the year when the Society was constituted as a communitarian community. At that time until the end of days the children of God had to be purified and refined. This process was constituted in several ways. One was the suffering of "disgrace and shame" due to the animosity of the "world" towards the true children of God.

In this regard, the status that women possessed in the Mother Eva Society could be interpreted as more important than was the case for the men within the community. The "Beschneidung" (circumcision) which was performed by the society is a direct analogy and thus corresponds to the Old Testament sign of the covenant, even though the process had nothing to do physically with a Jewish, traditional circumcision.

In addition, it is important to refer to one central problem concerning the Society and purification. They also knew of the widespread idea amongst radical pietists: the notion of "Limbus Patrum." The assumption of such an intermediate position served one purpose: the restoration of all things (apocatastasis). Accordingly, in the Society of Mother Eva it was taught that "also Satan, in due time would be saved."<sup>127</sup>

The Mother Eva Society got into trouble for a number of reasons, most importantly the violation of female bodies and norms concerning gender, marriage, and sexuality. The mutilation of women, and Mother Eva's alleged ritual sexual acts with multiple partners, could not go unnoticed. This is the reason for referring to the group as the "Buttlar Gang"

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<sup>126</sup> Temme (1998), 352.

<sup>127</sup> According to Catholic doctrine, this "Father's limbo" was the place where Old Testament saints were confined to until they were liberated by Christ in his descent into hell.

(*Buttlarsche Rotte*). The polemics written about them shaped their reputation to the present. Eva’s ritual sexual practices were labelled as “holy whoredom” and “sacred prostitution.” Details about this were described in the trial against her. However, if these are true remains questionable. The question posed remains: “Was Mother Eva a noblewoman mad for power and bent on exploiting men and women beneath her rank? Or was she a pious woman who responded to a special calling from God like many other women of her day, a calling that included promoting a higher female role in the Trinity and society?”<sup>128</sup>

Either way, she represented scandalous views, and for her adversaries it didn’t really matter whether she was a mad woman committing blasphemous, painful, even dangerous rituals or if she was sane. It was blasphemous either way in their view since she promoted a female view of the deity and acted upon it by leading the group and preaching herself. For many, those two views were inseparable. They believed that when women were given too much power, evil things connected to the work of Satan, like sexual depravity, and abuses of marriage would follow. For them, Mother Eva was undoubtedly guilty in every way, and it was a pressing matter to end this. Even though authorities terminated the controversies regarding the Mother Eva Society, the memory of the group and her teachings concerning gender order persisted. When the Moravians increased in numbers and expanded throughout the Protestant Atlantic world in the 1730s and 1740s, the memory of the Mother Eva nightmare came back to haunt them. It was still very much alive amongst Lutherans and Calvinists—and this was not forgotten in anti-Moravian rhetoric.<sup>129</sup>

The influential rhetoric against the Moravians using a direct comparison between the Moravians and the Mother Eva society was intended to warn younger church members against joining Zinzendorf’s group.

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<sup>128</sup> Fogleman (2007), 65.

<sup>129</sup> Fogleman (2007), 66.

## 4.0 Liturgy and Homilies

### 4.1 Thematic Overview and Division of the Litany of the Wounds

In order to understand the thirty-four homilies, one first has to consider that they were preached on an established liturgical text, the Litany of the Wounds itself. The newly written Litany of the Wounds was introduced by Joseph Spangenberg as he assumed his duties as Chief Elder of the Brethren in Bethlehem in the autumn of 1744. Immediately after, he taught the residents of Bethlehem how to chant it. It was sung in German and English, and it was reported that when it was first sung to the natives at Bethlehem’s mission outpost of Gnadenhutten, they “forgot all about going to sleep.”<sup>130</sup> The structure of the litany is call and response and a translation of the whole text is cited below.

| First Choir | Second Choir       |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Hail!       | Lamb of God.       |
| Christ,     | Have mercy!        |
| Glory       | to the side wound! |

Lord God Father in Heaven!

*Remember the bitter death of your son. Look at his five holy, red wounds which are indeed the payment and ransom for the whole world. May we console ourselves with this at all times, and hope for mercy.*

Lord God, Saviour of the World!

*We would all be ruined by our crimes, except that you have gained for us the doorway to heaven. Glory and memory to the side wound.*

Lord God, Holy Spirit!

*Preach daily the wounds of the Lamb to his Communities of the cross which have found him. It is your office.*

You Holy Trinity, blessed be you for the sake of the Lamb.

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<sup>130</sup> Craig D. Atwood (2004), *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press), 203.

*The Spirituality of the "Sichtungszeit"*

*Lamb of God, holy Lord and God, receive the prayer of our need. Have mercy on us all!*

From all self-righteousness;  
From all lack of discipline;  
From all unbloodied grace;  
From hearts that have not been bled upon;  
From all beauty without streaks of blood;  
From indifference to your wounds;  
From estrangement from your cross;  
From being weaned from your side;  
From unanointed gossip about the blood;  
From eternal mortal sin;

*Preserve us dear Lord God!*

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| May your painful first birth        | <i>Make us love our humanness!</i>             |
| May your holy first wound           | <i>Help us circumcise our hearts!</i>          |
| May your childlikeness              | <i>Help us to have childlike joy!</i>          |
| May your first exile                | <i>Teach us to be at home everywhere!</i>      |
| May your first maturity             | <i>Make your adolescence holy!</i>             |
| May your diligence with your study  | <i>Make us learned for the Kingdom of God!</i> |
| May your youth                      | <i>Bless the unmarried choirs</i>              |
| May your faithful sweat of labour   | <i>Make all labour easy for us!</i>            |
| May your faithfulness to your craft | <i>Make us true in our part!</i>               |
| May your astonishing simplicity     | <i>Make reason hateful to us!</i>              |
| May your proper Bible foundation    | <i>Make us all know our Bible!</i>             |
| May your meritorious ignorance      | <i>Fence in our understanding!</i>             |
| May your exemplary temple devotion  | <i>Make us faithful people of religion!</i>    |

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|   |  |
|---|--|
| May your powerlessness and weakness                                   | <i>Make our weakness welcome to us!</i>  |
| May your theology of the cross  | <i>Remain our confession of faith!</i>   |
| May your righteousness to the last will                               | <i>Make us faithful to your will!</i>  |
| May your will, validated by your death                                | <i>Remain the rule of your heirs!</i>  |
| May the fulfilment of your will                                       | <i>Bring the scattered children of God into the ark of holy Christianity!</i>  |
| May your fear of suffering and death                                  | <i>Put to shame the courage of the martyrs!</i>                                |
| May your reliance on your heavenly Father to suffer and not to suffer | <i>Be our decree on your own divinity!</i>                                     |
| May your willing passion  | <i>Teach us tolerance!</i>   |
| May your holy baptism of blood  | <i>Ignite all of God's earth!</i>  |
| May your sweat in penitential struggle                                | <i>Pour over us in body and soul!</i>  |
| Your scratches from the crown of thorns,                              | <i>Mark us on the foreheads!</i>   |
| Pale lips,  | <i>Kiss us on the heart!</i>   |
| Mouth-dripping spittle,   | <i>That you would not have to spit out anyone!</i>                             |
| Cheeks spat upon,   | <i>That the Father may not spit upon us!</i>                                   |
| Dead eyes,  | <i>Look out through our eyes!</i>  |
| Bloody foam from your back,   | <i>Wash our feet!</i>  |
| Sweat-soaked hair,  | <i>Dry them!</i>   |
| Open arms,  | <i>Receive us!</i>   |
| O your holy five wounds   | <i>Do like Elisha! We want to be the child!</i>                                |
| Pierced hands!  | <i>Show us where we are written!</i>   |
| Nail-bored feet,  | <i>When you stand again on the Mount of Olives!</i>                            |
| You sign of the Son of Man,   | <i>Appear to Israel according to the flesh, before you come in the clouds!</i> |
| You large side hole.  | <i>Take in the entire world!</i>   |

*The Spirituality of the “Sichtungszeit”*

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| But also side chasm,                 | <i>To you I pray especially, oh, keep your people and me!</i>                                       |
| May your pierced heart               | <i>Beat and leap over us!</i>   |
| May your unnamed and unknown wounds, | <i>Be greeted all of you!</i>   |
| Worthy wounds of Jesus,              | <i>Who will keep from honouring you here and there forever? You have earned it.</i>                 |
| Covenant wounds of Jesus             | <i>One must praise God, who has preserved us up to your time, where one has something.</i>          |
| Dearest wounds of Jesus,             | <i>Whoever does not love you, and does not give his whole heart to you, holds nothing dear.</i>     |
| Wondrous wounds of Jesus,            | <i>Holy fissures, you make sinners holy, and thieves from saints. How amazing!</i>                  |
| Powerful wounds of Jesus,            | <i>So moist so gory, bleed on my heart so that I may remain brave and like the wounds.</i>          |
| Closing wounds of Jesus,             | <i>If I could rest and feed my soul between you, close again.</i>                                   |
| Mysterious wounds of Jesus,          | <i>I thank the pastors, who made me known with the bruises and gashes of my Lamb.</i>               |
| Wound-Shadow of Jesus,               | <i>By your Light, may I still paint many an image of your tortured visage in the heart.</i>         |
| Clear wounds of Jesus,               | <i>With whom it is true, the way is white, when it is clear in heaven and the word looks at it.</i> |
| Glistening wounds of Jesus,          | <i>You make my heart a dazzling candle of grace before the rays and lightning.</i>                  |
| Cavernous wounds of Jesus,           | <i>In your treasure hoard, roomily sit many thousand kinds of sinners.</i>                          |
| Purple wounds of Jesus,              | <i>You are so succulent, whatever comes near becomes like wounds and flowing with blood.</i>        |
| Juicy wounds of Jesus,               | <i>Whoever sharpens the pen and with it pierces you just a little, and licks, tastes it.</i>        |
| Near wounds of Jesus,                | <i>I do not want to be even a hair's-width from your hole.</i>                                      |

*The Spirituality of the "Sichtungszeit"*

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| Painful wounds of Jesus,   | <i>Sensitive to the Lamb, and for that reason, so grounded to the cure and so proven.</i>      |
| Warm wounds of Jesus,      | <i>In no pillow can a little child feel itself so secure before cold air.</i>                  |
| Dainty wounds of Jesus,    | <i>So tender, so delicate, you are to such children proportional to little beds.</i>           |
| Soft wounds of Jesus,      | <i>I like lying calm, gently, quiet and warm. What should I do? I crawl to you.</i>            |
| Hot wounds of Jesus,       | <i>Go on heating, until you are able to cover the entire world with your warmth.</i>           |
| Treasure wounds of Jesus,  | <i>To them, the slaves, beggars and kings, farmers and counts make a pilgrimage.</i>           |
| Eternal wounds of Jesus,   | <i>(You are) my house to dwell in. In a million eons you will still be new.</i>                |
| Our wounds of Jesus,       | <i>Which are travelled upon by every band. young and old, great and small.</i>                 |
| My wounds of Jesus,        | <i>Mine, yes mine! To me it is then, as though you were there entirely for my heart alone.</i> |
| At the end of all trouble, | <i>Anoint us you red wounds.</i>   |

In the meantime, I believe the death-streaked eyes, the spit-dripped mouth, the fire-baptised corpse, the thorn-scratched head, the furrows on the back:

Until I, at the proper hour, can see in my flesh the body wounded for me, on which we build so firmly, and greet close by, the works in his hands and feet.

|         |                           |
|---------|---------------------------|
| Hail!   | <i>Lamb of God</i>        |
| Christ, | <i>Have mercy!</i>        |
| Glory   | <i>To the side wound!</i> |

Craig Atwood claims that the litany divides naturally into two parts. Even though I suggest dividing it into six parts, he provides a useful overview. The two main themes according to Atwood are: 1) the sufferings and death of Jesus, and 2) the hymns to the wounds. The first part begins with a Kyrie and Gloria, the latter is addressed to the side wound. The Trinity is then addressed. This is followed by a series of petitions ending with "Behüt uns." These were prayers not to stray away from the spirituality of the Brethren. All the things that were to be either avoided or maintained seem to serve this purpose. One could say that this is a way of internalising doctrine through liturgy. This is followed by a second series of petitions, but the style of worship differs. It was to be sung antiphonally, generally between choirs.<sup>131</sup>

Secondly, the litany consists of hymns to the wounds of Jesus. What makes it stand out is the fact that it is addressed not to Christ nor the other members of the Trinity, but to the wounds themselves.<sup>132</sup> The wounds have numerous qualities, all elaborated upon in the thirty-four homilies. The function of the wounds as an object of veneration can't be understated. This is the essence of Zinzendorffian spirituality, not an abstract teaching of the atonement, but the believer's experience of the wounds through liturgy. The believer experiences "going into" the wounds. Liturgy makes the unseen real for the believer. Atwood concludes that the theology of the cross itself, which is forever at odds with a theology of glory, is painted again and again in the Litany of the Wounds. The bride of Christ is beautiful only insofar as she embraces the bleeding and battered bridegroom.<sup>133</sup>

The Litany of the Wounds was liturgy, and when liturgy is performed it is always within a context. Therefore, it is of interest to note that the homilies were given at the settlement of Herrnhag where the most elaborate celebrations were held.

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<sup>131</sup> Atwood (2004), 205.

<sup>132</sup> Atwood (2004), 207.

<sup>133</sup> Atwood (2004), 208.



#### **4.2 Liturgy and Worship amongst the Brethren**

Craig Atwood writes that for the Brethren, the liturgy, with its focus on the Incarnation of Christ and the motherhood of the Holy Spirit, formed the system of symbols that made sense of their existence and communal life.<sup>134</sup>

For the Brethren, the Christian religion was best communicated in poetry and song, not in systematic theology or polemics. Moravian rituals were intended to foster the Christocentric heart religion of Zinzendorf. Traditionally, a distinction is made between liturgy and litany. However, amongst the Brethren, those two terms were used almost interchangeably. Normally, a litany is a standardised church prayer while liturgy may refer to the entire worship service or a long hymn on a single theme. The original Moravian sources are not so precise.<sup>135</sup> Weekend worship held the greatest importance, modelling the *tridium* of the Passion-Resurrection cycle of the early church but performed on a weekly basis. Friday evening was devoted to the Passion of Christ, whilst the climax of the weekend was the celebration of the resurrection on Sunday.

The other weekdays held great importance as well; every day was dedicated to the Lord, and each day had moments for communal worship. Many of these regularly scheduled worship events included the litanies. It is interesting to note that although the *Gemeinlitaney*<sup>136</sup> was most common (the *Wundenlitaney* came second), the *Wundenlitaney* was even more popular than the *Gemeinlitaney* at the settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1748.<sup>137</sup>

The Litany of the Wounds was crucial during preparation for and celebration of Holy Communion. For the congregations, this was normally done once a month, and the preparation had seven steps, in which the litany was sung at the outset on Sunday before Communion. Prior to the sacrament there was generally a love-feast, always accompanied by a litany. At this feast one of the Christ litanies was used, normally the Litany of the Wounds,

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<sup>134</sup> Atwood (2004), 203.

<sup>135</sup> Atwood (2004), 148.

<sup>136</sup> This was the basic litany of the Brethren, simply called the "Church Litany." As such, it had a more universal character than the Litany of the Wounds. There were similarities in form. For instance, both litanies started with a series of petitions.

<sup>137</sup> Atwood (2004), 150.

the Pleurody,<sup>138</sup> or the Bride’s Song.<sup>139</sup> During the ceremony<sup>140</sup> several passages from the litany were sung, for instance, during the confession. The congregation usually sang throughout the time of Communion, sometimes, antiphonally between choirs, or between the liturgist and the congregation. As the bread was distributed, the communicants sang a variety of hymns to the corpse of Jesus. One that was often used was the rather erotic:

“Blasse Lippen! Küßt uns aufs Herz!”, and “Offne Arme, Nehmt uns!”

The Litany of the Wounds was also used at funerals. The ceremony itself was held in the worship hall and was quite simple. There would be a litany, usually from the Litany of the Wounds, and the reading of a memoir.

The settlements were divided into choir houses and life was not only characterised by *imitatio Dei*; it was also determined by a strong desire for a mystical union with Christ.<sup>141</sup> Each choir house had a dining hall for common meals, and a dormitory where most of the members slept. The dormitory also had a significant spiritual function. Choir members were supposed to sleep in a chaste, liturgical manner. In 1744, Johannes von Watteville instructed the single men in Herrnhut to place their hand on top of the sheets and keep them folded as if in prayer throughout the night. Thus, sleeping was perceived as a sacrament during which the believer pictured himself as lying in the side wound of Jesus. The annual choir festival was a highlight in the life of the choirs. For that occasion, the choir house was elaborately decorated with greenery and paintings, there was music and hour-long worship, special hymns were written for the occasion, and festive illuminations lit up the buildings at night.<sup>142</sup> However, the organisation of the choir was more complicated than this. Each choir was divided into classes reflecting the spiritual maturity of each member. Herrnhag also divided members into different classes (*Gesellschaften*).

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<sup>138</sup> The Pleurody focused exclusively upon the side of Christ. It even asserted that the victory of Christ came in the piercing of his side.

<sup>139</sup> This was a “bridal chamber” liturgy, focusing upon the marriage between the believer and Christ.

<sup>140</sup> The description is from the first time the litany was sung to the natives in the mission outpost of “Gnadenhütten.”

<sup>141</sup> Arthur J. Freeman (1998), *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem, PA: The Moravian Church in America), 23.

<sup>142</sup> Freeman (1998), 23.

### **4.3 Die vier und dreyssig Homilien über die Wundenlitaney**

When Zinzendorf gave these homilies, they were preached over a familiar litany, having been repeated by the believers on numerous occasions. Let us first consider time and place. First, the homilies were given in Herrnhag. As noted earlier, Herrnhag was one of the major settlements of the Brethren and the place where the so-called “occurrences” took place. Furthermore, they were given in the period from 23 April to 13 August 1747. Time and place are significant. What was the impact of the homilies as they were given at the height of the Sifting? Did they inspire the gender changing ceremony of 6 December the following year?

In any case, the Count emphasised the relationship between litany and homily. At the outset of the text the whole Litany of the Wounds appears in the text, but with references to where the themes are treated in the homilies. The reader would then be able to read elaborations upon already familiar liturgy.

### **4.4 Reading the Homilies—Themes and Characteristics**

It is necessary to be familiar with some themes and characteristics of Zinzendorf’s spirituality to comprehend the homilies.

#### **4.4.1 The Heart**

The heart holds a major position in Zinzendorf’s spirituality and is the essence of *Religion*.<sup>143</sup> The life and activity of the Saviour and the giving of the Spirit, which proceeded from his sufferings, the side wound, began a new *religion*, a “*religion of the heart*.” Zinzendorf used the term “heart” to describe the whole inner person, which then becomes the locus of religious knowledge instead of the rational mind.<sup>144</sup> This inner person possesses all the senses of the outer person and by these senses, in a way that we might talk of today as intuition or extrasensory perception, perceives the reality of the living Christ. The heart smells, sees,

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<sup>143</sup> For Zinzendorf, *Religion* has to do with the reality of God communicated through the Creator/Saviour., Freeman (1998), see Freeman (1998), 5-9

<sup>144</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 365.

tastes, feels, and hears.<sup>145</sup> Zinzendorf himself also used the expression “My heart tells me,”<sup>146</sup> which he considered the only evangelical proof.<sup>147</sup> The Count also used the formulation “My heart tells me,” which he actually said is the only “evangelical proof.” Gefühl expresses the experience of the new person in Christ, who, through the action of the Spirit, has received a “heart.” Only when one has received a heart through the Spirit is one given valid religious knowledge.<sup>148</sup>

It is in the heart experience that one finds the only possible theological system. The system may be viewed from the perspective of the spiritual reality itself or from the personal or communal reality which it brings into being.<sup>149</sup>

When Zinzendorf’s theology is considered, it is important to remember that in formulating his theology of the heart, he drew upon a long tradition of affective theology and devotional literature, for example the works of Jan Amos Comenius, Andreas Weigel, Johann Arndt, and Paul Gerhard. Furthermore, it was Pierre Poiret who formulated the phrase “theology of the heart.” In his 1690 work *La thèologie du coeur* enjoyed a wide circulation among the German pietists.<sup>150</sup>

In Zinzendorf’s childhood, he treated Jesus as a friend and companion. He even said that he conversed with Jesus as a friend for hours. Jesus was like an invisible playmate, and this experience of intimacy with Jesus played a major role in the development of his heart theology and his attitudes toward the spiritual life of children.<sup>151</sup> He perceived the religion of the heart as prior to all church structures—a manifestation of his active and life-long ecumenism.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Freeman (1998), 90.

<sup>146</sup> *Die achtzehnde Homilie*, 183.

<sup>147</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 2.

<sup>148</sup> Freeman (1998), 92.

<sup>149</sup> Freeman (1998), 99.

<sup>150</sup> Atwood (2004), 43.

<sup>151</sup> Atwood (2004), 45.

<sup>152</sup> Atwood (2004), 47.

#### **4.4.2 The Human Nature of Christ**

The human nature of Christ was a central focus of Moravian theology, and the key text in the homily regarding this is the nativity. By describing the birth of Christ and the birth of all believers, Zinzendorf underlines the humanity of Jesus. To understand Zinzendorf's theology it is necessary to recognise the importance of Jesus's real humanity.<sup>153</sup> The primary concern for Zinzendorf was that Jesus was presented not only as divine, but as truly human.<sup>154</sup> The humanity of Jesus provided the model for human life and development at its various stages, from infancy to adulthood. The exaltation of his humanity in the ascension provides continuity between the historical Jesus and the resurrected Christ and expresses the possibilities of our humanity. Jesus's existence speaks the love and redemptive gentleness of God and sets the pattern for the life and ministry of the church.

#### **4.4.3 Creation of the Believer**

The creation of man in Genesis is also given an original interpretation in the text, with radical implications. Zinzendorf applies the text on the creation of the believer in the Spirit. There are several aspects to this interpretation. Zinzendorf compared new creation through the Spirit to the creation of women. The implications are several:

The spirit breathed into humanity at creation and lost in the fall is restored, becoming once again the basis for human spiritual existence and perception, representing God in the inner life of the person. For the believer, it becomes possible to be what God intended.<sup>155</sup>

Moreover, the gender aspect is important to understand the interpretation and is also combined with side-wound devotion. As Adam "supernaturally" had given birth when Eve was taken from his rib, Jesus gave birth to all Christian souls from his pierced side wound as a womb. The side wound was the spiritual birthing place of all true Christians.<sup>156</sup> The paradox is that Christ becomes the one giving birth, thus he has a female function. The implication of this creation is a feminisation of all believers, based on Christ being the heavenly Adam, and

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<sup>153</sup> Freeman (1998), 101.

<sup>154</sup> *Die zweyte Homilie*, 16.

<sup>155</sup> *Die siebende Homilie*, 76.

<sup>156</sup> Peucker (2015), 110.

all believers “Eve”.<sup>157</sup> This has deep roots in traditional bridal mysticism expressed by, amongst others, Bernard of Clairvaux. In accordance with this tradition, Zinzendorf applied mystical imagery of Christ the bridegroom, while the wife symbolised the bride, so that in intercourse they symbolically performed on earth what was to come in heaven: the unification of Christ and his bride. Zinzendorf’s marital theology (*Ehereligion*) played a crucial role during the developments of the late 1740s.<sup>158</sup>

The ultimate consequence of this interpretation of gender in accordance with the creation of the believer in the Spirit was the gender-changing ceremony in Herrnhag on 6 December 1748, when Christian Renatus declared that all members of the single men’s choir were no longer to consider themselves men but, from then onwards, would pass as “sisters.” Christian himself feminised his name to Christel.

#### **4.4.4 Bridal Mysticism**

This love of Christ is an earthly one, and the believer is allowed to think of him in what Zinzendorf calls a human manner. This expresses the notion of the Brethren that the eroticism towards Christ was not to be understood solely in a metaphorical way. As we shall see, the metaphors of the marriage between the believer and Christ are expanded in quite original ways.<sup>159</sup> The metaphors were often taken quite literally as well. When the Moravians sang about the kisses of Christ, they kissed one another in the belief that they had kissed Christ and Christ had kissed them. It is an interesting question whether these words were accompanied by real actions when the Brethren sang about wanting to go deep herein (the side hole), or when they sang “nuptially embrace” the side hole.<sup>160</sup> The eroticism is an expression of how strengthened the marriage imagery of the New Testament becomes. Christ became one with humankind by taking on flesh and bone, just as man and woman become one flesh and bone.<sup>161</sup> Like many mystics, Zinzendorf applied texts about the bride of Christ not simply to

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<sup>157</sup> *Die siebende Homilie*, 78.

<sup>158</sup> Peucker (2015), 23.

<sup>159</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 283.

<sup>160</sup> Peucker (2015), 125.

<sup>161</sup> See Genesis 2:23 (“The man said, ‘This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called “woman,” for she was taken out of man’”) and Mark 10:7–8 (“For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. So they are no longer two, but one flesh”) (NIV).

the community of believers, but also to the individual Christian.<sup>162</sup> The heavenly hosts “are liturgists and bride servants who are sent out to each one who attains eternal blessedness, who are candidates for the bridal bed.”<sup>163</sup> According to Peucker, the love for Christ would make the believer sick of love, while Christ, by his embrace, his kisses, and his caresses, would let the believer die in his arms. The union with Christ was equated with dying; the grave became the marital bed.<sup>164</sup>

#### **4.4.5 Simplicity—The True Form of Reason**

The thirteenth homily elaborates upon simplicity and reason. The simple-mindedness of Jesus becomes a plea for the believers to be hated by reason. However, this does not imply the rejection of reason altogether. Zinzendorf underlines how the believer must choose the best, not the worst from its intellect. The paradox conveyed by him is that it is possible to be simple-minded and have such an intellect at the same time:

Mit demselben Verstande kommt die Einfalt gut überein, denn man kan sehr einfältig und sehr verständig seyn: Es liegt nur in der Einfalt eine gewisse *Commodität*, da man nicht gerne eine Minute eher über was denkt, als es nöthig ist, da man den Sachen keine grosse Tiefen zutraut, und auch keine grosse Krümmen sondern was man annehmen kan wie es ist, ohne weitere Überlegung und Beurtheilung annimmt.<sup>165</sup>

In order to understand the emphasis upon simplicity, one has to keep in mind “the heart-relationship” with the Saviour. For Zinzendorf, Christ becomes available to all humans, even before being born. Thus, it does not depend upon intellectual ability to understand, conceptualise, and systematise. Formulating theology or ethical behaviour have the same problems: some people will not be able to handle complex issues. The question this leads to is important: How can one be ethical and live a Christian life? Zinzendorf communicates this with clarity: when one has Christ, one has all that one needs. In the personal relationship with the Saviour, he will fill out the believer’s “theological page,” helping one to necessary

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<sup>162</sup> Atwood (2004), 91–92.

<sup>163</sup> Atwood (2004), 92.

<sup>164</sup> Peucker (2015), 88.

<sup>165</sup> *Die dreyzehnde Homilie*, 128–29.

knowledge so that Jesus will consequently direct behaviour. One can simply look into the eyes of the Saviour to find out what to do.<sup>166</sup>

#### **4.4.6 The Holy Spirit**

The order of the Trinity was altered by feminising the Holy Spirit, which became a “mother.”<sup>167</sup> This feminising was most significant from the 1740s onwards. Zinzendorf explained that calling the Holy Spirit “mother” or applying a role to her as a “maternal office” corresponded with Scripture and spoke to all Christians. He argued that a family metaphor for the Trinity was applicable since the role of the Holy Spirit was hard to define. Zinzendorf even claimed that before Christ, pagans had vague images of a God with female qualities and roles like foster mother or nurse of all humanity—goddesses who became mothers to all humans.

When Christ was born, it became evident what all this was. The Holy Spirit exercised a motherly, nurturing function over him, and whatever belonged to Christ had to belong to all humans too. Zinzendorf argued that the Holy Spirit became the mother of Christ more than Mary by preparing the womb, protecting the Saviour, and bringing him into light.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, the Holy Spirit was the mother of all living souls and the mother of the reborn.<sup>169</sup>

Addressing and worshipping the Holy Spirit as mother flourished in the 1740s and 1750s. There are many textual examples of this, for instance in the addenda of the Twelfth Appendix of the Moravian Hymnal. An example of this is a hymn Zinzendorf composed for his wife on her birthday in 1745:

Das nennet er sein Ehgemal.  
Ist Herrschaft der Naturen,  
die Frau der Geister ohne Zahl,

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<sup>166</sup> Freeman (1998), 232.

<sup>167</sup> *Die erste Homilie*, 14.

<sup>168</sup> *Die siebende Homilie*, 78.

<sup>169</sup> Fogleman (2007), 75.



und aller Creaturen:  
Gott seinen Vater gibt er an  
als ihren Vater  
sich als Mann, den Heiligen Geist  
als Mutter.

(Hymn 2175, verse 8, Twelfth Appendix, addenda, Moravian hymnal)<sup>170</sup>

The Moravian belief in the Holy Spirit as mother held such a prominent role that Spangenberg had to defend it with fervour in his *Apologetische Schluß-Schrift*. This was in response to more than a thousand accusations against the Brethren. Spangenberg rejected the notion that this could be identified as Gnostic doctrine or that it conflicted with the Lutheran doctrine.

Aaron Spencer Fogleman claims that the numerous polemical attacks against the view of the Holy Spirit as mother provoked a response from Zinzendorf that reveals the problematic difference between sex and gender. By referring to the Holy Spirit as mother, he did not mean to imply that this meant the biological features of a woman. Rather, he used the concept metaphorically. In accordance, Spangenberg argued that the maternal office of the Holy Spirit did not refer to "*sexum sequiorem*," but rather to scriptural allegory. They both thought it safe to apply female metaphors because they had not changed the physiological sex of the Spirit. However, to their opponents, metaphor held crucial importance, even sacred. Therefore, this use of metaphor was, in their eyes, in fact blasphemous.

The gospel has been demonstrated at the highest level for the one who observes Jesus on the cross in the beauty of his suffering. On this level, it is the sacrifice of Christ which surpasses all biblical difficulties without the slightest delay or hesitation or the smallest reason for affliction. When he experiences a predestined time of trial it is nothing to him because he knows where he belongs; he knows who he believes in. His soul lives in the atmosphere of the corpse-air (*Leichmans-Luft*)<sup>171</sup> like all other creatures live in their elements. His eyes are clean, clear, simple, and pure.

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<sup>170</sup> Fogleman (2007), 76.

<sup>171</sup> *Vorrede* (o) 5 (Zinzendorf's pagination for the preface to the homilies).

In today’s gender theory, this is called “sexed language,” a well-known concept, and a common means of gendered oppression as expressed in language. Judith Butler dealt extensively with this in her modern classic *Gender Trouble*. In her overview of feminist theory, she refers to Monique Wittig, and how she refers to “sex” as a mark of gender that is somehow applied by an institutionalised heterosexuality, a mark that can be erased or obfuscated through practices that effectively contest that institution.<sup>172</sup> Her task is to convey how language holds the power to subordinate and exclude women. This shows how the power of language is at the centre of the controversy over the female attributes of the Holy Spirit. The practical consequences of this metaphor imply radical liberation, and freedom for women to hold central offices within the Moravian church—even preaching. In this sense, the Moravian church was way ahead of its time. When reading the preface to the Litany of the Wounds, the traditional Lutheran would immediately be struck by the radical language, and to understand the images metaphorically would be impossible when, at the same time, controversial consequences had already been implemented amongst Zinzendorf’s followers both in Europe and in the American colonies.

The controversial issue was related to how the gender relationships associated with males and females were assigned to the Holy Spirit. It is important to note that at this time, the Trinity was revealed in Scripture as male. Therefore, from the order of creation, men were seen as superior, which was reflected, for instance, in the prohibition on women preaching. Furthermore, the Trinity functioned as an important metaphor or symbol for male power and authority in the Christian communities. Thus, metaphors held significant importance, and with the ones applied to the Holy Spirit, the Brethren had violated the gender boundaries in this most crucial point of Christianity.

#### **4.5 Structure of the Homilies**

It is important to structure the homilies before the analysis. I have chosen to do so thematically. Thus, not all homilies follow chronologically. Some homilies are harder to categorise than others, but an attempt of doing so will provide a useful tool for analysis.

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<sup>172</sup> Butler (1990), 35.

The four largest parts are:

- a) Petitions (homilies 3–6)
- b) Christ as model for Christian life (9–20)
- c) The Passion (8, 21–28)
- d) Consequences of the Passion—the merits of the wounds (29–33).

I have chosen to consider the remaining homilies as introductory. Homilies 1–2 are introductory to both a) and b), whilst homilies 7 and 34 have the same function in respect of c) and d).

The homilies begin with a Kyrie, followed by a Gloria directed specifically to the side wound—*Gloria Pleuræ!*, which are also the last two words of the collection of homilies (the thirty-third homily). Then the community prays that God the Father will look on the five wounds of Christ and remember that these are the atoning ransom for the sins of the world. The worshippers are reminded that the wounds are their consolation because they are the proof of the atonement.

In the following section, Christ is addressed, but originally the words are in fact directed towards the congregation because they are a testimony of God’s forgiveness. The believers are thus reminded that the side wound of Christ is “the doorway to heaven.” Ultimately, the Holy Spirit is addressed, her primary mission being to preach “daily the wounds of the Lamb to his congregations of the cross which have found him.”<sup>173</sup> According to Atwood, the opening lines of the litany give the skeleton of Zinzendorf’s trinitarian doctrine. He connects both the Father and the Holy Spirit to the atoning death of Christ. The petitions are, in Atwood’s view, clear expressions of Zinzendorf’s heart religion in relationship to the blood and wounds theology. However, I will also argue that there is significant eroticism also present in the section.

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<sup>173</sup> Atwood (2004), 204.

Again, it is important to stress the liturgical function of the litany and remember that the homilies are reflections given upon practice. For instance, petitions were sung antiphonally, generally between choirs. As such, they recall the petitions in the Church Litany that relate the life of Jesus to the daily life of Moravians in the choirs.<sup>174</sup>

The homilies given upon the Litany of the Wounds can be divided as follows:

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Part I   | Homilies 1–2 <b>Introductory homilies</b>                                  |
| Part II  | Homilies 3–6 <b>Petitions</b>  |
| Part III | Homilies 7, 34 <b>Introduction to homilies 9–20</b>                        |
| Part IV  | <b>Christ as model for Christian life</b>                                  |
| IVa      | Homilies 9–15 <b>Imitating the life of Christ</b>                          |
| IVb      | Homilies 16–20 <b>Imitating the Passion of Christ</b>                      |
| Part V   | Homilies 8, 21–28 <b>The Passion</b>                                       |
| Part VI  | Homilies 29–33 <b>Consequences of the Passion—the merits of the wounds</b> |

**Part I Introductory Homilies** The first homily was held at one of the major celebrations.

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| The First Homily  | <i>Ave! Agnus Dei.</i> (Hail! Lamb of God.)<br><i>Christe, Eleison!</i> (Christ, have mercy!)<br><i>Gloria Pleuræ!</i> (Glory to the side wound!) |
| The Second Homily | <i>Du Heilige Dreyeinigkeit.</i> (You Holy Trinity.)<br><i>Sey für das Lamm gebenedeyt.</i> (Blessed be you for the sake of the Lamb.)            |

**Part II “Behüt uns lieber Gott”—Petitions**

These four homilies are prayers for protection, given as exclamations in every introduction. Three of these homilies were held at special occasions. These were “am ersten Synodaltage,” “am Sonntage Rogate,” and “vor dem Abendmahle.”

The themes are as follows:

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<sup>174</sup> Atwood (2004), 203.

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|  |   |
|--|---|
| The Third Homily                           | Protection from<br>“Zucht-Trockenheit” <sup>175</sup> (lack of discipline)  |
| The Fourth (am ersten Synodal-Tage) Homily | Protection from<br><i>Unblutigen Gnade</i> (unbloodied grace)<br><i>Unbebluteten Herzen</i> (Hearts that have not been bled upon)<br><i>Schönheit ohne Blut-Strich</i> (Beauty without streaks of blood)                                    |
| The Fifth (Am Sonntage Rogate) Homily      | Protection from<br><i>Gleichgültigkeit gegen deine Wunden</i> (Indifference to your wounds)<br><i>Entfremdung von deinem Creuze</i> (estrangement from your cross)<br><i>Entwöhnung von deiner Seite</i> (from being weaned from your side) |
| The Sixth (vor dem Abendmahle) Homily      | Protection<br><i>Vor ungesalbtem Blut- Geschwätz</i> (From unanointed gossip about the blood)<br><i>Vor der ewigen Tod- Sünde</i> (From eternal mortal sin)<br><i>Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott</i> (Preserve us dear Lord God)               |

**Part III (Introduction to Homilies 9–20)**

Like the first homily, the seventh was held at a major celebration, and therefore introduces the doctrinal part of the Litany of the Wounds. According to Zinzendorf, the thirty-fourth homily was added later, and should follow the seventh. The eighth is a short homily, and I have chosen to place it together with the homilies on the Passion of Christ since it fits better in that group.

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| The Seventh Homily       | <i>Deine schmerzliche Erstgeburt</i> (May your painful first birth)<br><i>Mach uns unsere Menschheit lieb!</i> (Make us love our humanness!)<br><i>Deine heilige Erste Wunde</i> (May Your holy first wound)<br><i>Helfe uns zur Beschneidung des Herzens!</i> (Help us circumcise our hearts!)<br><i>Deine erste Mannbarkeit</i> (May Your first maturity)<br><i>Heilge unsre Knabenschaft!</i> (Make our adolescence holy!) |
| The Thirty-fourth Homily | <i>Deine Kinderhaftigkeit</i> (May Your childlikeness)<br><i>Helfe uns zur Kinder-Freud</i> (Help us to have childlike joy!)  |

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<sup>175</sup> It is challenging to translate this term. The literal translation is “dry penance.” The term will be examined in the interpretation of the third homily. Craig Atwood has chosen “lack of discipline” in his translation of the litany.

**Part IV Christ as Model for Christian Life**

| <b>IVa Imitating the Life of Christ</b>    |   |
|--|---|
| The Ninth Homily                           | On community:<br><i>Deine Heilige Jünglingschaft,</i><br><i>Sey der ledgen Chöre Cranz!</i> (May Your holy youth, bless the unmarried choirs!)  |
| The Tenth Homily                           | <i>Dein erstes exilium. Lehr uns überall daheime seyn!</i> (May your first exile. Teach us to be at home everywhere!)   |
| The Eleventh Homily                        | <i>Dein Fleiß bey deiner Lection,</i><br><i>Mache uns gelehrt zum Himmelreich!</i> (May your diligence with your study, make us learned for the kingdom of God!)  |
| The Twelfth Homily                         | <i>Dein theurer Arbeits-Schweiß</i><br><i>Mach uns alle Mühe leicht</i> (May your faithful sweat of labour, make all labour easy for us)<br><i>Deine Handwerks-Treue</i><br><i>Mach uns treu in unserm Theil</i> (May your faithfulness to your craft make us true on our part)   |
| The Thirteenth Homily                      | <i>Deine Erstaunliche Einfalt</i><br><i>Mache uns die Vernunft verhaßt!</i> (May Your astonishing simplicity make reason hateful to us!)  |
| The Fourteenth Homily                      | <i>Deine verdienstliche Unwissenheit</i> (May Your merited ignorance)<br><i>Zäune unsr'e Einsicht ein.</i> (Fence in our understanding.)  |
| The Fifteenth Homily                       | <i>Dein richtiger Bibel-Grund</i> (May your proper Bible foundation)<br><i>Mach uns alle Bibel-fest!</i> (Make us all know our Bible!)  |
| <b>Ivb Imitating the Passion of Christ</b> |   |
| The Sixteenth Homily                       | <i>Deine exemplarische Tempel- Andacht</i> (May your exemplary temple-devotion)<br><i>Mache uns zu treuen Religions-Leuten!</i> (Make us faithful people of religion!)  |
| The Seventeenth Homily                     | <i>Deine Ohnmacht und Schwächlichkeit</i> (May Your powerlessness and weakness)<br><i>Mach uns unsr'e Schwachheit recht!</i> (Make our weakness welcome to us!)<br><i>Deine Leidens- und Todes- Furcht</i> (May your fear of suffering and death)<br><i>Beschäme der Zeugen Großmuth!</i> (Put to shame the courage of the martyrs!)<br><i>Dein Verlaß mir deinem himmlischen Vater, zu leiden und nicht zu leiden</i> (May your reliance on your heavenly Father to suffer and not to suffer)<br><i>Sey unser Macht- Spruch von deiner Selbständigen Göttlichkeit!</i> (Be our decree in your own divinity!) |

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|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
|                       | <i>Deine willige Passion</i> (May your willing passion)<br><i>Lehre uns die Leidsamkeit!</i> (Teach us tolerance!)   |
| The Eighteenth Homily | <i>Deine Kreuz- Theologie</i> (May your theology of the cross)<br><i>Bleibe unser Glaubens- Bekenntnis!</i> (Remain our confession of faith!)  |
| The Nineteenth Homily | <i>Dein recht zum letzten Willen</i> (May your righteousness to the last will)<br><i>Mach uns deinen Willen theuer</i> (Make us faithful to your will!)<br><i>Dein mit dem Tode bestätigtes Testament</i> (May your will, validated by your death)<br><i>Bleiben die Regel deiner Erben</i> (Remain the rule of your heirs!)<br><i>Deines Testaments Erfüller</i> (May the fulfilment of your will)<br><i>Bringe die zerstreueten Kinder Gottes</i> (Bring the scattered children of God)<br><i>In die Arche der heiligen Christenheit!</i> (Into the ark of holy Christianity!) |
| The Twentieth Homily  | <i>Deine heilige Blut- Tauffe</i> (May your Holy baptism in blood)<br><i>Zünde hin durch Gottes Erdboden!</i> (Ignite all of God’s earth!)   |

**Part V The Passion**

This part contains meditations on the suffering Christ, and his appearance. Even though the eighth homily is placed earlier, it also emphasises the suffering Christ, and I therefore consider it to belong to part V. The headings address different physical aspects of his appearance and suffering: eyes, sweat, mouth, scratches from the crown of thorns, lips, mouth, blood, hair, arms, wounds, hands, and feet.

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| The Eighth Homily        | <i>Gebrochene augen!</i> (Dead eyes!)<br><i>Seht uns zum Augen heraus!</i> (Look out through our eyes!)  |
| The Twenty-first Homily  | <i>Dein Schweiß im Buß- kampf</i> (May your sweat in penitential struggle)<br><i>Dünst uns über Leib und Seel</i> (Pour over us in body and soul!)   |
| The Twenty-second Homily | <i>Ihr Ritzen von der Dornen- Kron</i> (Your scratches from the crown of thorns)<br><i>Zeichnet uns an der Stirne</i> (Mark us on our foreheads!)    |
| The Twenty-third Homily  | <i>Blasser Lippen!</i> (Pale lips!)<br><i>Küßt uns aufs Herz</i> (Kiss us on the heart!)   |
| The Twenty-fourth Homily | <i>Speichel- trieffender Mund</i> (Mouth dripping spittle)<br><i>Daß du niemand ausspeien müssest!</i> (That you would not have to spit out anyone!) |
| The Twenty-fifth Homily  | <i>Blutiger Schaum vom Rücken</i> (Bloody foam from your back)<br><i>Wasch uns unsere Füße!</i> (Wash our feet!)                                     |

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|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
|                           | <i>Zerschwitzte Haare</i> (Sweat-soaked hair)<br><i>Trocknet sie!</i> (Dry them!)   |
| The Twenty-sixth Homily   | <i>Offne Arme</i> (Open arms)<br><i>Nehmt uns!</i> (Receive us!)  |
| The Twenty-seventh Homily | <i>O ihr heiligen fünf Wunden</i> (O your five holy wounds)<br><i>Macht’s wie Elisja, wir wollen das Kind seyn!</i> (Do like Elisha, we want to be the child!)  |
| The Twenty-eighth Homily  | <i>Durchgrabne Hände</i> (Pierced hands)<br><i>Weiset uns wo wir geschrieben stehn!</i> (Show us where we are written!)<br><i>Durchbohrte Füsse</i> (Nail-bored feet)<br><i>Wenn steht ihr wieder auf dem Ölberge!</i> (When you stand again on the Mount of Olives!) |

**Part VI**

**Consequences of the Passion—the Merits of the Wounds**

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| The Twenty-ninth Homily  | <i>Du Zeichen des Menschen-Sohns</i> (You, the sign of the Son of Man)<br><i>Erscheine dem Israel nach dem Fleisch,</i><br><i>Ehe du in den Wolken kommst!</i> (Appear to Israel according to the flesh before you come in the clouds!)   |
| The Thirtieth Homily     | <i>Du grosses Seiten- Loch</i> (You large side hole)<br><i>Beherberge die ganze Welt!</i> (Take in the whole world!)<br><i>Doch Seiten-spalte, ich bitt’ dich</i><br><i>Sonderlich, ach! behalte dein Volk und mich!</i> (But also side chasm. To you I pray especially, oh, keep your people, and me!) |
| The Thirty-first Homily  | <i>Dein durchstochenes Herze</i> (May your pierced heart)<br><i>Klopfe und hüpfte dir über uns!</i> (Beat and leap over us!)  |
| The Thirty-second Homily | <i>Ihr ungenannten und unbekanntes Wunden</i> (May your unnamed and unknown wounds)<br><i>Seyd alle begrüßt!</i> (Be greeted, all of you!)  |
| The Thirty-third Homily  | <i>Würdige Wunden Jesu!</i> (Worthy wounds of Jesus!)<br><i>Wer wills und wehren, daß wir euch</i><br><i>Hier und dort ewig ehren?</i> (Who will keep us from honouring you here and there forever?)<br><i>Ihr habts verdient</i> (You have earned it)  |

**4.6 The Text within the Text**

We may assume that the Litany of the Wounds was learned by heart amongst the Moravians, and thus being what we may call “internalised praxis.” When the homilies were preached, the listener would most likely possess all the necessary references to the familiar liturgy. The homilies would give immediate references to the litany, and the listener would be able to



comprehend many of the elaborations provided by Zinzendorf. At the first reading the text can seem unordered, ideas seem to emanate almost impulsively. The rich, ornamented baroque language, with some sentences covering half a page, can seem impenetrable at first, but patterns become visible when one attempts to read them thoroughly, analysing the different parts.

## **5.0 Analysis<sup>176</sup>**

### **5.1 Dedication**

At the outset of the work, Zinzendorf dedicates the work to Countess Zinzendorf.<sup>177</sup> The bridal mysticism serves as a backdrop in the dedication as he writes about how their wedding is the image of the marriage with Christ:

Das Lied, womit ich unsere Trauung besang redete so frey vom Manne, vom Haupte, und von dem Bilde seiner Liebe in unserer Ehe, daß jetzt nicht deutlicher ausgesprochen werden kann.<sup>178</sup>

Zinzendorf states that she is the most prominent exponent of the pietist ideal of simplicity, and what he even calls naïve ideas. In the closing paragraph, Zinzendorf refers to a third central theme of his theology when he writes about the blessed heart:

Ich will dich also, ohne ferneres, deinem Manne *præsentiren*, den Du in den nachfolgenden Blättern abgeseildert siehest, und dem Du, weil Er bey uns ist alle Tage, mit deinen und seinen Kindern, denen in seine heilige Person so innig verliebten, und schon hier seligen Herzen, tägliche Fußfälle thun kannst.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup>In the citations I sometime use italics. I have done this to indicate where Zinzendorf shifts from Gothic letters (normal text), to Latin letters (italics)

<sup>177</sup> Erdmuthe Dorothea of Reuss-Ebersdorf (1700–1756) married Count Zinzendorf in 1722. She had a pietistic upbringing according to the principles of Spener. She wrote hymns and was responsible for the orphanage at Herrnhut. Like Zinzendorf, she travelled extensively. During Zinzendorf's exile she administered his assets and managed the Moravian Church for eleven years.

<sup>178</sup> *Dedication*, 3.

<sup>179</sup> *Dedication*, 3.

And finally, he refers to Christ’s wounds, and even places the Countess amongst the women standing by the cross crying in John 19:25–26:

Du weinst Ihm doch vor den verwundten Füßen. Für nichts so fröhlich vor als für sein Büßen.<sup>180</sup>

Zinzendorf then shifts to the wounds of Christ, and how he, through forty years of experience, has reached a clearly established certainty:

Es ist nicht ohne mancherley Nutzen abgegangen; worunter ich als einen der vorderlichen anmerke, daß ich zu einer *apodictischen* Gewiß gekommen: mein vierzig-jähriger ununterbrochener Hang zu den Wunden Jesu, sey weder eine Wirkung einer zärtlichen Natur, noch ein durch die *Salfon* veranlaßter Zeitglaube.<sup>181</sup>

When his hands and side are displayed to the souls, they recognise the Lord:

Man zeigt den Seelen seine Hände und seine Seite und spricht: Er ist’s selber; da werden sie froh, daß sie den Herren sehen.<sup>182</sup>

## 5.2 Vorrede (Preface)

Zinzendorf wishes to state that his theology is legitimate. In the first paragraph he calls the Holy Spirit mother, which is one of the key features of his teaching. In this context, the Holy Spirit provides both teaching and illumination.

## 5.3 Part I Introductory Homilies (1-2)

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| The First Homily  | <i>Ave! Agnus Dei</i> (Hail! Lamb of God)<br><i>Christe, Eleison!</i> (Christ, have mercy!)<br><i>Gloria Pleuræ!</i> (Glory to the side wound!) |
| The Second Homily | <i>Du Heilige Dreyeinigkeit</i> (You Holy Trinity)  |

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<sup>180</sup> *Dedication*, 3.

<sup>181</sup> *Dedication*, 4.

<sup>182</sup> *Dedication*, 4.

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <i>Sey für das Lamm gebenedeyt</i> (Blessed be you for the sake of the Lamb) |
|--|--|

***Die erste Homilie***

This homily was given at the celebration of Dominum Jubilate, 23 April 1747. The Count introduces the work by stating that he will speak about the Litany of the Wounds, and that it is unusual for him to explain liturgies. They are to be understood by the heart. Even words in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are to be felt by their own power since they will not be understood anyway:

Es ist mir zwar nicht gewöhnlich, dass ich *Liturgien* erkläre. Ich bin in dergleichen Sachen der Gedanken, dass sie sich dem Herzen so *insinuieren* müssen, und selbst die Lateinischen, Ebräischen und Griechischen Worte nach ihrer wahrer Kraft gefühlt werden müssen, wenn sie auch allenfalls nicht verstanden würden.<sup>183</sup>

Accordingly, it is the heart that gives understanding (illumination), and this “theology of the heart” is a central element in the theology and writings of Zinzendorf. The heart that God created in man by the Holy Spirit is the organ for religious perception. Intellectual capacity does not suffice, and can, on occasion, lead astray.<sup>184</sup> The function of the heart is elaborated upon. It demands no explanation:

Da gehts in dem ganzen Verstande so mit fort, und es bedürfte bey uns keiner Erklärung, denn es druckt nur den sinn aus, der schon im Herzen liegt.<sup>185</sup>

To provide explanations can remove what is already in the heart. The life and achievement of the Saviour as well as of the Holy Spirit is poured out by the suffering of Christ and his holy side wound. What Zinzendorf calls the “inner person” possesses all the senses that the “outer

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<sup>183</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 1.

<sup>184</sup> Freeman (1998), 174.

<sup>185</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 2.

person” has, and with these senses the person becomes able to recognise the reality of the living Christ. The heart “sees, tastes, feels and hears.”<sup>186</sup>

He continues by explaining the form of *die Wundenlitaney*, and explains what a litany is to him—a public, common prayer:

Eine Litaney, meine Geschwister, ist eigentlich ein öffentliches und Gemeinschaftliches Anbeten, da man vor seinem unsichtbaren Haupte steht oder geht: wenn die *συναγωγή εις αυτον*, die Geschellschaft, die um seinetwillen ist, (Ihm zu gefallen,) wenn sich die einmal mit einem Munde hören lässt, wenn sie ihren einerley Herzensgrund auf einerley Art ausdrückt, (wie sind nun einmal alle eins:) wenn sich die selige *Assemblèe* von Jungfräulichen Leuten (verschlossen auf die Jesus- Ehezeit siebenzehnen Zeiten oder Jahrhunderten, die wir nun seit des Lämmleins Marter-Taufe zehlen), einmal den Bund, das Testament, das Sacrament, das zwischen dem Mann und seiner Gemeine ist, gegenwärtig macht, und entweder in seinem heiligen Namen die Heilige Dreyeinigkeit *venerirt*, oder in ihrem eigenen Namen sich vor ihrem Mann stellt, und dem vors Herze kniet, dem sie lebet.<sup>187</sup>

The object that honours Jesus for all eternity is his wounds. The one who is “temple, light and God” is the man with the five red wounds:

Der Tempel das Licht und Gott ist der Mann mit fünf Wunden roth, mit den berühmten fünf Wunden: den es sind ihrer freylich viel mehr; aber das sind so die *extantesten*, die man darum die Heilige fünf Wunden nennt.<sup>188</sup>

The wounds as the signs of the son become a common basis for the enlightenment of all people:

Und weil sich nun unter diesen Wunden eine so sonderlich hervorgethan hat, als es nach seinem Tode ausgebrochen ist, da sie einen ganzen Strom Blut und Wasser ausschüttete: so hat die freylich unter allen um so viel mehr den Rang, weil sie einmal

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<sup>186</sup> Freeman (1998), 90.

<sup>187</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 3.

<sup>188</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 4.

des Sohnes Zeichen seyn wird, woran die Nationen, die Stamme Israel und die ganze Welt erkennen wird, wer der Mann auf den Wolken ist.<sup>189</sup>

Accordingly, the enlightenment occurs by observing the signs of Christ, the wounds. This becomes the departure point for the world's understanding of who Christ is.

Zinzendorf continues by elaborating upon the exclamation at the beginning of the litany: Ave! Agnus Dei, Christe Eleison! Gloria, Pleuræ! The last word of the veneration is of great importance. "Pleuræ" literally means side of the body, but the meaning in this context is the side hole/wound of Christ. To explain this, he elaborates on the Trinity. In relation to the Father, the Saviour is God's Lamb as well as the Father's joy and heart:

Der Heiland heisst Gottes Lamm in Ansehung seines Vaters. Er ist überhaupt seines Vaters Freude und Herz.<sup>190</sup>

God is revealed through Christ, and his real nature is known. Zinzendorf cites "whoever sees me, sees the Father," and continues citing the words of Christ: "I am the Father as he loves and lives. I am his true image."<sup>191</sup>

The thoughts of God are unimaginably great, and he writes:

Wie köstlich sind vor mir, o Gott, deine Gedanken; sagt David, deine *Speculationen*, deine *Ideen* die du gehabt, ihrer ist eine *Summa*, so gross wie der Sand am Meer: wenn ich wollte anfangen zu denken, so könnte ich eher den Sand ausschaufeln, ich könnte eher die Staub-Körnergen nach einander zusammen lesen und zehlen, ehe ich die Gedanken zehlen, ehe ich mir davon ein *Prospect* machen, und sie in einen Punct zusammen bringen könnte.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 4.

<sup>190</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 5.

<sup>191</sup> "Das ist eben auch des Heilands seine kurze Beschreibung. Er sagt selber: Wer mich sieht, der sieht den Vater, Ich bin der natürliche Vater, Ich bin der Vater wie er liebt und lebt, Ich bin sein wahres *Portrait*", *Die Erste Homilie*, 6.

<sup>192</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 7.

Zinzendorf mentions several attributes and names for Christ. However, what he wants to outline is the Lamb of God, the sacrifice that sanctifies through all ages by one spear-wound. It is redemption for all eternity. Everything "swims in the element of his blood."<sup>193</sup> He then progresses with the question: Why is he called the Lamb of God? Not so much because he is God's sacrifice because he has reconciled God (with man). In this respect, he is his own Lamb, because he has reconciled himself and his own justification has done enough:

Weil er das einzige Schäfgen war, das der Vater auf seinen Schooß gesessen hatte. Und wie jener arme Mann sein einziges Schäfgen hat hergeben müssen, darüber Nathan den David an Uriam erinnert und ihm endlich sein Herz damit weich macht; wie er, sage ich, der Mann hat hergeben müssen: so hats der Vater Gottes hergeben, williglich.<sup>194</sup>

Zinzendorf describes the sorrow of the Father, but paradoxically it is also a moment of joy and a day of bridal celebration as the blood flowed and in just a moment overflowed and sanctified the world.<sup>195</sup> Zinzendorf then progresses by elaborating upon "Christe Eleison." It is no ordinary call for mercy, but the call from the congregation as they are observing the Lamb of God. His son, who was his joy, has been given to mortal danger. All who believe in him are infatuated in the house of God by that action. Then the terrible law burns in us, Zinzendorf writes, but it is no formidable law compared to the evangelical "thundering word" (*Donnerwort*). It is a burning sword of Jesus's wounds that pierces the heart:

Als das evangelische Donner-Wort, das durch die Seele bohrende Schwert der Wunden Jesu, welches die Weiber in Jerusalem wol erfahren. O Wunden-Wort, du Donner-Wort, du Schwert das durch die Seele bohrt!<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 8.

<sup>194</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 9.

<sup>195</sup> "Er hat sich auf den Braut- und Hochzeit-Tag gefreuet, da der Sohn in seinem Braut-Kranze von Dornen da gehangen hat, und da Ihm der Heilige Geist und sein Blut (das heilige Mittel der Versöhnung) aus seinem Leibe heraus geflossen und gestürzt ist wie ein aufgehaltner Strom, der die ganze Welt in einem Augenblick beflosse und heiligte: das hat den Vater so gefreuet, daß das sein Lamm, sein Lamm ist, daß das der Sohn seines Herzens ist, aus seinem Herzen entsprossen, daß Er Ihn gezeugt zur Ur-Stunde, daß Er Vater von dem Kinde ist, das solche erstaunlich majestätische und *reale* Dinge ausführt.", *Die Erste Homilie*, 10.

<sup>196</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 13.

The imagery is rich and colourful. He writes that since our hearts are in such a miserable state, Jesus turns his heart, his married heart (*Ehe-Herz*), into a microscope to observe our love for him as if the heart (our heart) was a whole heart. He (Christ) is the centre where love is caught and held together.

Zinzendorf continues using the microscope metaphor and states that in the present people don't have this microscope:

Unser Zeit aber haben wir das *Microscopium* nicht, wir sehen uns eben wie wir sind, wir sehen uns auf der blossen Nadel, wir wissen was Er für Früchtgen an uns hat, wir wissen wie es mit uns aussieht, wie winzig-klein unsere Liebe und *Realität* ist, und wie es nicht der Rede werth ist.<sup>197</sup>

This results in a cry from the "whole heart" to God. "Oh my God, you are butchered for me! And your Wounds are as much my Wounds as if they were all alone for my heart! As it is called: Eleison! Have mercy upon me!"<sup>198</sup> Zinzendorf reflects upon why no "hallelujah" is sounding, but rather Kyrie Eleison instead of joy. The reason for this is that we are ashamed of the "wound-gifts." But the heart is comforted by the mother, the Holy Spirit:

Aber doch kommt uns auch ein Trost zu Hülfe, den uns die Mutter der Heilige Geist gleich gibt und vors Herze bringt: Er wird uns die Wunden so lange offen halten, wie so der *Sacristan* die *Reliquien* öffnet, oder der Lehrmeister das Stöckgen nimt, und aufs täflein weiset, so wird Er stehen und uns der Seiten-Loch, das Seiten- Höhlgen, die Seiten-Spalte so lange zeigen, bis wir endlich werden an Leib und Seele zu einer Wunde, zu einer Wunde Jesu geworden seyn, so Heilig als Jesu Wunden, an Seel und Leib.<sup>199</sup>

The wounds are not just a reason to rejoice, but the believer even becomes the wounds and unites with Christ. This unification occurs as Christ holds the wounds open for the believer just

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<sup>197</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 14.

<sup>198</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 14.

<sup>199</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 14.

as a sacristan exhibits relics. As the believer observes the side wound, the believer is mystically unified with Christ to such an extent that he becomes the side wound himself. Typical for the theology of Zinzendorf is also the reference to the Holy Spirit as mother. The nature of the wounds is eternal, and they are timeless, forever new. This is reason to rejoice and praise the side wound with the exclamation:

*Gloria, Pleuræ! Uns ist nicht anders als wenn die Pleura gerade jetzt vor den Augen der Gemeinde stünde, das grosse Seiten-Loch, das noch die ganze Welt beherbergen soll.*

The side wound becomes the refuge for all, and even the source of new (mystical) knowledge:

So daß wir alle Tage neue *Lectiones*, oder wenn auch eben dieselbe doch immer auf eine so neue Art vors Herze kriegen, daß wir denken, wir hören's zum ersten mal.<sup>200</sup>

### **Die Zweyte Homilie**

This homily was held 4 May 1747.

The liturgical text is:

*Du Heilige Dreyeinigkeit :/: :/:*

*Sey für das Lamm gebenedeyt.*

No particular celebration is mentioned.

Zinzendorf introduces the homily by describing what kind of person Jesus was. He became man, not a king, not a prince, war-hero or philosopher. He became a proper, common, poor man that one took little notice of. There would be little need to fear him, and no need to be in his proximity:

Ein Mensch worden, kein König, Fürst, Kriegs-Held oder *Philosoph* worden ist, sondern ein ordentlicher, *simpler*, schlechter Mensch, auf den man so wenig *Attention*

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<sup>200</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 15.



gemacht, sich für ihn zu fürchten, oder durch Ihn sehr in die Enge zu kommen, als wenn man vor einen Schäfgen vorbeigeht, oder was man heutiges tages von einem Mensch sagt, den man ein bisgen schlecht beschreiben, und ihm doch kein böse *Idée* beylegen will: es ist ein Schaaf.<sup>201</sup>

Zinzendorf reflects upon the way God can be experienced as a result of the incarnation. If God did not become man, we would all speculate until we became fools. Those claiming not to be able to understand God would be deemed true philosophers. No man would be able to understand the godliness.

He then turns to principles exercised regarding missionary strategy of some people (he doesn't specify) amongst the savages. They say that there is a God, but they want to protect themselves from him in order not to come too close:

Die sagen es ist ein Gott; aber wir wollen nicht zu nahe kommen, wir sind seine Creaturen, Er wirds wol mit uns machen; aber wir wollen uns nicht drein mengen: Es ist zu vornehm für uns, wir können Ihm nicht nach, wir sind nicht dazu gemacht, wir müssen Bären schiessen, unser Feld besorgen, und sehen woher wir was zu essen kriegen; wir haben nicht Zeit, daß wir in den grossen Geist hinein *speculieren*.<sup>202</sup>

God has lifted up what the philosophers regard as folly: all forms of devotion they deem superstition. For Zinzendorf, there is a third alternative to speculative philosophy (which creates fools), and the negligence of God which makes us no more than animals. Between these two, superstition is a powerful cure.<sup>203</sup> Through the incarnation man is freed from three different things: first, from not knowing God; second, from the dangerous acquaintance with

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<sup>201</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 16.

<sup>202</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 17.

<sup>203</sup> "Es war also ein Glück, das Gott um besten des menschlichen Geschlechts hat aufkommen lassen, was die *Philosophi* als eine Thorheit *beraisonniren*, und dadurch die Kürze ihrer Einsicht verrathen; das ist diejenige Art von menschlicher *Devotion*, die man *Superstition* nennet, die aber eigentlich ein drittes ist zwischen der *speculativen Philosophie*, darüber man zum Narren wird und zwischen der Unbekümmerniß um die Gottheit, dabey man mit den Thieren in Paaren geht; dazwischen ist die *Superstition* eine heilsame Pferde-Cur." (Zinzendorfs italics), *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 18.

the unfathomable depths; and third, from childish piousness and mockery. However, the Godly Being, after a long wait, has set up an image that shall forever delight us:

Das Göttliche Wesen endlich, nach langem warten, ein Bild aufgestellt, daran wir uns ewig erfreuen können.<sup>204</sup>

Painted images (of God) were prohibited before, because no image of God had been observed, but then came Man, the original, the object that was to define our imagination for all eternity.

Zinzendorf then refers to the fact that those who find it difficult to grasp this cannot devote themselves entirely to love. It has been sorted out by the incarnation that he chose a simple woman to be human in her body—a simple girl to carry him. Zinzendorf’s intention is to stress the humanity of Christ in this middle section of the homily. The pattern may be well thought over since the emphasis of the suffering bridegroom comes after. Christ’s suffering is also human.

He claims that the appearance of Christ was as follows. There was no external beauty about him, nothing special:

Und so gings fort durchs ganze Leben, so daß keine äusserliche Schöne, noch einige Qualität an Ihm zu sehen war, die einen Menschen hätte *attachiren* und ihre *Attention* auf Ihm *figiren* können, einen gescheut denkenden, oder einen Menschen, der die Leute um sein selbst willen lieb hat, um seines Vergnügnis und ihrer artigen Form willen, um ihres Reichthums und *Credits* willen, um ihrer *brillianten Qualitäten* willen: von allen dem Leuten fand niemand was *remarquables* an Ihm. Darum sagt Jesaias, man hat nichts auf Ihm gemacht; wir haben Ihn nichts geachtet.<sup>205</sup>

However, even with this inferior form, he was similar to man and had become similar to poor, simple, despised people. According to Zinzendorf, this is the second blessedness and a reason

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<sup>204</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 20.

<sup>205</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 21.

for praying and praising the great insight of the Holy Trinity, the grand thought of God to make him man, one of them.<sup>206</sup> Jesus was a man with all human weaknesses, a true Lamb and a simple person:

Ein wahres Schaaf, eine solche, *simple naturelle* Person, die sich in alle menschliche Schwachheiten, Unbequemlichkeiten und Geringschätzigkeiten, und endlich auch in alle menschliche Unglücks-Fälle, Ungerechtigkeiten, Drangsale, Marter und Tod, ohne grosse *Reflexion* und Gemüths-Gewalt *rangiren* können.<sup>207</sup>

The greatest grace of the Trinity is that even though we can't grasp this by reason, love, or trust, Man's guilt is removed. God is revealed in flesh; in our feeble flesh and blood the eternal good is disguised. Even the most minor thought about this infatuates man to understand that his Creator is his Saviour.<sup>208</sup>

Zinzendorf then continues to elaborate upon the characteristics and implications of the atonement:

Wenn darnach dazu kommt, wie er Heiland ist, daß es ihm sein Blut und leben gekostet hat, daß Er hat seinen Geist aufgeben müssen, sich in die Erde Scharren lassen, die Gluth des Zorns Gottes fühlen, und einen erbärmlichen Bußkampf ausstehen müssen, bis er uns die *Absolution* zuwege gebracht hat.<sup>209</sup>

The glorious wounds of unity push all other thoughts aside, and there is still blessedness and grace. As Christ is hanging nailed to the cross, he even holds a festival with the soul and the penance is brought to an end by the atonement. Quite typically for Zinzendorf, there is an emphasis both upon the wounds and the mystical marriage with Christ, represented by the marital bed. That he:

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<sup>206</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie, 22.*

<sup>207</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie, 22.*

<sup>208</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie, 23.*

<sup>209</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie, 23.*

am Stamm des Creuzes Hochzeit gehalten mit meiner Seele, und das Gewiß ein Zeitpunct ist, da mich mein Schöpfer Jesus Christ, der Mann mit den fünf Wunden roth aus seines Vaters *Consecrator*-Händen bekommen, an sein Herz drücken, und in sein Ehe-Bett einnehmen wird; das is die *Meditation*, die der eigenen Busse auf einmal ein Ende macht.<sup>210</sup>

This is achieved without education or exercises (*Exercitia*). The childlike behaviour of the believer is praised: like playing as a child in his bloody light.<sup>211</sup> Going to church is characterised as being bled upon (this is hard to translate: the German term is *bebluten*). The conclusion of the text is that the right of marriage has been achieved by Christ's blood.<sup>212</sup> This connection of the suffering and the mystical wedding is a feature that occurs in several other homilies. The homily fits well with Zinzendorf's theology.

The child can obtain faith in a simpler, less complicated manner and this simplicity is also reflected in the simplicity of Jesus himself. The atonement also carries another symbolism: the holy marriage. The suffering Saviour is also the suffering husband.

The homilies both contain common features, and the pattern is also quite similar. The first homily introduces the heart as the organ for religious perception, whilst the second emphasises the humanity of Christ. The consequence is the same: they both give the believer insight. Both homilies then describe the Passion, the first homily more extensively. It is interesting to note that the third image in both is the mystical marriage between the believer and Christ. Thus, the pattern is: 1) Christ is received through the heart (first homily) or identification with the humanity of Christ (second homily); 2) the Passion is described; 3) the climax of both homilies is the mystical marriage. Thus, the two introductory homilies introduce crucial aspects of the rest of the homilies: the heart, the humanity of Christ, the Passion, and the mystical marriage.

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<sup>210</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 25.

<sup>211</sup> *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 25.

<sup>212</sup> "Im demselben erworbenen und bebluteten Kirchen-Gänge: so kans nicht anders seyn, als daß man der heiligen Dreyeinigkeit, dem Vater, der Mutter und sonderlich dem Sohne, der sich sein Ehe-Recht mit seinem Blute erworben.", *Die Zweyte Homilie*, 26.

#### 5.4 Part II *Behüt uns lieber Gott* (3-6)

These five homilies are prayers for protection (petitions), given as exclamations in every introduction. The fourth, fifth, and sixth of these homilies were held at specified occasions.

The themes are as follows:

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|--|--|
| The Third Homily                           | Protection from<br><i>Zucht-Trockenheit</i> (lack of discipline)   |
| The Fourth (am ersten Synodal-Tage) Homily | Protection from<br><i>Unblutigen Gnade</i> (Unbloodied grace)<br><i>Unbebluteten Herzen</i> (Hearts that have not been bled upon)<br><i>Schönheit ohne Blut-Strich</i> (Beauty without streaks of blood)                                       |
| The Fifth (Am sonntage Rogate) Homily      | Protection from<br><i>Gleichgültigkeit gegen deine Wunden</i> (Indifference to your wounds)<br><i>Entfremdung von deinem Creuze</i> (Estrangement from your cross)<br><i>Entwöhnung von deiner Seite</i> (Being weaned from your side)         |
| The Sixth (vor dem Abendmahle) Homily      | Protection<br><i>Vor ungesalbtem Blut- Geschwätz</i> <sup>213</sup> (From unanointed gossip about the blood)<br><i>Vor der ewigen Tod- Sünde</i> (From eternal mortal sin)<br><i>Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott!</i> (Preserve us dear Lord God!) |

The purpose of this section seems to underscore the difference between the worldly churches and the real church, a notion that was typical for several Philadelphian groups. The signs of the true believer are one who never turns away from the suffering of Christ. They are connected closely with typical themes in the theology of Zinzendorf: bloody grace, the heart, the side wound, and the appearance of the suffering Christ.

#### Die Dritte Homilie

This homily was held on 7 May 1747. No particular celebration is mentioned.

The liturgical text is:

*Vor aller eigenen Gerechtigkeit,*  
*Vor aller Zucht-Trockenheit,*  
*Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott!*

<sup>213</sup> Another complicated term to translate. Literally it means blood-gossip.

The verse above has the form of a prayer of protection from self-assuredness and the “dryness (absence) of penance.” At the outset, Zinzendorf states that the material this litany deals with is amongst the most important in the entire Litany of the Wounds—it concerns preparation as well as the indulgence in the wounds of Christ:

Diese Materien sind von den wichtigsten in der Wunden-Litaneey, als grundrührend, und gehören zur *Præparation*; nicht so wohl auf den Genuß der Wunden Jesu.<sup>214</sup>

Furthermore, Zinzendorf states that there are two matters which require God’s protection. The first is self-righteousness which, he writes, is the actual virtuous Deism.<sup>215</sup> He states the “Defintores” (i.e., the “definers”) make no distinction between Naturalists<sup>216</sup> and Deists. These two philosophical directions were not compatible with Zinzendorf’s spirituality, and hence, this passage also functions as a critique of the increasing impact of Enlightenment thoughts. However, Zinzendorf admits that the difference between these two philosophies is huge:

Und gleichwol ist ein himmelweiter Unterscheid zwischen einem Naturalisten und einem Deisten: denn der Naturalismus ist eine *Speculation* von einer gewissen activen Natur, die einen Hauffen ungereimtes Zeug zusammen macht, so wahrscheinlich als möglich, bis ein Systema von Definitionen zusammen kommt, welches nicht eigentlich determinirt, was das Ding ist, das alle Dinge regiert und macht; und glaubt so von weiten was, ein vielleicht, ein Ich weiß nicht was.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 26.

<sup>215</sup> This paragraph criticises the Deism of Zinzendorf’s time. Deism was a philosophical position claiming that God does not interfere directly with the world. Deism gained prominence amongst intellectuals in the age of the Enlightenment, especially in western Europe and the American colonies. The contrast between Zinzendorfian mysticism and Deism is evident and makes the Count’s critique comprehensible.

<sup>216</sup> This probably refers to a strand of Naturalism popular in Zinzendorf’s time, represented by the interest in naturalist studies that evolved in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which became highly popular amongst Enlightenment philosophers later.

<sup>217</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 27.

However, according to Zinzendorf, this is not how the Deist would reflect, as a determined person, and Zinzendorf is rather more positive in his treatment of this philosophy, since it leaves at least a little room for God, despite being erroneous. When contrasting the Deist to the Naturalist, he claims that:

So denkt aber der Deist nicht: ein Deist ist ein determinirter Mensch, ein Creatur, bey der es sich wittert, daß ein *Numen*, ein *animus simplicissimus*, eine *Causa Causarum omnium* ist, der eine rechte philosophische und simple Idèe von der Gottheit in abstracto. Und ausser der Revelation von einem Schöpfer hat (...).<sup>218</sup>

The Deist has some knowledge of Christianity, but only what Zinzendorf calls the "first notion" (*erste Notion*), but the cause of all blessedness and sanctification, of all merit, is the Saviour:

Denn das *Systema* das man adoptirt mit seinem Gemüth, setzt den Heiland zur Ursache aller Schöpfung, zur Ursache aller Seligkeit und Heiligung, zur Ursach alles Verdienstes, das im Zeit und Ewigkeit kan *allegirt* werden; und damit fällt uns alles eigene weg.<sup>219</sup>

Zinzendorf counters these beliefs with central motifs of his theology. Firstly, he mentions the heart, the organ for spiritual perception, then the wounds, and the image of escaping into the wound with body and soul. The heart is awakened:

Leib und Seel in dich nein, bald und hurtig ins Werk richten, und das erste seyn lassen so bald ihr Herz aus seinem Traum der eigenen Gerechtigkeit aufgewacht ist: so schämen sie sich zwar von der eigenen Gerechtigkeit unter den Geschwistern zu reden; ja sie schämen sich wol selber für sich, darauf zu fussen, ihr Herz *revoltirt* sich gegen einen solchen Eindruck; weil das Gefühl der Wunden, der eigenen Gerechtigkeit entsetzlich widersteht.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 27.

<sup>219</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 29.

<sup>220</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 31.

Zinzendorf then explains another recurring motif in the Litany of the Wounds. This is the term he calls “Zucht-Trockenheit.” The term does not translate easily to English, but a translation may be the absence (dryness) of penance, as mentioned in 5.4. This is also characterised as a condition as follows:

so werden dergleichen Leute zum Unterschied der wirklichen und wahren *Sectirer* des Steinritzes in Jesu Geiste, mit einer Trockenheit gezüchtigt, die mehr oder weniger da ist, kürzer oder länger währt, nach dem ihr Gemüth mehr oder weniger von den Wunden Jesu denkt, mehr oder weniger darauf wagen will, mehr oder weniger drüber verlegen ist, daß es auf eine andere Art selig werden sollte, als die ihm sein Herze sagt. Und diesen Zustand heißt man die Zucht-Trockenheit.<sup>221</sup>

The self-righteous, the philosophers, and the Deists ridicule the Brethren. At this point, Zinzendorf makes use of original terms and images to describe them. He calls them “small worms of the wounds” and calls the hearts “juicy”:

Daher geschiehts auch, daß sie manchmal wollen saftig, herzlich, blutig und wundenhaftig thun, drüber *ridicul* werden, weil sie es nicht treffen, weil sie der Sache manchmal an einer Ecke zu viel thun, weil sie sich manchmal über eine Sache überaus sehr freuen, darüber man sich bey den saftigen Herzen nicht gerade zum höchsten freuet, und bey einer andern Sache gleichgültig sind, da die treuen Herzen des Heilandes seine Wunden-Würmlein, decken-hoch drüber hüpfen darüber mans also merkt, daß das ding nicht auf ihrem Grund gewachsen ist, daß die Herzlichkeit und Wundenhaftigkeit, die Blutwürmleinsmäßigkeit, nicht ein Eigenthum ihres Herzens ist; und das macht sie unter den Kennern *ridicul*.<sup>222</sup>

The Count concludes that they, as wise people, notice that they are being ridiculed. As it tires them, they turn back to their dryness (*Trockenheit*).

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<sup>221</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 31.

<sup>222</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 32.



Zinzendorf then repeats the original prayer on behalf of they who have not experienced this "Zucht-Trockenheit": "Vor aller Zucht-Trockenheit, behüt uns lieber Herre Gott!" He continues in the form of prayer, adds the aforementioned wound-motif, but adds another, at this point referring to bridal mysticism as he describes the love of Christ as "eheliche Liebe":

Laß mich doch mit dem anderen spazieren, laß mich doch in eben die Seligkeit und Empfindlichkeit gegen dich, in die bey Nacht und Tage unveränderliche *Imagination* in deine Wunden und Verdienst, ja in deine unausprechliche eheliche Liebe recht hineinkommen; laß mich das auch erfahren, und den andern gleich gesetzt werden!<sup>223</sup>

When this becomes a yearning desire, the believer can express himself as David. Zinzendorf cites Psalm 119:20: "My soul is consumed with longing for your laws at all times."<sup>224</sup> Christ appears to the believer in an image common for Zinzendorf. The prince (*der Fürste*) stands before him with the visible side wound:

Augenblick steht der Fürste mit der offnen Seite da, und man wirds gewahr, daß ihm was dran gelegen ist, daß seine Gemein-Kinder, daß seine Seelen, die eben einmal zu seinem Bette und in seinen Arm erschaffen und destinirt sind, und durch den Gemein-Geist gestempelte Herzen sind.<sup>225</sup>

The circumcised heart is a common image, but in this case it is the "stamped heart" which is the mark of the believer. However, there exists a danger of once again becoming a "Deist," to fall out of the grace of the community. Zinzendorf describes this as a second death, and the former member of the community is no longer part of their sphere, and is no longer their responsibility. Thus, the words concern the hearts of the believers explaining how they will never fall out of Christ's hands:

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<sup>223</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 33.

<sup>224</sup> NIV.

<sup>225</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 34.

Die Rede ist nur von unsern Herzeln, wie wir schon beysammen sind, von unsern Seelen, wie sich zusammen schicken, davon wir gläubig denken, daß Ihm keins mehr aus seiner Hand kommen soll.<sup>226</sup>

This "Zucht-Trockenheit" will be brought to blessed embarrassment by the cross-air (*Creuz-Luft*) and corpse-air (*Leichnams-luft*). This dryness may be bearable in the world, but in the community it cannot persist.

Zinzendorf concludes the homily with a prayer using several familiar Zinzendorffian terms and, as often, the image of the believer entering the side wound:

Man betet und spricht: Herr Jesu Christ! Ich bin dein Geschöpfe, Ich stehe und weine, und Ich bin einmal in der Gemeine, Kyrie eleison! Ach mein Seiten-höhlgen! Du bist deiner Seelgen angewiesenes Plätzelein, seitelein, Leib und Seel muß in dich 'nein.<sup>227</sup>

The message of the homily concerning the "Zucht-Trockenheit" has a clear disposition with familiar terms. The avoidance of dryness and the lack of penance addresses the community, and the critique of Deists and Naturalists. As mentioned in 4.4, the term does not translate easily into English. I have chosen to follow Craig Atwood's translation "lack of discipline," but it may be interesting to elaborate upon as well: it is a constellation of two words typical for Zinzendorf's theology. It can be assumed with a high degree of certainty that the word "Trockenheit," literally meaning dryness is to be understood as absence. In other words, the "Zucht" is not, or is rarely, observed.

However, "Zucht" is harder to translate. The word can be translated discipline (*Disziplin*), correction (*Züchtigung*), and even to be captive (*Gefangenschaft*). For the advanced German reader/listener, the term could be understood with all these connotations: to be captive of dryness (of faith), to lack the discipline of faith, or the absence of correction. At least it has to do with Zinzendorf's views regarding the "World" and the Brethren.

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<sup>226</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 34.

<sup>227</sup> *Die Dritte Homilie*, 35.

The contrast between "Naturalists," "Deists," and the Brethren is also an evident characteristic of the fourth homily, accentuating the opposition to Enlightenment ideas represented in Zinzendorf's writings, especially from the 1740s.

### **Die vierte Homilie**

The first day of the synod 12 May 1747.

This homily was given at the start of a synod and is formulated as follows:

*Vor der unblutigen Gnade,  
Vor unbebluteten Herzen,  
Vor alle Schönheit ohne Blut-Strich,  
Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott.*

The outset of this homily has the same form as the previous one. It is a prayer of protection against "unbloody grace" and "unbled hearts." The third term, "Blut-Strich," is harder to translate. It can refer to marks after the whipping of Christ, but it may have a double meaning as the combination of "Blut" and "streichen" occurs three times in the Old Testament.<sup>228</sup> All these verses refer to consecration of objects or people.

Zinzendorf starts by considering that the qualities of a human being which do not yet affect the heart differ profoundly from the qualities that come from the heart:

Die *Qualitäten* eines Menschen, die sein Herz noch nicht afficiren, sind gar sehr zu unterscheiden von den *Qualitäten*, die aus dem Herzen kommen.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Leviticus 8:15: "And Moses killed it, and took the blood, and with his finger put it on the horns of the altar round about, and purified the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar, and consecrated it, to make atonement for it." Leviticus 8:23: "And Moses killed it, and took some of its blood and put it on the tip of Aaron's right ear and on the thumb of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot." Finally, Leviticus 8:24: "And Aaron's sons were brought, and Moses put some of the blood on the tips of their right ears and on the thumbs of their right hands and on the great toes of their right feet; and Moses threw the blood upon the altar round about" (RSV).

<sup>229</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 36; italics are mine.

He outlines the different states of the heart and claims that a person may not be of a good heart even though they have experienced a good education, followed good examples, performed daily practice through all that is called “School of the Cross” (*Creuz-Schule*) in the newer days of Christianity, and appears and does all that one can desire from the best of hearts.

Finally, he wishes to convey how one starts with an inner cleansing, using an image from kitchen chores. One does not clean the plates and bowls from the outside:

Endlich ist auch die Rede von der Gestalt. Der Heiland hat wol verboten, das man die Teller und Schüsseln nicht erst von aussen scheuern soll, wenn sie inwendig zu den allerliederlichsten, unehrlichsten und unangenehmsten Sachen gebraucht warden.<sup>230</sup>

These aspects are important to pay attention to, and thus it is said that the Lord shall have mercy and protect us and thus our mercy, our heart, and form shall never be without blood. Furthermore, the smallest mercy amongst them is sprinkled with blood of the covenant. The word will provide that the heart swims in the blood of Christ:

Daß die geringste Gnade, die man an uns sieht, mit Bundes-Blut besprengt sey; er soll geben, daß unser Herz in seinem Blute schwimme und bade; er soll geben, daß in unsern Geberden, in unserm Προσωπω,<sup>231</sup> in unserer äusserlichen Figur, (was man die *Gedaante* nennt, wie manchmal das wort *Facies* genommen wird, man nennts auch *Præsenz*) daß in dieser äusserlichen Gestalt, die den Menschen, die mit uns *conversiren*, ins Auge fällt, ein gewisser Blut-Strich regiere, daß man uns nie sehen möge, ohne Sünder-Schamhaftigkeit, ohne das was man in der Natur jungfräuliche Scham-Röte nennt; daß bey Erwähnung der in uns wohnenden Gnade, das Geblüt, das für unsere Sünde genug gethan, und unsere Herzen beschwemmt, und unsre Gnade besprengt hat, uns gleichsam ins Gesicht treten mag, sonderlich wenn wir Materien *tractiren*, die unsern andern Geschwistern eindrucklich sind, oder wenn wir über

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<sup>230</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie, 37.*

<sup>231</sup> The Greek term translates as “face”.

wichtigen dingen mit ihnen handeln; kurz, daß wer uns siehet, uns, immer in derselben Sünder-Schöne sieht.<sup>232</sup>

In the following paragraph, Zinzendorf gives a rare reference to Spener and mentions that he has written a book about the characteristics of Nature and Grace. He is not in any way opposed to this, but the Count states that "nature is nature" and "mercy is mercy," but not what he calls mercy bled upon (*beblutete Gnade*). However, some people live in a particular mercy and are especially dear to the Saviour:

Die unter einer besondern Gnadenhand, unter einer Zucht und Pflege der Gnade als gewisse Lieblinge des Heilandes hingehen, die ganz gewiß auf denselber Fuß stapfen, aus demselben Wege, in gerader Linie, noch mit Leib und Seel ins Seiten-Höhlgen hinein fahren werden, wenn sie nicht das Unglück haben, daß sie die gegenwärtige Gnade fürs Ganze halten.<sup>233</sup>

Zinzendorf claims that it is unfortunate if the church should discharge souls when this is such a strong and powerful grace, a grace that differs profoundly from the grace of all other people. However, it is not yet bled upon (*beblutet*), which makes it a dangerous matter.

He contrasts this with the Holy Spirit. Even though the Spirit has not yet had the opportunity to immerse their souls in blood, it requires them to be in the house of the Lord. In the meantime, they will receive the experience and insight that they would otherwise lack when they, at the same time, were to become immersed in the blood of the Lamb.<sup>234</sup>

Zinzendorf then outlines how a person must walk "under grace" for many years and perform experiments of similitude to the experiments of a congregation. Aspects which earlier did not seem essential become things that the person now sees as important and are used (in the joy of the sinner) with taste, feeling, and certainty of the heart:

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<sup>232</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 37–38.

<sup>233</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 38.

<sup>234</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 39.

Als daß was man sie vorher nicht wesentlich gehabt; da man sie nunmehr mit Geschmack, mit Gefühl und Gewißheit seines eigenen Herzens, mit einer sündhaften Freude anzuwenden weiß.<sup>235</sup>

In this paragraph he also uses the term "Trockenheit" (dryness) but not combined with "Zucht" (see translation above). He calls it a "symptomatic dryness," and it is not a punishment but is connected to the Holy Spirit. Zinzendorf also brings forth one of his most original terms for the Holy Spirit: mother. In this case, he describes the motherly faithfulness, "die Mutter-Treue des Heiligen Geistes." The Spirit does not wish dryness for the believer. It causes the believer to languish and die of thirst. However, this leads to the believer noticing what is really missing, and pleading until Grace is bestowed upon him:

Da merkt man, daß was, und da bittet man so lange, bis die Gnade eingesprengt wird, bis das Creuz-Lüftgen drein wehet, das warme Creuz-Lüftgen, das die Gnade aufheitert und aufkläret, das einem bey der Gnade auf eine Art satt macht und erquickt, so wie der gestrige Lammes-Text geheissen hat: Kommt her zu mir ihr arbeitenden, ihr belasteten, ihr müden Leute: und wie es im Propheten heißt: Ich will die müden Seelen erquicken.<sup>236</sup>

Zinzendorf elaborates upon this "unbloody grace" (*unblutige Gnade*), and outlines how it is a gift, a grace without complicity, a heavenly present. The grace is of an evangelical character. He continues to use the sprinkling of blood as a metaphor as he describes the true grace amongst the believers. The one who is in the congregation wants everything to be sprinkled. Afterwards, all similar traces of impure grace yield, and at that moment the sprinkling takes place, and the Holy Spirit pours out blood:

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<sup>235</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 40.

<sup>236</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 41.

Da weichen darnach alle dieselben Gnaden-Spuren, die wol nicht Natur, aber auch nicht pure Gnade waren, und dann geschieht die Besprengung, der Heilige Geist halt Blut-giessen.<sup>237</sup>

Apparently, one becomes worse (less competent) in matters stemming from pure nature, from philosophy, or what one has been able to gain from one's own imagination. This perishes as soon as the sprinkling of Jesus's blood occurs. However, afterwards, one finds oneself in many matters needier and worse than before. But then, one delves into one's heart and because of this, because one has had so much real and indisputable grace, one is even more convinced that one now has less mercy than at any time before. One becomes very small, bent, and pressed. But at this point the message is: "Blut' mir aufs Herze, so werde ich muthig und wundenhaft."<sup>238</sup> In other words, the heart that bled upon is the remedy for the feelings above. It is followed by a plea to "stamp me and make me into something new, just immerse me deep in your blood."<sup>239</sup>

When it then occurs that the heart has been pulled through the blood of Jesus, and everything that did not belong to it has been put away, all the tartar that has attached itself around the heart is totally washed away, and the naked heart is present:

Was sich so ums Herz herum gesetzt hat, ganz weggeschwemmt, und das blosse Herz da ist; so kriegts ein Bette in dem Sinn, wie man von einem Fluß, von einem Bach oder hälter sagt, das ist sein Bette, und das wird mit Blut gefüllt, und hat immer seinen Zufluß aus dem Herzen Jesu, die Zeit und Ewigkeit durch.<sup>240</sup>

Thus, Zinzendorf states, here is an eternal correspondence, an access to the Saviour's heart, a flow of mercy from the heart of the Saviour. A flow that will never be discontinued. The following images of the believer are typical for Zinzendorf and the homilies on the Litany of

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<sup>237</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 43.

<sup>238</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 44.

<sup>239</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 44.

<sup>240</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 45.

the Wounds in particular. He describes how a child (a member) of the congregation is like a child in the womb, like a fish in the water, for eternity undisturbed and pleased.

The Count continues with a plea: "Gib mir was du verordnet hast; was denn zuerst? Ein schwimmend Herz in deinem Blute."<sup>241</sup>

The fish metaphor is as such transferred to the term "heart," and the womb is used to describe the love of God, hence a feminine category. The imagery conveys further meaning if one also considers that the foetus lies surrounded by water in the womb as well. However, if the heart is not bled upon, and remains dry, and does not truthfully perceive this, it remains a presumption:

Denn wenn das Herz nicht beblutet wird, wenn das Herz trocken bleibet, wenn gleich endlich die Gnade eingesprengt ist, wenn gleich das, was man thut, aus Gefühl des Heilandes und seines Verdienstes und seines Bluts und Wunden herkommt, aus einem gewissen Vorschmack von der Marter Gottes, aus einer reinen Theologie, da was sie davon reden, die Sprache Canaan ist, die rechte Sprache, die Sprache der Kinder Gottes die Sprache wie sie aus einem klaren Gemüth heraus kommt; wenn gleichwol dein Herz nicht wahrhaftiglich davon eingenommen wird, sein ordentlich Blut-Bette nicht kriegt, darinn es leben und herum schwimmen kan, wie der Fisch im Wasser; so wird endlich doch eine Præsuntion heraus.<sup>242</sup>

However, this becomes just another form of self-righteousness which, according to Zinzendorf, differs from the one he has outlined previously. He continues to elaborate upon the consequences of this state, and once more uses the state of "Zucht-Trockenheit" which was one of the key terms of the previous homily. The "dryness" leads to a complete draught:

Endlich zu einer substantiellen, beständigen Dürrsucht ausschlägt, da man darnach von einere Gnade redet, die man gehabt hat, da man so einer historisches Kind Gottes wird (...).<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 45.

<sup>242</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 46.

<sup>243</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 46.



The exclamation at the start of the homily is then repeated as an introduction to the next paragraph. As the heart is the key organ of religious perception and insight, this plea of protection is understandable. Zinzendorf calls the heart the place of spiritual life, the locus of soul and mind—and the heart must swim and bathe in the wounds of Christ, which are of eternal support. On the other hand, when one wishes to take away and siphon the blood, then the heart is taken as well:

Denn man einem wollte das Blut abzapfen und wegnehmen, so nähme man ihm auch sein Herz mit.<sup>244</sup>

The stream can be led away, but the heart swims with it. This teaching conveys the inseparability between the heart and the teaching of the cross. The one who has acquired this is forever inseparable from his husband:

Das ist die Gnade der Unzertrennlichkeit des Herzens, von der Creuz-Lehre; wers einmal dahin hat, der ist in Zeit und Ewigkeit von seinem Manne *inseparabel*.<sup>245</sup>

In the final part of the homily, Zinzendorf wishes to outline the beauty of the design (*Gestalt*), a bloody observation, an appearance of Grace bled upon (*beblutet*) and soaked in ideas of deliverance. Thus, all one can read from the facial expression (of the suffering Saviour) belongs to the heart which is bled upon. The following passages contain crucial features of the spirituality of the Sifting Time. This passage is one of great importance for the homilies in general. The Count writes:

Wenns mit dem Herzen seine Richtigkeit hat, wenss ganz ist, wenn man mit Wahrheit sagen kan: das ist ein Herzelein, das ist ein Blut-Würmelein, das ist ein Creuz-Luft-Vögelein, ein kränkelnd Täubelein, nach Jesu Seitenschrein; so spricht der Bräutigam, Laß mich sehen deine gestalt, denn deine Gestalt ist lieblich.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 47.

<sup>245</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 47.

<sup>246</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 47.

The terms which are emphasised by Zinzendorf are the heart as an organ of religious perception, bridal mysticism, spirituality of the blood represented by the believers being described as dear little worms of the blood, dear little cross-air-birds, and sweet little sickly treasures in the shrine of the side (*Seitenschrein*). Thus, one’s heart swims in blood and accordingly the believer (Zinzendorf uses the intimate “du,” you) will attain the “stroke of blood” (*Blut-Strich*) and the “Beauty of the sinner” (*Sünderschöne*).

Zinzendorf proceeds to explain the meaning of this state. Self-deception is no longer possible, and the “beauty of the sinner” and the stroke of blood become perceptible:

Daß kein Selbst-Betrug mehr möglich ist, und damit die darauf folgende Sünderschöne, der Blut-Strich uns und anderen in die Augen falle, und man gestehen muß, es ist eine Schöne, aber eine Sünderschöne, eine blutige Schöne; es ist derselbe Strich, der von einem Einwohner des Seiten-Höhlgens zeugt und ihn *characterisirt*, es ist das Siegel Gottes, davor der Feind flieht; es ist das Zeichen daran sie sich lieben und kennen, darinnen sie einander so sehr gefallen, daß immer eins das andere für schöner hält als sich selbst.<sup>247</sup>

The stroke of blood is God’s seal upon the believer, and it repels the enemy. The Count then turns to elaboration of his use of the concept of beauty (*Schönheit*). Envy can easily stem from the beauties of the world. Zinzendorf comments that these beauties must be perfected and unenvious. However, amongst the beauties with the stroke of blood (the “bloody beauties”) they are filled with admiration towards each other. They rejoice in the beauty of each other. Furthermore, this “beauty of the sinner” is described by yet another original term. The souls are “Marie-Magdaleneleich.” They are likened to her:

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<sup>247</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 48.

Denn es ist den Seelen Marie-Magdalenenlich, es steigt ihnen die Röthe dabey auf, daß sie wissen wer sie sind, und daß sich gar nichts bey ihnen findet, das etwas aufzubringen wußt, warum es Jesus lieben muß.<sup>248</sup>

The final two passages communicate the gist of the fourth homily. Zinzendorf starts by exclaiming: “Now my siblings!” Then, he sums up that every reason for gathering, the whole character of the congregation and the whole community- is characterised by a true grace sprinkled by blood, so that all little fishes may be safe in the refuge of the open side, in the sea of his bloody heart. They are blood-fishes, and the sinners shine in their beauty as they display the stroke of blood, the signature, to the congregation:

So ists kein anderer als der, daß alle wahre Gnade möge besprengt, alle fliegende Fischel in Jesu offener Seite mögen geborgen werden, in dem Meer seines blutigen Herzens, bis daß sie aus demselben wieder heraus in ihre diversen hälter versetzt werden, als Blut-Fischel, und daß dieselben treuen Herzen die so begnadigten Sünder und Sünderinnen in ihrer Schöne erscheinen, und eins nach dem andern den Strich, die Zeichnung, die Signatur bey der Gemeine darstellen.<sup>249</sup>

The last part contributes an aspect not yet mentioned. Zinzendorf emphasises Holy Communion as the most palpable for perceiving the actions of the grace of the community (*Gemein-Gnaden*) and the actions of the community (*Gemein-Handlungen*). Any heart in love—a heart that swims in his wounds, that counts on his stroke of blood in his countenance, in his outward actions and being—stems from the sacramental embrace. He continues by stating that this has been received by anyone who honours this grace with them, anyone who has sniffed the corpse, anyone who has pressed against the members of Jesus, has been kissed by the intimate and indescribable marital kiss and anyone who has once stirred the blood of the Lamb through his veins and legs. Those who were enraptured by the revelation of the dear Lamb, by the embrace of his man—through them, you can see his man, Jesus, the husband:

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<sup>248</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 49.

<sup>249</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 49.

Dem sieht mans an, wo er hin entzückt ware übers Lämmleins Offenbaren, über der Umarmung seines Mannes, dem sieht man seinen Mann an.<sup>250</sup>

### **Die fünfte Homilie**

At the Sunday of *Rogate*<sup>251</sup> 14 May 1747.

The liturgical text is:

*Vor der Gleichgültigkeit gegen deine Wunden,*

*Vor der entfremdung von deinem Creuze,*

*Vor der Entwöhnung von deiner Seite,*

*Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott!*

The homily departs with a prayer of protection from indifference towards the wounds, and secondly, with a prayer from being alienated from the cross, and from being weaned from the side (wound) of Jesus.

Zinzendorf starts by stating that the sermon<sup>252</sup> has a threefold theme: the wounds, the cross, and the open side of the Saviour. The believer doesn't want to be indifferent to the wounds and the cross and is not able to live without the side of Christ. That is the prayer regarding this matter:

Gegen die Wunden wollen wir nicht gleichgültig seyn, mit dem Creuze wollen wir nicht fremde werden, und ohne die Seite wollen wir nicht leben können. Das ist unser Stoß-Gebetlein in der Materie.<sup>253</sup>

A part of Christianity is opposed to the wounds, and in the Protestant church no theologian will soon be allowed to mention the wounds with emphasis on his own heart or those of others without seeming suspicious. Soon, no one will be able to address the blood and wounds of the Saviour without being called a Herrnhuter—a follower of the man who has studied the

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<sup>250</sup> *Die Vierte Homilie*, 50.

<sup>251</sup> Rogate is traditionally held on the Monday before Ascension Day. They were days of penance and prayer.

<sup>252</sup> Zinzendorf is not always consistent when referring to genre. Thus, it is not surprising that he refers to his homily as a sermon.

<sup>253</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 51.

wounds of Jesus too much, and because of this has become despised to such a degree that every limping man becomes a knight.<sup>254</sup>

Zinzendorf states that people are reading or writing about religion without thinking the matters through. It becomes like saying grace at the table:

Damit wurden es die Leute gewohnt, einer redete es dem andern nach, man betete es wie ein Tisch-Gebet, man konnte davon reden oder schreiben, ohne daß man daran dachte. Daher ist es freylich geschehen, nachdem es einmal eine ausgemachte Sache war, daß ein Mensch, der von des Heilands Creuz und Tod redete, es nur Religionshalber that, und weil man schon voraus setzte, daß man nicht nöthig hätte zu glauben, was man redt, daß die Leute im Anfange nicht sehr attent über uns waren, daß wir so viel davon redten: sie hätten uns lieber unser Ernst streitig und zweifelhaft gemacht, ob wir auch wirklich an die Wunden des Heilands gläubten.<sup>255</sup>

However, after this, the same people observed that they did not only believe in this; they took this so seriously that they made it into the main thing. Zinzendorf states that they would express no other Christianity than the one based on the blood and wounds of the Saviour. Furthermore, that they are, with the whole “congregation of the blood” (*Blut-Gemein*), eternal witnesses of the fact that grace and freedom for the whole world are to be found exclusively in the sacrifice of Jesus alone. Zinzendorf argues that numerous protestant denominations, even though they struggle over trifles, unite in opposition to the wounds of Jesus, and cry that the Brothers over-emphasise the subject:

so *revoltirt* es die häuffigen Deisten, die sich bisher hinter den Namen der Lutheraner, Reformirten, Mennonisten, und wer weiß unter was für Protestantischen Titeln, *retranchirt* hatten; und da sie zuvor über Kleinigkeiten und streitigkeiten *de Lana*

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<sup>254</sup> The German original reads “ein jeder hinkender zum Ritter wird,” which is hard to translate. Its connotation is that inferior, small matters are made crucial—i.e., turning minor things into major matters. The full citation is: “Es wird bald kein Mensch mehr von den Wunden und Blut des Heilandes reden dürfen, oder man wird sagen, er ist ein Herrnhuter, er ist ein Anhänger von dem Mann, der sich in die Wunden Jesu überstudirt hat, und darüber so verachtet worden, daß ein jeder hinkender an ihm zum Ritter wird.”, *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 51.

<sup>255</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 52.

*Caprina* aus einander gerathen waren, so vereinigen sie sich nun über die *Opposition* gegen die Wunden Jesu, und schreyen alle drüber, daß zu viel daraus gemacht wird.<sup>256</sup>

The Holy Spirit provides the revelation to the believer and furthermore reveals the meaning of the Saviour's wounds. This is the great gift of God's grace, provided by the Saviour, and the starting point of faith. This is the main focus: not the tenth, twelfth, or fifteenth article, but the Article of all Articles, the song of songs, the text of texts in time and eternity. Zinzendorf formulates this as an address to Christ: You are slaughtered. As often as the congregation describes the Lamb, the eyes become moist, and it pleases body and soul:

Du bist geschlachtet: so oft man der Geimeine etwas von ihren Lamm erzehlet, so werden ihre Augen naß, es freut sich Leib und Seele.<sup>257</sup>

This is not indifference, but the opposite. It is the dependence upon the wounds. The believer can imagine the Saviour's tormented person (*Marterperson*). Zinzendorf states that they have the victim slaughtered, drawn in all the same places, as a sign of the predestination of the Son of Man.<sup>258</sup> The most profound matter, the most important matter, is his wounds:

Daß die höchste Sache, das summum Bonum aller Seelen, seyne Wunden seyn; und daß das des Heiligen Geistes seine Favorit- Materie ist, daß die lehre von Gottes Marter der Punct ist, dabey wir leben und sterben müssen, der uns vor aller Versuchung bewahren, vor der Sünde, vor allem Unglück und Noth der Erden zusiegeln kan und muß.<sup>259</sup>

In the following passages, Zinzendorf outlines the controversy over the emphasis upon the blood and wounds of Christ. He claims that someone even tries to exterminate the teaching, and the consequence is that one must either deny or confess Jesus. Furthermore, the Count refers to some sort of literary work that obviously had had a profound impact. According to

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<sup>256</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 53.

<sup>257</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 54.

<sup>258</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 55.

<sup>259</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 55.

Zinzendorf, the work imperceptibly manages to convince the reader that too much emphasis is put upon the work and wounds of Christ.<sup>260</sup>

However, no one is indifferent towards his wounds amongst the people of the congregation (*Gemein-Leuten*). All are dependent upon them:

Bey uns Gemein-Leuten hilft nun nichts dafür, meine Geschwister! Wir warden, so lange wir Menschen bleiben, so lange wir die Sinne behalten, die uns das Lamm gegeben hat, nimmermehr gleichgültig gegen seine Wunden: sie sind uns alles, auf sie kommt alles an.<sup>261</sup>

The blood and wounds are the basis for salvation and all knowledge of God. Everything has been acquired through the blood. Therein is the basis for all freedom. Therefore, it is no wonder that it is of great delight that they have found the Sea of Wounds. Thus, now none will be indifferent towards the wounds, and accordingly they will not forget that they have been justified by the blood alone:

Damit nun niemand gleichgültig werde, gegen seine Wunden, der jemals einen Blick hinein gethan hat, so pflegen wir unser Elend nie ganz aus den augen zu verlieren: bey alle dem, daß das ganze Gemüth auf sein Verdienst, auf seine Liebe, auf sein Herz gegen uns gerichtet bleibt, vergessen wir nie, wer wir waren, und daß wir durch sein Blut allein gerecht worden sind.<sup>262</sup>

The following passage describes the difference that existed between mainstream pietism<sup>263</sup> and the Herrnhuters. The mainstream pietist observes his misery, and looks for the wounds, the Herrnhuter observes the wounds and looks for the misery. The first finds comfort in the wounds in his shyness, the second is ashamed of his misery in a state of blessedness.

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<sup>260</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 57.

<sup>261</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 58.

<sup>262</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 59.

<sup>263</sup> Zinzendorf would most likely have meant the so-called “Halle pietism,” which differed from the Herrnhuters’ regarding the justification from sin (amongst many things).

Zinzendorf then progresses by addressing the second theme of the homily: alienation from the cross. He starts by describing two ways of using the word "cross." The first use is the tribulations that humans must bear in this life, for instance illness and the death of children. However, that is not the proper use of the word. The Count describes how the Creator of all should be looked upon in the present time.

Wenn wir in der Gemeine Creuz sagen, so meinen wir eine gewisse Gestalt, eine gewisse Art und *Facon*, in welcher man den Heiland, den Gott über alles, den Schöpfer aller Dinge in diesem gegenwärtigen Zeitlauf anzusehen hat.<sup>264</sup>

The third theme is highly relevant in this context. It regards weaning from the side wound. He addresses the brothers and sisters and writes that they are to sleep in the arms of Christ. However, this could be said and experienced before he had an open side. The difference is that now the whole body (of Christ) is consumed and, while lying in his arms, the believer's body comes into contact with the side wound:

denn wir können nicht an seinem Arm schlafen ohne das Seitenhöhlgen zu berühren, ohne an dem Seitenhöhlgen zu sein, zu liegen und zu rühren: wir können uns auch nicht *conspiren* draussen zu seyn; den weils in der heiligen Schrift eine enge Thür genennet wird, durch die wir zum leben eingehen müssen, und unsere alte Theologie das auch so verstanden haben: durch deine ausgespaltne Seit mein' arme Seele heimgeleit; so können wirs uns nicht anders *concipiren*, als hinein zu gehen, um inwendig zu haus zu seyn; nicht nur and ihm zu liegen, sondern in ihm daheim zu seyn.<sup>265</sup>

As the physical creature lives and floats in its ubiquity, so too do the spiritual creature, the redeemed, the liberated, who has been chosen as brides, and created anew in his side wound, in the whole merit of his wounds and blood, where everything is brought together. He writes:

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<sup>264</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 60.

<sup>265</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 64.



Und also wie die leibliche *Creatur* in seiner Allgegenwart lebet und schwebet, also liegt eben die geistliche *Creatur*, die erlösete, die gefreyete, die ehemals zur Braut auserwehlte und wieder retablierte *Creatur* in seinem Seitenhöhlgen in dem ganzen Verdienst seiner Wunden und seines Bluts, dahin alles zusammen geschoffen, von da es auf den Erdboden zur Salbung und Heiligung und Weyhe der verfluchten Erde heraus gestürzt ist.<sup>266</sup>

All the believer desires and demands are the body and soul entering the side hole. The weaning from the side wound has negative effects: the believer loses all power (*Saft und Kraft*), and becomes like a dry piece of wood. As the weaning endures, one will perceive less and less as time passes. Zinzendorf states that this is the reason for singing—this is the reason for it being a litany amongst them. Admittedly, the believer will experience infinitely more than can presently be said and felt, but at the present there is nothing else to seek than being united with Christ:

Wir werden freylich in der Ewigkeit unaussprechlich mehr erfahren, als wir denken und sagen können: aber wir müssen uns in der Zeit daran halten, daß wir jetzt denken und sagen können: aber wir müssen uns in der Zeit daran halten, daß es wenigstens an uns nicht fehle, an unserm Wollen, Verlangen, und Sehnen, an unsern hinein fahren mit Leib und Seel, dran zu seyn, es drauf anzustellen, daß sich unsere Gebeine mit Gott unserm Mann vereine.<sup>267</sup>

### **Die Sechste Homilie**

Den 17 May 1747 Before the evening meal

*Vor ungesalbtem Blut- Geschwätz,*

*Vor der ewigen Tod- Sünde,*

*Behüt uns lieber Herre Gott.*

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<sup>266</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 64.

<sup>267</sup> *Die Fünfte Homilie*, 66.

In the sixth homily, Zinzendorf refers to the festivity of "die Feste der Kyria." As we shall see later, the seventh homily was held on this occasion. The sixth homily was given before the Lord's Supper (*Abendmahl*). The text Zinzendorf uses to underscore the message of this homily is taken from the Gospel of Matthew 13:33.<sup>268</sup> He writes:

Jene was des Heilands seine Rede vom Sauerteig, und wie sich sein ganzes Werk im Neuen Testamente, von Person zu Person, von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, von Alter zu Alter, auf dieselbe Art fortplanze, als sich ein Sauerteig fortplanzet, bis alles durchsäuert ist.<sup>269</sup>

The pleas in the title of the homily are communicated through the "leaven nature" (*Sauerteigsnatur*) of a human who is quite inarticulate, almost unable to spell or express himself. Zinzendorf promotes the inferior:

Der das hinterste zuförderst setzt, die blutige Gnade seinem Nachbar, seinen Zuhörern gleichwol, und die Salbung, die in einem solchen, den Ohren manchmal unangenehmen *Discours* ist, beweiset darum doch ihren lieblichen *Effect* aufs Herz; und wenns in einer Gemeinde nicht anders seyn könnte, als daß man sich viele Jahre mit den allerschlechtesten Rednern behelfen müsste, so daß alle fremde und unbekehrte Leute, die dazu kommen, und nur auf die Worte und deren zusammenhang hören wollten, gegen eine solche Anstalt, gegen die Bestellung des Gottes-Dienstes bey einer solchen Gemeinde, in eine Verächtlichkeit gerathen würden.<sup>270</sup>

Zinzendorf argues that the Brethren have often complained about persecutors of the so-called pious being much more dangerous than ordinary people (*ordinair bösen natürlichen Leute*) because there is always a fear of God amongst ordinary people. Zinzendorf describes the so-

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<sup>268</sup> "He told them another parable. 'The kingdom of heaven is like leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour, till it was all leavened'" (RSV).

<sup>269</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie*, 67.

<sup>270</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie*, 68.

called pious and that the profession they have created will end up an effrontery towards the Saviour and his wounds.

Aber wer *Profession* von fromm-seyn gemacht hat, wer eine Eiskalte und Steintodte Tugend practiciret hat, der kommt nach und nach in eine Frechheit gegen den Heiland und seine Wunden, in eine *Superiorität* über das Sünder-Pünctgen, über die Sünder-Herrlichkeit, und die dahinein schlagende materien.<sup>271</sup>

This conveys the general theme of the four homilies in this section. Central to Philadelphian groups were the seclusion from society and "dead religion," hence the establishment of settlements like Herrnhag and Herrnhut. For Zinzendorf, the church was fundamentally "Gemeine"<sup>272</sup> rather than an institution, and this is crucial for its life. According to Arthur Freeman, this keeps the church working at the realities which constitute it, to which it is called to bear witness.<sup>273</sup> "Gemeine" is a relational concept which is an expression for the way the church lives out of its relationship with God and lives in and even from the relationship between persons, whose relationship is constituted by the relationship with God. This is also the basis for Zinzendorf's understanding of the Trinity, for God constitutes the relationship with the believer. It perceives biblical history in terms of the attempts of God to create relationships with God's creation.

However, the characteristics of the true church (*Gemeine*) are a couple of paramount means through the mercy of the Saviour. Zinzendorf writes:

Aber da haben wir ein paar *souveraine* Mittel dagegen durch die Gnade des Heilandes. Das eine, auf Seiten der Schwätzer ist, daß bey der Blut-Theologie keine Ehre und Gewinn ist; zum andern auf Seiten der Seelen, daß das ungesalbte Blut-Geschwätz einen solchen Laut hat, als wenn man in einen teller schneidet: und wenn man auch

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<sup>271</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie*, 69.

<sup>272</sup> The term "Gemeine" was the term which Zinzendorf most frequently employed for the church. The term was used for the real church, which lived with and from Christ and expressed the reality from which it lived. This term described a living organism which is universal as well as local.

<sup>273</sup> Freeman (1998), 290.

nichts dagegen einwenden und aufbringen könnte, es redlichen Seelen doch allemal viel unerrätlicher ist, als wenn ein ehrlicher *Secular*-Priester nach seiner Art zu denken, die aller-trockensten Sachen, die allerabgeschmackteste *non sense* vorbrächte.<sup>274</sup>

Within this, Zinzendorf believes there lies a secret wisdom of the Saviour. In the past, this wisdom, the most important matters of Christ's blood and death, was incorporated into the hymns and liturgies. Even though people may be weaned from these ideas, they are still conserved. The Saviour is there, and everything that comes near him becomes wound-like:

Denn der Heiland ist dazu da, daß alles was ihm nahe kommt wundenhaftig werde, vom Blut trieffe; was seinem leichnam nahe wird, soll Jesushaft werden, oder aber weit davon bleiben.<sup>275</sup>

According to Zinzendorf, the Saviour protects them "from unanointed gossip about the blood" (*ungesalbten Blut-Geschwätz*), and the blood, his corpse-air, and the vapour of the grave attack all their words and thoughts with their leaven character:

Daß uns der Heiland in seiner Gemeinde auf der einen Seite vor ungesalbten Blut-Geschwätze bewahrt und künftig bewahren wird; auf der andern aber sein Blut, seine Leichnams-Luft und Grabes-Dünste alle unsere Worte, unsere Gedanken, unsere Glieder mit ihrer Sauerteigs-Art angreifen, und in dieselbige Natur verwandeln sollen.<sup>276</sup>

However, the heart leavens when the preparation is performed by the Holy Spirit, when the sinful blessed heart is disposed thereupon to understand certain influences. Then the children of God and the souls who are full of the Saviour may commune:

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<sup>274</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie, 71.*

<sup>275</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie, 72.*

<sup>276</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie, 72.*

So dürfen sich die Kinder Gottes, und die Seelen, die voll vom Heiland sind, einer solchen andern Seele nur nahen, ein solches Herz in einen *Discours* oder Umgang, auch bey der geringsten Gelegenheit nur streiffen, so fängts: so ist dasselbe Herz, das uns nahe kommt, so ist die person, der wir nahe kommen, mit hineingezogen in unsere Seligkeit, wird der blutigen Gnade theilhaftig, und dann säuert wieder fort. Was uns nur nah kommt wird Wundenhaftig in *Infinitum*.<sup>277</sup>

This occurs in “the highest degree” in the acts that they call sacraments. However, Zinzendorf does not have to prove this, but welcomes everyone to enjoy it.

### 5.5 Part III (7 and 34) Introduction to Homilies 9-20

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| The Seventh Homily       | <i>Deine schmerzliche Erstgeburt</i> (May your painful first birth)<br><i>Mach uns unsere Menschheit lieb!</i> (Make us love our humanness!)<br><i>Deine heilige Erste Wunde</i> (May Your holy first wound)<br><i>Helfe uns zur Beschneidung des Herzens!</i> (Help us circumcise our hearts!)<br><i>Deine erste Mannbarkeit</i> (May Your first maturity)<br><i>Heilge unsre Knabenschaft!</i> (Make our adolescence holy!) |
| The Thirty-fourth Homily | <i>Deine Kinderhaftigkeit</i> (May Your childlikeness)<br><i>Helfe uns zur Kinder-Freud!</i> (Help us to have childlike joy!)   |

### Die Siebende Homilie

Den 20 May 1747 given at the celebration of Kyria.

This homily was given at one of the major celebrations, and the text is:

*Deine schmerzliche Erstgeburt,*  
*Mach uns unsere Menschheit lieb!*  
*Deine heilige Erste Wunde,*  
*Helfe uns zur Beschneidung des Herzens!*  
*Deine erste Mannbarkeit,*  
*Heilge unsre Knabenschaft!*

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<sup>277</sup> *Die Sechste Homilie*, 73.

The homilies given at the celebrations are crucial to understanding the spirituality of *die Sichtungszeit*. The seventh homily addresses the holy first wounds of Christ and pleads for the circumcision of the heart. Furthermore, this homily was given with reference to a particular parable from Matthew (13:33): “He told them another parable: ‘The kingdom of heaven is like leaven that a woman took and hid in three measures of flour, till it was all leavened.’”<sup>278</sup> According to Zinzendorf, with diligence, this text has been established as the basis for the celebrations of the day. He refers to the following interpretation of the woman in the text:

Der Heiland *determinirt* nicht, was unter dem Weibe verstanden werde, darum ist es uns erlaubt, uns zu den *Theologis* zu halten, die unter dem Weibe den heiligen Geist verstehen.<sup>279</sup>

He elaborates on the Holy Spirit as the one who makes everything come to life. By God’s breath of life, it has come close to man.

Then an intriguing reading of Genesis 2:15–24 follows. Zinzendorf quite originally combines the side-wound devotion with the bridal mysticism and describes how Eve is created from Adam. The translation of the ESV is as follows:

So, the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and while he slept took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh. And the rib that the LORD God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man. Then the man said, “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.” Therefore, a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and they shall become one flesh. And the man and his wife were both naked and were not ashamed.

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<sup>278</sup> English Standard Version (ESV).

<sup>279</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 75; italics are mine.

He then applies the bridal mysticism and interprets Adam as Christ and Eve as all souls (*animae*). This is in accordance with all human souls being female except for Christ, who attains the only male soul (*animus*).

Christ is the heavenly bridegroom for all believers. Zinzendorf then also compares Adam falling asleep (prior to the creation of Eve from his side) and Christ sleeping on the cross:

*"Die Comparaison, die von der Seite, und dem Schlafe Adams, mit dem Schlafe des Heilandes am Stamm des Creuzes und der Eröffnung seiner Seite genommen werden kan, will ich diesmal nicht ausführen, sondern nur positive sagen, nach anlaß unser heutigen Loosung, warum die Kirche Christi Männin heisse?"* Man wird die Männin heissen darum daß sie von Manne genommen ist 1. Mos. 2,23.<sup>280</sup>

It is for certain that the whole church is the wife of Christ. The Saviour is declared husband, Adam, and father of the new kind of man.

Furthermore, the suffering and death on the cross is not only an ideal (*idealisch*), not only about merit (*meritorisch*), not only as an advocate between God and man; it is true and material. Zinzendorf outlines that the implications of the incarnation and the shared humanity of man and Christ, being born of a woman, have the same blood and body. The person grasping that is he taken from man and born through the side of Christ.<sup>281</sup> It is a twofold creation: first physical, then the human being is born by the Holy Spirit, and may declare herself Christian. In accordance with the prior outline, Zinzendorf even uses the female form (*Christin*) to underline the previous argument.

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<sup>280</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 76.

<sup>281</sup> The full citation is: "Daran hat uns die heutige Loosung erinnert, die *harmonirt* mit dem Wort des Heilandes. Wer ein solches Sauerteigs-Stückgen ist, wem seine Seele sagt, wem der Grund seines Herzens Zeugniß gibt im heiligen Geist, daß er von dem Manne genommen ist, daß er aus dem Leibe heraus, aus der Gruft gegraben worden, als sein Heiland verschieden ist, ein Schöpfgen zur Geburt gebracht in Christi Todes-Streit, und da der Kriegs-Knecht aufgemacht, geborn aus seiner Seit; welches nach Joh. 17 so fort *continuiert*, und wie die Zeugung aus der Eva, die natürlichen Menschen, also aus dem heiligen Geist, die geistlichen Menschen immer fort geboren werden: ein solches Kind des Geistes soll sich Christ nennen, das darf sagen, ich gehöre zur Christin; ich sitze daheim in seiner Freud," and so forth, *Die Siebende Homilie*, 78.

In the following passages Zinzendorf describes one of the most intriguing and controversial features of Moravian spirituality: that of the Holy Spirit as mother. Common images include the mother as wet nurse and foster mother in the congregation, but the Spirit is even a true mother (*wahre Mutter*).<sup>282</sup> This gives the believer the right to become similar to Christ even in this world: "Sondern daß er so gar dieselbe wahre wesentliche Mutter ist."<sup>283</sup>

Die noch bis diese Stunde, ein jegliches Mitglied Jesu, ein jedes Stückgen Sauerteig, eine jede *Portiancalam* am Leichnam Jesu, selbst ausgebietet, selbst aus Tages-Licht, und aus seine Mutter heraus bringt; diese *Suppositum*, sage ich, gibt uns das Recht, schon hier in dieser Zeit der Menschheit Jesu Christi ähnlich zu werden (...). Wie Er ist, so sind auch wir in dieser Welt.<sup>284</sup>

He then returns to the original address at the beginning of the homily:

*"Deine schmerzliche Erstgeburt,  
Mach uns unsere Menschheit lieb!  
Deine heilige Erste Wunde,  
Helfe uns zur Beschneidung des Herzens!  
Deine erste Mannbarkeit,  
Heilge unsre Knabenschaft!"*

Zinzendorf reflects upon the birth into this world (*natürliche Leben*), and how the entrance into life, the actual birth, is of a perilous character. When one then observes how little effort many people put into being useful, one can wonder why so much pain must be endured for such a creature to see the light of the earth. According to the Count, it must be because of the ordeal of Mary giving birth to Christ, and the pain he had to endure to be born:

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<sup>282</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie, 79.*

<sup>283</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie, 79.*

<sup>284</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie, 79.*



So muß es darum sein, weil man weiß, daß der Heiland auch geboren ist, und sich in diese Welt hat arbeiten müssen mit Schmerzen und Mühe, Ich seh ihn auf dem Stroh noch roh und naß vom Mühen.<sup>285</sup>

Zinzendorf wishes to convey that Christ has endured the human pain of being born, and the believer is meant to meditate upon the image of Christ lying on red straw, wet from the effort. This makes one hold humanity dear and makes it endurable. The birth of the (heavenly) husband makes us love that we are human beings:

Seine, des Mannes, unser's Ehe-Mannes schmerzliche Erstgeburt, macht uns lieb, das wir Menschen sind, das wir geboren sind.<sup>286</sup>

This leads to our birthday being as important as the day of our death. The old principle of regarding our last day as the most important one is now changed because of the pain Christ endured when he was born. According to Zinzendorf, this is worthy of a pair of celebrations.

The pains of birth are something that the Lamb has not freed us from, and it will be like that until the whole situation has changed:

Die Schmerzliche Geburt ist eine Sache, davon und das Lämmlein nicht befreyt, sondern die so bleibt, bis das ganze menschliche *Schema* geändert wird. Unsere Schwestern gebären noch, unsere kleinen Herzel arbeiten sich noch auf die Welt, und sind darinnen ähnlich dem Leichnam des einigen jungfräulichen Mannes, der auch Schmerzhaft herdurchgebrochen ist in die Welt.<sup>287</sup>

As stated above, the birth of a sister is to be observed with veneration, and she is similar to a male virgin while she is in the womb.

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<sup>285</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 80.

<sup>286</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 81.

<sup>287</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 81.

However, Zinzendorf states, we are liberated from a pain, a pain that doesn't belong to this—that is, the circumcision, the first holy wound of every boy:

Aber nun kommt etwas, davon wir befreyt sind, ein gemachter Schmerz, ein Schmerz der nicht dazu gehört, der auch nicht beyden Geschlechtern, sondern nur dem einen, dem *superioren* Geschlecht, das über das andere hat sollen gesetzt werden, eigen war. Das war die Beschneidung, die heilige erste Wunde, das nach der Geburt ein jedes Knäblein. Das zum Volk Gottes, und in dem Bund gehörte, so gut als heutiges Tages das Zeugnis von der Tauffe haben mußte, eine Narbe des blutigen Gnaden-Bundes, daß nicht vergessen ward, darauf man sich gegen seinen Herrn beruffen konnte.<sup>288</sup>

He then continues by explaining the reason for Christ being circumcised and its implications. It is a sign of the male authority, that they were priests and kings, superior to their women. However, this was a respect which was superficial and constructed. This has all changed since the believers were still men physically; they are now sisters in the Spirit:

Das war ein gemachter *Respect* von aussen, weil alles noch so ausserlich war, und die Leute sich den *Respect* nicht selbst machen konnten, denn sie waren fleischlich. Nachdem aber nun die ganz neue *Oeconomie* angegangen ist, da wir erstlich zwar leiblicher Weise noch Männer sind, aber nicht mehr im Geist, denn in Glauben sind wir alle Schwestern.<sup>289</sup>

The conclusion of this paragraph is that Jesus's first, holy wounds facilitate respect whether one is single or married:

Seine Heilige erste Wunde macht uns einen ewigen *Respect* bey ihnen im ledigen und verehelichten Stande, und wenn sie sollten einen anderen *Respect*, von uns selbst hergenommen, und ausser der Abbildung des Männleins Jesu, vor uns haben, so wäre es eine Schmach für ihren ewigen Mann.

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<sup>288</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 82.

<sup>289</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 83.

The Count continues to elaborate upon what the wounds do for the believer. The wounds make the believer venerable enough, sanctify the member of the congregation, and create the priestly and royal sanctuaries. They become divine tools for the "Creuz-Gemein-Gestaltung in ein begnadigt Sünder-Weib."<sup>290</sup> Zinzendorf then states that Jesus's holy, meritorious first wound makes and sanctifies Jesus-like (*Jesushaften*) people:

Daß seine heilige verdienstliche erste Wunde uns zu rechten Jesushaften Leute heilige, so Jesus-Knabenschaftiglich, daß wenn man uns sieht, wenn die Schwestern die Brüder sehen, nicht nur die Ehe-Schwestern, sondern alle Schwestern, denen ein Bruder vor die Augen kommt, oder die gelegentlich ans männliche Geschlecht denken, oder die ein Knäblein zu warten bekommen, dasselbe allemal mit der tieffen und Ehrfurchts-vollen *Reflexion* geschehe, daß das Jesus-Knaben sind, mit einem *respectuösen* Andenken and den Mann, der auch so Glieder getragen hat.<sup>291</sup>

The circumcision of the heart changes the nature of man by what Christ has experienced bodily. Zinzendorf describes the necessity of the body, as well as the differences, and he does not wish to devalue it:

Denn wenn man die Veränderungen in der Hütte, die Nothwendigkeiten der Hütte, die an die Hütte *attachirte* besondere Umstände, dadurch sich nicht nur die Chöre *distinguiren*, sondern auch die Geschlechter und nicht nur die Geschlechter, sondern auch die Alter, die *Capacitäten*, die Olane und künftige *Destination*; ja wenn man die neuen Grade vor unnütz oder gar schädlich halten wollte, oder vor Stücke, derer man sich zu schämen habe: das ware eine ganz verkehrte *Idée*, das war ein erstaunlicher Mißverstand.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 84.

<sup>291</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 85.

<sup>292</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 85.

All those who have experienced this circumcision of the heart are born by the Holy Spirit—the predecessor of the person Jesus—so that we, in any natural decay, can find comfort in the fact that it was the same for the Lamb on earth as it is for us. This makes us hold our body dear, and even makes it possible to love and endure the weaknesses of our bodies. This passage, and especially what follows, is typical of the homilies on the Litany of the Wounds. It reads:

Das macht unsere Hütte lieb, das macht uns so gar die Schwachheiten und Bescwerlichkeiten unserer Hütte lieb und erträglich, und diejenige *Incommoditäten*, damit *Realität* verknüpft ist, *respectabel*, anmerklich, ehrwürdig, Fest-Tags-mäßig, Sabbathisch, so daß es in der Gemeine eine löbliche Verordnung ist, daß bey den Veränderungen, die in der Natur vorgehen, denen bey uns aufwachsenden Herzeln Sabbath-mäßig und liturgisch begegnet, und ihnen die Wichtigkeit dessen, was sie am Leib und gemüth erfahren, *ex prosesso* zu Gemüth geführet wird.<sup>293</sup>

This creates new human beings, a different people on earth.

All this counts for both the brothers and the sisters; there is no differentiation. The change is beyond gender and concerns itself around the maturity itself:

Daran haben die Schwestern so viel Theil als die Brüder; nicht nur darum, weil eine aus ihnen den Mann in ihrem Leibe getragen hat, sondern auch darum, weils da nicht auf die *Modification* der Mannbarkeit ankommt, nach der unterschiedlichen Natur der Hütten und der Körper, sondern auf die *Maturität* selbst in *genere*, auf die Veränderung selbst in der menschlichen Hütte zum künftigen Zweck.<sup>294</sup>

All things that in themselves could be considered sinful, unholy, or indecent are removed by the merits of Jesus. Everything is sanctified and remedied by the effect of the circumcision of the heart and the bloody effect of the puncture of the heart:

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<sup>293</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 86.

<sup>294</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 87.

Daß wenn das Herz beschnitten ist, wenn seine heilige erste Wunde auf unsere Knabschaft und Magdschaft ihren blutigen *Compunctions-Effect* gehabt hat, so sind die Status darnach alle geheiligt, und aus der größten Schwachheit und Schmach wird eine Ehre und Kraft fürs Geschlecht, eine liturgische Gnade.<sup>295</sup>

Zinzendorf concludes the homily by stating that what he has stressed is the connection between the body of the Lord and ours; the day that we remember that we are taken from him and that we are pieces of the same leaven; and that we are members of his body (made) from his flesh and bone:

Daß wir von ihm genommen sind, daß wir Stückgen von seinem Sauerteig sind, daß wir Glieder seines Leibes von seinem Fleisch und von seinem Gebein sind.<sup>296</sup>

## 5.6 Part IV Christ as Model for Christian Life (9-20)

This middle section of the homilies outlines the life of the Christian, and what this life entails.

### 5.6.1 IVa Imitating the Life of Christ

| <b>IVa Imitating the Life of Christ</b> |   |
|---|---|
| The Ninth Homily                        | <i>Deine Heilige Jünglingschaft, Sey der ledgen Chöre Cranz!</i> (May Your holy youth, bless the unmarried choirs!)   |
| The Tenth Homily                        | <i>Dein erstes exilium. Lehr uns überall daheime seyn.</i> (May your first exile. Teach us to be at home everywhere!)   |
| The Eleventh Homily                     | <i>Dein Fleiß bey deiner Lection, Mache uns gelehrt zum Himmelreich!</i> (May your diligence with your study, make us learned for the kingdom of God!)  |
| The Twelfth Homily                      | <i>Dein theurer Arbeits-Schweiß Mach uns alle Mühe leicht.</i> (May your faithful sweat of labour, make all labour easy for us.)<br><i>Deine Handwerks-Treue Mach uns treu in unserm Theil.</i> (May your faithfulness to your craft make us true on our part.) |

<sup>295</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 88.

<sup>296</sup> *Die Siebende Homilie*, 88.

*The Spirituality of the “Sichtungszeit”*

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| The Thirteenth Homily | <i>Deine Erstaunliche Einfalt</i><br><i>Mache uns die Vernunft verhaßt!</i> (May Your astonishing simplicity make reason hateful to us!) |
| The Fourteenth Homily | <i>Deine verdienstliche Unwissenheit</i> (May Your merited ignorance)<br><i>Zäune unsr'e Einsicht ein.</i> (Fence in our understanding.) |
| The Fifteenth Homily  | <i>Dein richtiger Bibel-Grund</i> (May your proper Bible foundation)<br><i>Mach uns alle Bibel-fest!</i> (Make us all know our Bible!)   |

I have chosen to divide section IV into two parts. The reason for this decision is the emphasis upon the life of Christ in IVa (imitating the life of Christ) while IVb concerns the Passion of Christ as an example (imitating the Passion of Christ).

Zinzendorf emphasises the life in the choirs, study, and work, and underscores how the character of Christ is an example for the Christian. He underscores the simplicity of Christ as well as ignorance as a model for the Christian understanding of the Bible.

**Die Neunte Homilie**

At 28 May 1747.

This homily was held on the same day as the eighth homily and the prayer is:

*Deine Heilige Jünglingschaft,*  
*Sey der ledgen Chöre Cranz!*

This homily is also significant since it connects Christ to the choirs. We can assume that the choir in question is that of the single Brethren.<sup>297</sup>

A common way of organising a settlement was to divide it into different choirs. In Herrnhag, the choir of the single brothers was led by the aforementioned Christian Renatus and was, to a great extent, connected with the *Sichtungszeit*. Membership in the choirs was based upon age, gender, and marital status. Typical choirs were a children's choir, one for the older boys, one of older girls, of single brothers, of single sisters, of married people, of widowers, and of

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<sup>297</sup> See Peucker (2015), 21-26.

widows.<sup>298</sup> In regard to the *Sichtungszeit*, the choir of the single brothers had great impact since its members seem to have taken the lead during the Sifting Time. This organisation of the choirs was also reflected in the settlements of the Brethren. The single brothers, single sisters, and widows had their own houses, where choir members lived, worked, and worshipped together. The choir meetings would also usually be held there. There was an assigned task for every choir member, and the choir would have their own pastoral leader. It is also significant to note that each choir was to represent one specific aspect of Jesus’s life. For instance, the single men were told to model their lives on that of Jesus, since he was also a single man. The married couples were to represent the bond between Christ and his earthly bride.

The theme for the ninth homily is how the youth of Christ is reflected within the Choir of the Single, most likely that of the single brothers. Zinzendorf begins the address by stating that the youth of the Saviour was a condition. This has nothing to do with the distinction he had as a man unconnected with youthfulness. However, it persisted in the fact that he was single:

Des Heilands Jünglingschaft war ein Stand. Die *Distinction*, die er als eine Manns-Person hatte, hat mit der Jünglingschaft nichts zu thun; sondern die Jünglingschaft bestund beym Heiland in seiner Ledigkeit, daß er etliche dreyßig Jahr in der Welt lebte und blieb.<sup>299</sup>

At the outset Zinzendorf establishes a connection between the Choir of the Single Brothers and Christ, and continues to elaborate upon the unmarried state of Christ, and the reason why it was impossible for him to deify any human being and why he couldn’t marry:

Er konnte keine menschliche Person vergöttern, und sie zu seiner menschlichen Frau nehmen, es hätte auch keinen Zweck gehabt: den er hätte doch keine Nachkommen haben können in der Welt, er wußte auch die grosse Ehe, die er vor sich hatte, und

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<sup>298</sup> Peucker (2015), 22.

<sup>299</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 96.

deren *reale* Tiefe niemand als er versteht, die hatte er schon im *Prospect*, und blieb als Ehrergebietung vor derselben ledig.<sup>300</sup>

He continues by stating that as soon as one is marriageable, the state of the Saviour being single becomes the object of the single brother or sister from the age of fourteen until twenty, from twenty-four, when necessary thirty, and even beyond. Regarding the single brothers, Zinzendorf claims that the one who has been given the blessing of being a boy in the congregation knows how to treasure this and rejoices that he too can be a single brother, much more than one who is of the world. He elaborates further on this:

Wer die Gnade hat, ein Knabe in der Gemeinde zu seyn, der weiß es zu schätzen, daß auch er ein lediger Bruder werden kan; wie vielmehr einer, der aus der Welt kommt, und noch gar nicht von dem Stoff ist, und die *Præparation* noch nicht erfahren hat.<sup>301</sup>

His main argument is that for the time the brother believes himself called to this state, he must remain so, as long as the mercy of the choir (*Chor-Gnade*) requires being single, as long as he is not called to marriage by the spirit of the congregation. Accordingly, being single is where he is most blessed.

This homily has a rare and extensive footnote parallel to the argumentation above. The asterisk is attached to the word *Knabe*, and Zinzendorf outlines another homily that was given (*geredet worden*) at the festival of 27 April 1747 for the Choir of Older Boys. Zinzendorf states that every choir has a certain measure (rule) in itself. Every choir has different reasons to address the Saviour:

Es hat ein jedes Chor seine besondere Umstände, darinnen man Hülfe braucht: und weil in einer Gemeinde Jesu Christi die Menschen nicht mehr ihre eigene Wege gehen,

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<sup>300</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 96.

<sup>301</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 100.



welches der Heiden ihre Art ist, sondern in Schrancken und in Pflege sind, so hat ein jedes Chor in derselben eine besondere Maaßregeln.<sup>302</sup>

Furthermore, every choir has a blessed unity (*Bundes-Gnade*). Those who experience this, who grasp this mystery, can adduce the merit of the Lamb as the cause of all things, of blessedness, how one proves to be loyal, a blessed boy, a blessed youth, man, or woman, conveying the grace of the choirs.<sup>303</sup> It becomes obvious that Zinzendorf sees this organisation of the congregation as crucial.

He then turns towards the blood and fairness of Christ as the cause of all that happens and the answer to all thought and poetry which is against the Lamb.<sup>304</sup> The consequence is that the sinful flesh ceases, and they no longer serve sin. The full citation is:

Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit ist die Ursach zu allem, was vorkommt; und das ist allemal die antwort gegen das unlamhafte Denken der Dichten, wenn ich dergleichen etwas merken lassen oder einer *Autorität* und Gewalt anmassen will; so ists auf einmal abgewiesen, und auf die Seite geschafft.<sup>305</sup>

He concludes that all fervour and torment no longer have a place:

Daß er keinen Platz, kein *Terrain*, kein Recht zu wachsen hat; er ist verdammt zum verwesen, daß der sündliche Leib aufhöre, (wie der Apostel sagt:) daß ihr hinfort der Sünde nicht dienet.<sup>306</sup>

The depravity of all can't be treated superficially. Thus, Zinzendorf states, when we try to imagine anything in ourselves, and look away magnanimously, we can be trapped in the net.

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<sup>302</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 97.

<sup>303</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 98.

<sup>304</sup> Zinzendorf uses the term *unlamhaft*, which is hard to translate directly into English.

<sup>305</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 98.

<sup>306</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 98.

Therefore, we must understand that it makes us blush with shame as sinners (*Sünder-Schaamroth werden*).

As usual, Zinzendorf elaborates extensively on this image:

Wir müssen es also wissen, es muß uns Sünder-schaamroth Machen, daß wir allerdings arme Herzel sind, die von einem Tage zum andern sich der Gnade anbefehlen, und in derselben leben müssen; wir müssen das Element des Blutes zu unserm Leben, Erhaltung und Gegen-Gift gegen alles Böse brauchen, sonst kommen wir nicht durch. Wir könnten nicht durchkommen, wenn das nicht wäre: Eines hat uns durchgebracht, Lämmlein! daß du bist geschlacht.<sup>307</sup>

The blood is the antidote against all evil. The childhood and youth of Christ is connected to the choir, but the likeness to Christ is carried by all believers, whether you are a child, a youth, or a man:

Für alle die noch in dieser Zeit seine Ähnlichkeit an sich tragen, und seiner Leiche ähnlich zeyn werden, welches man einen Knaben, einen Jüngling, einen Mann heißt, die in Christo sind.<sup>308</sup>

The youth has to decide for himself whether to let himself be overpowered by sin or to dedicate himself to Christ; to go into (*hinein zu fahren*) the corpse of Christ with body and soul. Thus, the side-wound devotion is a decision that the youth must undertake:

Doch dem sey wie ihm wolle, auch die geringste von dem damals wohl erkannt und gefühlt, aber noch nicht *restituirt*en Falle herrührende Schmach, hat er ganz und gar aufgehoben, und ein sacramentliches, testamentliches, liturgisches Gnaden-Gefäß der Ehren daraus gemacht, welches unsere Kinder in ihren Knaben-Jahren erst anfangen zu erkennen, und sich alsdenn sogleich *resolviren* müssen, entweder von der Sünde

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<sup>307</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 99.

<sup>308</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 99.

übermannt zu werden, oder *direct* in den Leichnam Jesu mit Leib und Seel hinein zu fahren, und sich des einigen Knaben halben zu Jesus-Knaben-mässigen Menschen salben zu lassen.<sup>309</sup>

Then the Count concludes by stating that the mother is present. By “mother” Zinzendorf refers to the Holy Spirit. As noted, this was the image most originally connected with the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he continues, she is present with the oil (ointment) and the blood of the union (*Bundes-blut*), to sprinkle and sanctify everyone, and to keep all who are already sanctified and sprinkled upon in every way. This ultimately leads to being connected firmly to Christ as his bride.<sup>310</sup> Zinzendorf outlines the new degree of blessedness developing during the following years:

Unsern lieben Knaben wünsche ich von ganzem Herzen einen neuen Grad der Seligkeit in dem künftigen Jahre, daß sie sich Seinem Leichlein nahen, und dadurch Jesus-haft werden, und daß seine heilige Mannbarkeit ihre Knabenschaft durch und durch ehrwürdig mache, keinen ausgenommen.<sup>311</sup>

This is the conclusion of the most extensive footnote in the homilies.

In the following, Zinzendorf elaborates further upon the nature of the congregation, and states the bliss that they don't make many regulations or punishments. When someone in the community thinks or acts differently, the first thought would be that the person is out of himself. They would not think that he is a vicious human; neither would they place his confidence, at least not at first, as stemming from his heart. The Count states that when they hear of a single sister or a single brother who wants to change their status, they would not consider them to be of sound mind:

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<sup>309</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 100.

<sup>310</sup> “Bis den Tag, da alle Manns-gederben verschwinden vor der Jesus-Eh, und Braut-Gederben werden.”, *Die Neunte Homilie*, 100.

<sup>311</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 100.

Wenn wir den ersten Gedanken von einer Jungfer, die gern freyen, und von einem ledigen Bruder, der *ultro* seinen Stand verändern wollte, hörten, so würden wir sie für nicht richtig in Kopfe halten; und würdens nicht im Herzen suchen, sondern in einer unrichtigen *Phantasie*, und würden seufzen: für *Phantasien* wohl verwahrt!<sup>312</sup>

However, Zinzendorf claims that as we are humans, we need grace and compassion. He then cites the heading of the homily to convey his actual meaning. "Seine heilige Jünglingsschaft sey der Cranz der ledigen Chöre."<sup>313</sup> The Count writes that there is a beautiful altar standing twenty or thirty ellen<sup>314</sup> tall in church, then one sets a halo (according to Zinzendorf) on top with distinctly gilded beams that stand in connection with the sun, and it blinds the people who are in the church. He concludes that this is the single state of the Saviour in respect to our single choir.

Furthermore, Zinzendorf emphasises the single status of Christ, but also that he is the image of the soul and its husband:

Wenn man sie an sich selbst anseht, und *rapportirt* sie auf die Ehe, so findet man, daß unser Ehestand ein *venerabler* Stand ist; man denkt, er ist das Bild der Seele und ihres Mannes; das ist Ehre genug für unsern Stand: wenn man sich darnach den Mann als einen Mann bedenkt, so denkt man, er war ja ein lediger Bruder, ein Jüngling, er gehört zu den ledigen Chören.<sup>315</sup>

The consequence is an appropriate respect of the heart. One prays a "Hail Mary" or a "Hail the single brothers' choir." The husband of the souls has pledged himself to them to bring his virginity, his singleness to the grave. Then he stood up as a man (husband).

The Count urges them to savour the singleness of the choir for as long as they can, and to remember that the creator of their souls, the one who made every little hair, was single with

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<sup>312</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 101.

<sup>313</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 95.

<sup>314</sup> This is an obsolete German unit of measurement. In Northern Germany, it usually corresponded to approximately 2 feet.

<sup>315</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 102.

male members, with full manliness, and remained beatific, chaste, and content, but even though he was afflicted with every natural sickliness and weakness he never blushed by sin (*Sünder-schamroth*). Christ was worthy of praise in every way as human, and he was able to walk into the presence of his father like the sun in its night.

Man is a sinner by nature but has also received the mercy of being bones of his bones, flesh of his flesh:

Ob wir nun gleich Sünder sind von Natur, so haben wir auch die Gnade, Bein von seinem Bein, und Fleisch von seinem Fleisch zu seyn, wir haben den Muth begraben, der unlamhaftig dachte.<sup>316</sup>

Thus, all single brothers and sisters have the perfect right to maintain their single status in a Jesus-like manner (*Jesus-mäßig*) due to the various attributes of the Saviour:

daß er ihnen Schweiß, ihr Lebens-Öl, daß er ihr Geblüt, ihr Gefühl, ihre Gestalt, daß er alle Theile ihrer Hütte, mit seinem Todes-Schweiß durch-dünste, heilige, seiner Natur theilhaftig mache, alles schädliche, giftige auflöse, und auseinander treibe, und sie die Tage ihrer Ledigkeit Jesus-mäßig zubringen lasse.<sup>317</sup>

### **The Parable of the Yeast, Luke 13:20-21<sup>318</sup>—Missionary Aspects**

The parable of Luke 13:20–21 is a recurring text in several of these homilies and may be a crucial biblical passage to understand the meaning and structure of the homilies. because it is used in several homilies, I will not treat the homilies one by one, but instead underscore and discuss the interplay that a biblical text like this facilitates in the homilies. The intention is also to widen the analytical perspectives of the homilies.

In the Luther Bible the parable reads:

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<sup>316</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 103.

<sup>317</sup> *Die Neunte Homilie*, 103.

<sup>318</sup> And again he said, “To what shall I compare the kingdom of God? It is like a leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour, till it was all leavened” (RSV).

Und abermals sprach er: Wem soll ich das Reich Gottes vergleichen? Es ist einem Sauerteige gleich, welchen ein Weib nahm und verbarg ihn unter drei Scheffel Mehl, bis daß es ganz sauer ward.

Zinzendorf writes about "Sauerteigs-Natur" (the nineteenth homily) and "Sauerteigs-Kraft" (the tenth homily). This "leavened nature" is connected with missionary endeavours. He writes:

Ich habe eine Sauerteigs-Natur, wo ich hingebraht werde, wenn ich *Ordre* kriege, ich soll mich *communiciren*, ich soll meine Gnade, meine Christheit mittheilen, so kans ohne viel worte geschehen.<sup>319</sup>

Few words are necessary when preaching since they are communicated through one grace, one life, from blood and through the air:

Wenn zwey, drey, zehen, hundert zusammen kommen, so werden sie alle von einer Gnade, von einem Leben, von einem Blut, von einer Luft durchgangen.<sup>320</sup>

In the tenth homily, also regarding missionary endeavours, the pericope functions as a backdrop for what Zinzendorf calls the "leavened power" (*Sauerteigs-Kraft*). He describes the nature of this power amongst the wanderers:

Nun meine Geschwister! Weil wir alle solche Wanderer der Erden sind, so laßt uns alle Stunden wahrnehmen, so wol die Wanderer, als die bey denen wir wohnen, damit uns keine Zeit gereuen mag, die wir einander zu hören, zu sehen, zu sprechen, zu geniessen, und uns an einander zu gewöhnen, uns einander mit Sauerteigs-Kraft anzuthun, vom Heiland erlaubniß und Weile gehabt haben.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 193.

<sup>320</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 193.

<sup>321</sup> *Die Zehnde Homilie*, 108.

Furthermore, the Saviour's example is the model for the Brethren being at home everywhere, which fits well with the fact that the Count himself travelled extensively for most of his life. He writes that they have "a heart of a pilgrim" and thus would feel at home everywhere:

Es ist unsere Neigung nirgends, und überall daheim zu seyn. Daher kommts, daß wir immer einen hübschen Ort nach dem anderen bauen, ein hübsch Haus nach dem andern kriegen, damit die Menschen sehen können das wir Pilger-Herzen sind.<sup>322</sup>

However, even though the Brethren travel extensively, always establishing settlements in various parts of the world, there is one eternal home which is with them wherever they go. This is the side wound of Christ:

Daß wir ein ewiges Haus anderswo als in des Heilands Seite suchten; übrigens arbeiten und bauen wir für andere Geschwister, für diejenigen die der Heiland bestimmt hat, daß sie sich an einem Ort aufhalten, ein Exempel geben, und ein Licht, oder eine Stadt auf dem Berge seyn sollen.<sup>323</sup>

The reference used to underscore this point is taken from Matthew 5:14.<sup>324</sup> The whole world has been made a home for them. Thus, Zinzendorf asks: Who could then send us into exile? We are citizens of the whole world. Then he returns to build this argument, underlining how they, even though they travel the world, always remain in the wounds, in the heart of the Saviour:

Aber so ists eine alte wahre Lehre, daß wenn man die ganze Welt durchreist man immer in den Wunden, in dem Herzen des Heilands bleibt, darinnen getragen wird überall hin, über Land und See, und bleibt ein Bürger wenn man ein Pilger ist, und ist der Wunde, der offenen Herzens-Schramme, so nahe in America als in Herrnhaag, auf der Cap, und in Ceylon so nahe als Marienborn.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> *Die Zehnde Homilie*, 105.

<sup>323</sup> *Die Zehnde Homilie*, 105.

<sup>324</sup> "You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden" (NIV).

<sup>325</sup> *Die Zehnde Homilie*, 106.

All the hours and minutes are precious to the pilgrim, and the pilgrim’s heart always knows what it wants from one week to another. Zinzendorf admits that even though he is one who holds a home most dearly, this is not pleasing to the Saviour. Thus, he has experienced the blessedness of being at home everywhere, of being blessed everywhere, of falling in love with every place they travel to, and of thinking that no place is as sweet as the present one.<sup>326</sup>

### **Knowledge, Faithfulness, and Simplicity**

Homilies 11–14 outline the ideal qualities of the believer according to Jesus’s example. The believer has the true knowledge (in simplicity), the faithfulness of the artisan (according to Jesus’s background as a carpenter), the simple-mindedness (which is the true form of reason), and the meritorious naivety. At the outset of the eleventh homily, Zinzendorf admits that when it comes to knowledge, this topic is one of the most intricate and complicated in the entire Litany of the Wounds:

Diese Materie ist eine von den *intricatesten* und schwersten in der ganzen Wunden-Litaneey: wir müssen aber auch dran.<sup>327</sup>

However complicated, it must be dealt with as well. Zinzendorf describes how half of all reasonable people have become fools by their knowledge and studies.

Der halbe Theil der vernünftigen Menschen ist über seinem Wissen und Lernen zum Narren worden; das ist offenbar.<sup>328</sup>

The way to true knowledge is attained through the heart, the locus of experiencing Christ, in accordance with the spirituality of Zinzendorf. For as long as there is no heart to it, one could consider it better if the children remained ignorant towards spiritual matters:

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<sup>326</sup> *Die Zehnde Homilie*, 107.

<sup>327</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 109.

<sup>328</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 110



Darum ist freylich sehr *naturell*, daß man sonderlich in geistlichen und puren Herz-Sachen, den Weg der Erkenntniß *a priori* den Weg des Wissens ohne Theilnehmung des Herzens, in einer Gemeine *abhorriert*, und bey nahe nicht weiß; und weil doch die Wissenschaft, daß ein Gott ist, nach der heiligen Schrift in einem jeden Menschen liegt, so möchte man denken, ob man nicht wünschen sollte, daß die Kinder in den geistlichen Sachen *Ignoranten* blieben, so lange sie kein Herz dazu haben.<sup>329</sup>

Zinzendorf underscores that one is to learn theology like all other things are obtained: in a slow and simple way. This simplicity, or simple-mindedness, is also outlined in the thirteenth homily. The simplicity is a blessed state. In this state the Saviour is the sole example. He did not have more thoughts than necessary:

In der Einfalt ist nun der Heiland unser Exempel, wie in allen. Er ist erstaunlich einfältig gewesen, er hat nicht einen Gedanken mehr gehabt, als er gebraucht hat.<sup>330</sup>

The key to being educated in theology is the daily association with the Saviour.<sup>331</sup> The whole theology can be obtained through this contact, even for the children:

Also, auch die Kinder durch den täglichen Umgang in der Gemeine ihre ganze *Theologie* lernen würden.<sup>332</sup>

The concept of daily association is considered further in the fifteenth homily, where Zinzendorf expands this thought of association to the effect that members of the congregation can have upon other people. He describes how these other people are freed from the errors of their ways by this daily association with the members of the congregation.

Davon haben wir eine selige *Praxin* gehabt die etliche zwanzig Jahre her, und haben viel hundert und tausend Seelen von ihrem Irrthum befreyt gesehen, blos darum, weil

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<sup>329</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 110.

<sup>330</sup> *Die Dreyzehnde Homilie*, 130.

<sup>331</sup> The term Zinzendorf uses is "die tägliche Umgang," a term which is hard to translate.

<sup>332</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 112.

sie in dem täglichen Umgang mit uns, und in dem Vorträge der Lehre, die Anstöße nicht mehr gefunden haben, die ihnen einmal Gelegenheit zum Irrthum gegeben und nicht *essentiell* waren.<sup>333</sup>

Living with Christ becomes living with the Trinity, the family of God, or within the community of the inner life of God.

Zinzendorf calls this comprehension of the theological system a miracle of the "Theology of the community" (*Gemein-Theologie*):

Da sichs doch am Ende findet, daß alle Leute, deren Herz die *Combination* der Idèen macht, aus einerley *Principiis* denken, und aus einem Munde reden. Das ist das Wunder der *Gemein-Theologie*.<sup>334</sup>

To convey this thinking, Zinzendorf uses the only story in the Bible in which Jesus is a child: the story of how he was lost by his parents and found in the temple (Luke 2:41–52).<sup>335</sup>

However, as Zinzendorf refers to this story, he underlines how Jesus didn't lecture the teachers, but rather conferred with them. For Zinzendorf, the well-placed questions of Jesus had more value than ten answers, and the "Child's genius" held greater importance than a thousand questions from a book:

Daß er gewust hat, wo ein Spruch steht, daß er schon hat können in seinem zwölften Jahr im Tempel sitzen, und mit den *Doctoren* und Rabbinen *conferiren* über den Lehr-

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<sup>333</sup> *Die Fünfzehnde Homilie*, 141.

<sup>334</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 112.

<sup>335</sup> "Every year Jesus's parents went to Jerusalem for the Festival of the Passover. When he was twelve years old, they went up to the festival, according to the custom. After the festival was over, while his parents were returning home, the boy Jesus stayed behind in Jerusalem, but they were unaware of it. Thinking he was in their company, they travelled on for a day. Then they began looking for him among their relatives and friends. When they did not find him, they went back to Jerusalem to look for him. After three days they found him in the temple courts, sitting among the teachers, listening to them and asking them questions. Everyone who heard him was amazed at his understanding and his answers. When his parents saw him, they were astonished. His mother said to him, 'Son, why have you treated us like this? Your father and I have been anxiously searching for you.' 'Why were you searching for me?' he asked. 'Didn't you know I had to be in my Father's house?' But they did not understand what he was saying to them.<sup>51</sup> Then he went down to Nazareth with them and was obedient to them. But his mother treasured all these things in her heart. <sup>52</sup> And Jesus grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (NIV).

Puncten: und ob ich gleich nicht gläube daß er sie *docirt* hat, sondern daß er gelernt hat, und bey ihnen in die Schul gegangen, und sie sich nur über seine gescheute und wohl *placirte reale* Fragen verwundert haben, die manchmal mehr werth sind, als zehen Antworten, und mehr von dem *Genie* eines Kindes zeigen, als wenn es auf tausend Fragen aus dem Buch zu antworten weiß.<sup>336</sup>

However, Zinzendorf asks, should they then inform the children about current matters of controversy? Certainly not. He concludes that the only matters they can recommend are those that they can practice, which can be reduced to those that go straight into the heart in praxis and with power.

Zinzendorf concludes that as he and the Brethren collected the Litany of the Wounds, they could do nothing else but direct their prayer to the Saviour. Praying that they will be educated to the heavenly kingdom, and that the Saviour’s accomplishment of this education is proved by their diligence:

Daher habe ich und die Brüder, die die Wunden-Litaney zusammengetragen, nicht anders gekonnt, als unser Gebet zum Heiland drauf einzurichten, daß wir gelehrt zum Himmelreich werden, daß der Fleiß, den der Heiland bey seiner *Lectio* bewiesen hat, uns gelehrt zum Himmelreich mache.<sup>337</sup>

Being “educated to the heavenly kingdom” is performed through the “School of the Holy Spirit.” Zinzendorf outlines how the Holy Spirit always interprets the Bible as one does as a catechetical student, proceeding step by step. If the Saviour gives one to understand something, it is sweet as honey and the student rejoices greatly over it. However, one must be patient. The Count is critical towards theologians who make the mistake of trying to understand everything at once.<sup>338</sup> To understand the Bible, one must have the Spirit:

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<sup>336</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 113.

<sup>337</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 114–15.

<sup>338</sup> Freeman (1998), 152.

Wir werden zum *Spiritu*, zum Geist der heiligen Schrift *invitirt*, und wer den Geist nicht hat, von dem saget der Apostel: es ist unmöglich, daß ers erkennen kan, denn es muß geistlich gerichtet seyn; der Geistliche aber gerichtet seyn; der Geistliche aber richtet alles, und ihm kan niemand was anhaben, ihm kan man nichts *abdisputiren*.<sup>339</sup>

In the eleventh homily Zinzendorf expresses gratitude towards the Saviour or this education by the Holy Spirit and writes:

Ich danke dir, daß du mich zum Himmelreich gelehrt gemacht hast, daß du mir meine notwendige *Lection* hast lernen lassen; ich danke dir für die Schule des Heiligen Geistes.<sup>340</sup>

Christ has acquired the blessed knowledge, the essential amongst knowledge. However, Zinzendorf does not want to be educated because he loves knowledge—the most blessed state is when one does not know very much. He should acquire knowledge since the Saviour has done so:

Also weil der Heiland was gelernt hat, so will Ich auch was lernen, nicht darum, weil ich das lernen lieb hätte, weil mir daran gelegen wäre, was zu wissen, denn das allerseligste ist wenn man nicht viel weiß (man weiß doch nicht viel ganzes).<sup>341</sup>

The simplicity of Jesus being an artisan is underscored by Zinzendorf in the twelfth homily. At the outset he emphasises how the labourer’s sweat and the devotedness of the artisan are two ideas that belong together. The good hearts are slower and accomplish less than the children of the world:

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<sup>339</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 144.

<sup>340</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 119.

<sup>341</sup> *Die Elfte Homilie*, 119.

Wenn die guten Herzel von Natur träger, und in ihrer Art langsamer wären, und weniger *præstiren*, als man von den Kindern dieser Welt mit Wahrheit sagen kan, die sich manchmal zu Tode arbeiten um etwas *unproportionirlich* weniges.<sup>342</sup>

Zinzendorf continues to convey how this faithfulness of the artisan characterised Christ, and how this proves to be the example for the believers. To prove his point, he cites Martin Luther and his statement that a maid who sweeps out the room in faithfulness does a service to God which is as great as the professor giving a lecture:

Es haben wol etliche gescheute Leute der Sache helfen wollen, insonderheit hat D. Luther die Redens-Art gebraucht, daß eine Magd, die in Treue der Stube auskehrt, dem lieben Gott einen so grossen Dienst damit thut, als ein *Professor* der auf dem Catheder lehrt.<sup>343</sup>

By using this example, Zinzendorf wishes to outline how the vocation of the maid is as important as that of the professor. The little and faithful ones are often even more important in the eyes of the Saviour. A human can be heavenly when he is faithful in his part, and the cause for this is the Saviour's faithfulness as an artisan. The goal of this imitation of Christ is that it will make the heart and mind stick to Christ. The reward is to be more similar to Christ:

Herz und Sinne kleben an ihm, und unser *Recompens* in allen Dingen, unsere reichliche und überwichtige Belohnung ist, daß wie er war, auch wir seyn dürfen in dieser Welt.<sup>344</sup>

In regard to simple-mindedness, Christ is the example for the believers. He was astoundingly simple-minded and had not one thought more than was necessary, and he had judged all things in a sensible manner:

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<sup>342</sup> *Die Zwölfte Homilie*, 121.

<sup>343</sup> *Die Zwölfte Homilie*, 123.

<sup>344</sup> *Die Zwölfte Homilie*, 127.

In der Einfalt ist nun der Heiland unser Exemple, wie in allen. Er ist erstaunlich einfältig gewesen, er hat nicht einen Gedanken mehr gehabt, als er gebraucht hat, er hat sehr verständig von allen Sachen geurtheilt.<sup>345</sup>

Zinzendorf even describes the Saviour’s heart as simple. He was one who loved simple thoughts and hated the complexity<sup>346</sup> of reflections. The example he applies to convey this matter is the story of Satan and Jesus in the desert:

Und wenn wir ihn in seinem *Disput* mit dem Satan betrachten, so sehen wir, daß er die *Argumenta* nicht weit hergeholt hat, und daß er gewiß zum nächsten gegriffen, wie sichs ihm dargelegt hat.<sup>347</sup>

He concludes that when the Saviour is loved in a proper way, then his simplicity and innocence is also loved. When this blessedness of simple-mindedness is established amongst the children of God, and they again have truly simple hearts, they obtain a piece of paradise and heaven on earth:

Wenn dieselbe Seligkeit der Einfalt unter den Kindern Gottes *etablirt* ist, und sie nun wirklich wieder einfältige Herzen sind, da haben sie ein Stück des Paradieses und des Himmels auf Erden.<sup>348</sup>

The fourteenth homily is a continuation of the previous themes. Zinzendorf elaborates upon the meritorious ignorance which shall “fence in” understanding. At the outset he states that the limits of our knowledge have been measured out by God in his great wisdom. Without this ordinance, humans would lead restless, unhappy lives:

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<sup>345</sup> *Die Dreyzehnde Homilie*, 130.

<sup>346</sup> The German word used here is “Vielfältigkeit”. Literally it translates to *diversity*. However, I have chosen to translate it to *complexity*. This translation is in better harmony with the context and Zinzendorf’s thoughts.

<sup>347</sup> *Die Dreyzehnde Homilie*, 131.

<sup>348</sup> *Die Dreyzehnde Homilie*, 132.

So bald eine menschliche Creatur mehr weiß als sie bezwingen oder abwarten kan, so kommt sie in ein Verlangen nach unmöglichen Dingen, und hat ein unruhiges, unglückliches Leben.<sup>349</sup>

However, he writes that one of the greatest blessings for the human race is theology, the way it is taught in the New Testament. All subtle and transcendental things are presented there. In Scripture, one observes how man, before proceeding, is responsible for all arduousness, confusion, and perplexities. It is interesting to observe the original text to try to grasp his intent:

Eine von den grösten Wohltaten, die dem menschlichen Geschlecht in der Hütte wiederfahren, ist die *Theologie*, wie sie im neuen Testament gelehrt wird. Da sind alle *subtile* und *transcendentale*, alle den menschlichen Geist weiter führende Sachen, in eine solche artige Verfassung, und in einen solchen solchen *point de vuë* gebracht, der der Menschlichkeit vollkommen gemäß ist, und da ein Mensch, wenn er einen einigen Schritt weiter geht, an allen Beschwerlichkeiten, *Confusionen* und *Perplexitäten* lediglich selbst schuld ist.<sup>350</sup>

This definition must entail something different than Zinzendorf's general scepticism towards knowledge. After all, the departure point for this homily was the plea to make reason hateful for the believer. According to Arthur Freeman, Zinzendorf's understanding of simplicity does not deny the intellectual task in theology, though recognises its limits and its varied expression. Thus, simplicity in ethics cannot deny the responsibility of the church to work with the complexities of today, which may produce varied answers.<sup>351</sup> The praxis element is also present here. It is not only the intellectual specialists; as important is the way the issues are lived through with God. The heart-relationship with the Saviour secures this way of experience through the aforementioned "Umgang" with the Saviour, though the living through issues with God will be the most significant witness to the struggle, for it indicates

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<sup>349</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 133.

<sup>350</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 134.

<sup>351</sup> Freeman (1998), 233.

the acceptance of ethical responsibility and points to the Transcendent Reality which (or who) resources life, 'graces' life, and calls to life and responsibility.

Returning to the text, the consequence for the believer is not despair but freedom. The dear little bird becomes free:

Wie es darnach, wenn die Erlösung von dieser Hütte geschehen ist, wenn die Thür der Hütte aufgemacht ist, und das Vöglein in seine freye Luft gekommen ist, mit der Erkenntnis weiter geht, das ist in die Grenzen von dem jetzigen Denken nicht eingeschlossen.<sup>352</sup>

Once again, Zinzendorf reflects upon Jesus's limited knowledge and that Jesus occasionally even said "I don't know." Zinzendorf does not provide any answers to this but concludes that it must mean something. To provide an explanation, Zinzendorf decides to use the prologue of the book of Revelation (1:1–3), where it says, according to Zinzendorf, that the Saviour has the privilege to reveal matters to his servants (*Knechte*).<sup>353</sup> The Saviour provides the believer with knowledge which makes a man of God cleverer than the greatest critic, philosopher, or Kabbalist:

Er hat uns damit mehr Erkenntniß verdient, als sonst für einen *ordinairen* Menschen gehört: er hat einem Schneider und Schuster, einem Bauer hinterm Pflug, verdient, daß er in allen Dingen, die einen Gottes-Menschen ausmachen, gescheuter seyn kan, als der groste *Criticus* als der gröste *Philosophus theoreticus*, als eine *Cabbaliste*, der achtzig Jahr über der Weisheit gelegen hat.<sup>354</sup>

According to Zinzendorf, the Saviour has acquired this through his lack of understanding—but saying this, Jesus still has wisdom. However, this knowledge is of a natural (*Naturelles*)

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<sup>352</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 135.

<sup>353</sup> "The revelation from Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show his servants what must soon take place. He made it known by sending his angel to his servant John, who testifies to everything he saw—that is, the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. Blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of this prophecy and blessed are those who hear it and take to heart what is written in it, because the time is near" (NIV).

<sup>354</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 137.



kind for everyone: rich and poor, young and old, clever or ordinary, who have all become similar through beneficial parts of Scripture. The Count also outlines the source of education, namely education through the merit of Jesus Christ. Children can sing at the age of four and write letters at the age of eight. This is not a consequence of education but through the daily association (*Täglichen Umgang*) with the Saviour:

Sondern das kommt von der *Communication* des Verdienstes Jesu Christi her, der seinen Kindern die nöthige Erkenntniß und Einsicht gibt, aus dem täglichen Umgang.<sup>355</sup>

This is accomplished by the Holy Spirit, and they only need an ordinary intellect to obtain this. Thus, Zinzendorf concludes, the Saviour has earned his ignorance—certain limits to his knowledge—from his childhood and onwards:

So ists, meine Geschwister, das hat uns seine Unwissenheit verdient, gewisse Grenzen der Einsicht, gewisse und viel nöthige Einsicht von Kindes- Beinen an, als unsere unsterbliche, allezeit gleich alte, und den Herzen, des Heilandes gleich nahe Seele, von dem Momente an, daß die Vergebung der Sünden hat, und in den Gnaden-Bund aufgenommen ist, von Zeit zu Zeit braucht.<sup>356</sup>

The believer would never go beyond that, but enjoys what has been measured up, receives it bowing with joy as his bought and atoned Creature (*Creatur*), and finds joy in it in the stillness.

Let us then discuss, founded in the fifteenth homily, what being “firm in Scripture” implies. At the outset Zinzendorf states that they have sought nothing new, whether in praxis or in theory. However, they have tried to observe the many errors that have been manifested in the church:

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<sup>355</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 138.

<sup>356</sup> *Die Vierzehnde Homilie*, 139.

Unser *Character* ist vom Anfang an gewesen daß wir nicht neues gesucht haben, weder in der *Praxi* noch in der Lehre; wir haben aber auch nichts verketzert, sondern wir haben die viele und mancherley Irrungen, die in der Kirche entstanden sind, so viel wir davon uns gekommen ist, so vier davon haben erwegen müssen; ein bißgen genauer untersucht, ob die Leute nicht manchmal einen Grund vor sich gehabt, und ob nicht, wenn man das rechte Pünctgen träffe, den Leuten die Gelegenheit zum Irrthum wegfallen würde, und ihr Irrthum zugleich mit.<sup>357</sup>

### **Bible and "Church"**

Furthermore, when Zinzendorf characterises other perspectives upon the Bible, he mentions "those who call themselves the church." They have seen Scripture as being so easy to misinterpret that they have prohibited people from possessing it, and then made a sanctuary (*Heiligthum*) of it. Examples that the Count chooses to mention in this regard are the Pentateuch, the Song of Songs, and "some stories of David and the patriarchs," and he writes:

Darüber sind endlich die Leute, die sich für die Kirche gehalten haben, ungeduldig worden, und weil sie gesehen haben, daß die heilige Schrift so gewaltig und zugleich so unzulänglich *defendirt* wird, und sie sich keinen Rath gewust haben, sie besser zu *defendiren*, und weil sie zum Theil der lockern Gemüthern den Mißbrauch der heiligen Schrift z.E. der Bücher Mosis, des Hohen-Lieds, einiger Geschichte Davids und der Patriarchen, zu einem heimlichen Gespött der Leute, die die Sachen ohne Geist *tractirt*, mit ihren Augen gesehen haben: so haben sie endlich verboten, das Buch in aller Menschen Hände zu geben, und ein Heiligthum daraus gemacht, und habens verschlossen.<sup>358</sup>

It is necessary to point out what Zinzendorf's categorisation of believers means in this regard. When the Count speaks of "church" (*Kirche*), he points to "those who have called themselves church." However, in accordance with Zinzendorf's views upon this category, those who call themselves church certainly are not the church. According to Zinzendorf, "church" is the

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<sup>357</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 141.

<sup>358</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 142.

invisible church, and is not to be equated with the visible and historical Christian traditions and institutions which Zinzendorf calls "Religionen."<sup>359</sup> This "church" cuts across all confessional lines. Thus, the ones Zinzendorf addresses in this passage are denominations that he would normally call "Religionen." They are in fact the ones who have limited the availability of the biblical text for common believers. However, it is important to note that Zinzendorf always affirmed that there were valuable teachings existing also within the historical "Religionen," and that their confessions are right for them. Furthermore, there are true Christians in every Christian "Religion" along with the nominal members. A few pages later, the Count also reflects upon this, and considers the value given in other main denominations. Blessed sermons are preached both in the Orthodox and the Catholic churches when the Gospel was not broken up in pieces (as in the present):

So sind alle die selige und reale Predigten, die manchmal in der Griechischen und Lateinischen Kirche gehalten werden, zu der Zeit, da das Evangelium noch nicht so ausgebrochen war, da es aber noch immer Zeugen der Wahrheit gab, freylich so gegangen nach dem Exemplar, das man zu derselbe Zeit von der Bibel oder von dem Neuen Testament gehabt hat.<sup>360</sup>

Zinzendorf also emphasises that, in recent times, all believers had to read the Bible. The Count notes that, according to a general view, everyone should read a certain number of chapters every day in order to be able to call oneself a Christian:

Endlich ist in den neuen Zeiten eine Art entstanden die Bibel zu lesen, da man geglaubt hat, wenn man nicht alle Tage so und so viel Capitel darinne läse, so wäre man kein Christ.<sup>361</sup>

He states that, for the Brethren, the Bible is truthfully God's word. This is not particularly original, but the Zinzendorffian teaching regarding the Word is further outlined, first with a

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<sup>359</sup> Freeman (1998), 246.

<sup>360</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 148.

<sup>361</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 143.

textual example, then a typical conclusion. The Count chooses a pericope from the Gospel of John, on this occasion from 6:30–33.<sup>362</sup> “This true bread from heaven is the Holy Word”:

So ist es mit der heiligen Schrift. Wir werden zum Spiritu, zum Geist der heiligen Schrift *invitirt*, und wer den Geist nicht hat, von dem saget der Apostel: es ist unmöglich, daß ers erkennen kan, denn es muß geistlich gerichtet seyn; der Geistliche aber richtet alles, und ihm kan niemand was anhaben, ihm kan man nichts *abdisputiren*.<sup>363</sup>

Thus, the believer must have the Holy Spirit to understand the Word. In Zinzendorf’s works this is referred to as the “school of the Holy Spirit,” and he teaches that it is not of significance that we have learned something, that we read in a book, that we deduce it mathematically or possess an ability to deduce it mathematically. Neither does an admirable eloquence count for anything to bring matters to light; as long as the Holy Spirit has not been present in it, as long as the Spirit has not formed the thoughts and words, as long as we do not owe the foundation and “*stimulum*” to him, then an experienced child of God can immediately hear that what is spoken, said, and asserted is not the language of the Holy Spirit, and consequently also no certain truth.<sup>364</sup>

In the fifteenth homily Zinzendorf also addresses all the inconsistencies in the Bible. He admits the magnitude of those but writes that this is not something for humans to assess. Despite all the flaws of Scripture, Zinzendorf writes that some things are in fact always the same:

Aber die Wahrheiten, die *Harmonie* der Ideen, sonderlich der Grund-Ideen, der göttlichen Grundlagen von Anbeginn, die müssen bey aller *Varietät* des *Stili*, bey allem Unterschied der *Argumente* nach ihrer Schwäche oder Stärke, bey allem

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<sup>362</sup> “So, they asked him, ‘What sign then will you give that we may see it and believe you? What will you do? Our ancestors ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written: “He gave them bread from heaven to “Jesus said to them, ‘Very truly I tell you, it is not Moses who has given you the bread from heaven, but it is my Father who gives you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is the bread that comes down from heaven and gives life to the world’” (NIV).

<sup>363</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 144.

<sup>364</sup> Freeman (1998), 151.

*Differenzen im Raisonnement, immer eben dieselben seyn, so daß ein Knecht der des Herrn, der sich auf die Bibel berufft, muß sagen können: von diesem Jesu zeugen alle Propheten, daß in seinem Namen alle, die an ihn glauben, Vergebung des Sünden empfangen sollen.*<sup>365</sup>

Zinzendorf concludes that this is the proof that the sacred spirit<sup>366</sup> of Scripture, the spirit of the Holy Scripture, is the only object that we must reflect upon. When he describes the precious example of the Saviour in their Litany of Wounds he writes: “Your proper Bible-foundation make us all firm in Scripture”:

Wenn wir uns in unserer Wunden-Litaney, da wir uns des Heilands sein theures Exemple vorstellen, auf den Artikel der Schrift kommen, so sagen wir: die richtiger Bibel-Grund, mache uns alle Bibel-fest.<sup>367</sup>

The heart remains the true instrument of reception. All the “truths of the heart” even precede all the translations, given that there are numerous flaws in the translations:

Denn es waltet eben die Weisheit über den Übersetzungen, die über der Sache selbst, und über dem Grunde gewaltet hat. So wie kein Zweifel dran ist, daß im Grund-Texte Fehler sind; so ist um so viel weniger Zweifel daran, daß auch in den Übersetzungen viel Fehler sind, und bleiben werden bis ans Ende der Welt.<sup>368</sup>

The child of God is “Bibel-fest” (firm in Scripture) even though there are flaws in translations or in the text itself. The primary truth is still the foundation—and the believer already knows in his heart. As the Saviour said, “he will already know whether it is from God”:

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<sup>365</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 146.

<sup>366</sup> The word used in the text is the Latin “Spritus.” I have assumed that this is a misprint of *Spiritus*.

<sup>367</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 146.

<sup>368</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 149.

Sondern wenn die Grund-Wahrheit zum *Fundament* liegt, so hat sie schon die Art, daß sie alle andere Wahrheiten nach sich zieht, und daß mans in seinem Herzen gleich weiß wie der Heiland sagt: Er wird inne werden obs von Gott ist.<sup>369</sup>

There is, however, one fundamental truth that all churches in the world can agree upon: the salvation in the wounds of Jesus, preached in all Lutheran churches every Sunday, the forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation. All churches are one in this doctrine.

In the doctrine belonging to being founded in the Bible (*Bibel-Festigkeit*) and having a true basis in Scripture, the believer doesn't need to attain more than the Saviour did. However, all who read are blessed according to the heart and what it feels:

Durch alles was vorkommt, was sie lesen, allezeit mit Segen gerade durch, ihr Herz fühlt, oder fühlt nicht, ihr Herz glaubt, was zu glauben ist, ihr Herz steht an, wo eine Sache ihre Richtigkeit nicht hat, oder woran ihnen nicht viel gelegen ist.<sup>370</sup>

It is through this that the believers become firm in the Bible, and the believers become a "living Bible." One receives Scripture in the heart, the written and received Bible of Christianity. This is given by the Lord through grace. The prayer to be firm in Scripture is necessarily present in a congregation:

Es ist also das eine unumgängliche Nothwendigkeit, es gehört zur Gemeinde. Wenn der Faden der Schrift verloren ist, und wenn die Lehrer und Zuhörer nicht Bibel-Fest sind, so *extravagirt* man macht zu wenig oder zu viel, es fehlt, oder es ist ein unnützer Überfluß da.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> It is challenging to trace the exact pericope for this alleged citation. It may be a paraphrase of Matthew 7:15–16.

<sup>370</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 150.

<sup>371</sup> *Die Funfzehnde Homilie*, 151.

*The Spirituality of the “Sichtungszeit”*

However, this is a spiritual matter and must be experienced spiritually. In all, Christ is the teacher in present and older matters. Nothing can sanctify or enable the believer to thrive other than him alone.

**5.6.2 IVb Imitating the Passion of Christ**

| <b>IVb Imitating the Passion of Christ</b> |  |
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| The Sixteenth Homily                       | <p><i>Deine exemplarische Tempel- Andacht</i> (May your exemplary temple-devotion)<br/> <i>Mache uns zu treuen Religions-Leuten!</i> (Make us faithful people of religion!)</p>  |
| The Seventeenth Homily                     | <p><i>Deine Ohnmacht und Schwächlichkeit</i> (May Your powerlessness and weakness)<br/> <i>Mach uns unsr'e Schwachheit recht!</i> (Make our weakness welcome to us!)<br/> <i>Deine Leidens- und Todes- Furcht</i> (May your fear of suffering and death)<br/> <i>Beschäme der Zeugen Großmuth!</i> (Put to shame the courage of the martyrs!)<br/> <i>Dein Verlaß mir deinem himmlischen Vater, zu leiden und nicht zu leiden</i> (May your reliance on your heavenly Father to suffer and not to suffer)<br/> <i>Sey unser Macht- Spruch von deiner Selbständigen Göttlichkeit!</i> (Be our decree in your own divinity!)<br/> <i>Deine willige Passion</i> (May your willing passion)<br/> <i>Lehre uns die Leidsamkeit!</i> (Teach us tolerance!)</p> |
| The Eighteenth Homily                      | <p><i>Deine Kreuz- Theologie</i> (May your theology of the cross)<br/> <i>Bleibe unser Glaubens- Bekenntnis!</i> (Remain our confession of faith!)</p>   |
| The Nineteenth Homily                      | <p><i>Dein recht zum letzten Willen</i> (May your righteousness to the last will)<br/> <i>Mach uns deinen Willen theuer!</i> (Make us faithful to your will!)<br/> <i>Dein mit dem Tode bestätigtes Testament</i> (May your will, validated by your death)<br/> <i>Bleiben die Regel deiner Erben!</i> (Remain the rule of your heirs!)<br/> <i>Deines Testaments Erfüller</i> (May the fulfilment of your will)<br/> <i>Bringe die zerstreueten Kinder Gottes</i> (Bring the scattered children of God)<br/> <i>In die Arche der heiligen Christenheit!</i> (Into the ark of holy Christianity!)</p>  |
| The Twentieth Homily                       | <p><i>Deine heilige Blut- Tauffe</i> (May your Holy baptism in blood)<br/> <i>Zünde hin durch Gottes Erdboden</i> (Ignite all of God's earth!)</p>   |

This section of the homilies also outlines Jesus as model for Christians. However, there is a shift in this section. The imitation of the life of Christ in this part concerns the imitation of the Passion of Christ. As such, part IVA concerns the exemplary life of Christ. It deals with the last days in Jerusalem before Maundy Thursday, IVB deals with the days after, from Jesus praying in the garden of Gethsemane<sup>372</sup> until his suffering and death.

The twentieth homily even introduces a textual reference, one sentence from John 19:5<sup>373</sup> in the heading in addition to the citation from the actual Litany of the Wounds.

### **Die Sechszehnde *Homilie***

This homily was given on 25 June 1747.

The text is:

*Deine exemplarische Tempel- Andacht,  
Mache uns zu treuen Religions-Leuten.*

In the sixteenth homily Zinzendorf returns to some of the themes elaborated upon in homilies 11–14. The difference here is the ecumenical examples establishing the model for the faithful believer (*Treuen Religions-Leuten*). At the outset, Zinzendorf limits the scope to the evangelical denominations, and adds that they do not belong to the others. The Count does not continue to specify which ones, but one may consider at least the Catholic Church to be one of them:

Die Christlichen Religionen, meine Geschwister! (von den anderen haben wir nicht zu reden) wir können auch noch *præciser* sagen, die Evangelische Religionen (denn in den andern befinden wir uns nicht, mit den andern *concurriren* wir uns nicht) sind vielleicht eher göttlicher als menschlicher *Invention*.<sup>374</sup>

Zinzendorf even states that God has ordained it so that his truth is preserved in different divisions and, consequently, no single denomination has understood everything completely.

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<sup>372</sup> The Luke version situates the prayer on the Mount of Olives.

<sup>373</sup> “Here is the man!” (NIV).

<sup>374</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 152.



Instead, they should seek the best from others, and to provide aid if one wishes to see things as a whole:

nemlich daß keine einzige Religion die Sache ganz hat, sondern allezeit einer andern Religion ihre Einsicht und Gnade und das Beste von ihr zu Hülfe nehmen muß wenn sie will ein Ganzes haben.<sup>375</sup>

However, as mentioned above, no denomination (religion) is a visible church of Christ. Nevertheless, there is certainly a treasure in every one of them:

Nun, das sind alles Gedanken, die man von den Ursachen des Heilands für uns haben kan, und ich bitte bey allen den Ursachen die nicht zu vergessen, die ich gleich zuerst gesagt habe, nemlich daß in einer jedwedem Religion ein gewisser Schatz liegt.<sup>376</sup>

The Count then progresses to describe the original Moravians and how they had the advantage, through the providence of God, to predate all the later divisions of the churches:

Das gibt hernach den Mährischen Brüdern einen erstaunlichen Vorteil: den weil die Mährische Brüder das Glück haben, durch die Vorsehung Gottes, eher zu seyn, als alle die Trennungen geworden sind; so haben sie allezeit so einen gewissen brüderlichen und schwesterlichen *Nexum* behalten mit allen Christlichen Religionen.<sup>377</sup>

Once again, Zinzendorf mentions how the Moravians have been associated with groups/sects that the Count wished to avoid being associated with. Those mentioned here are Anabaptists, the Schwenkfelders, and Socianers. He admits that amongst the Moravians in Hungary and Siebenbürgen, a whole church had become Socianers.

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<sup>375</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 153.

<sup>376</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 157.

<sup>377</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 158.

Denn man hat Mährische Bruder unter den Wiedertäufern unter den Schwenckfeldern, unter den Socianern; man hat eine ganze Kirche in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, die aus Brüdern entstanden ist, und jetzt lauter Socinianer sind: daß sie also in den Religionen sehr bekannt sind, und überall mit den Leuten verschwägert und verwandt sind.<sup>378</sup>

However, Zinzendorf praises the simplicity of the uneducated Brothers. They have retained the impartiality towards other religions (denominations) and have attained something that is the possibility of a church of Jesus Christ.<sup>379</sup> He adds a parenthesis that this is the true treasure of the Brothers—it can be a church of Christ, and the songs amongst them are never so true as when they deal with the church.

The Count also mentions those that are made proselytes (*Proselyten-machen*). The object is not to make a brother out of members of different denominations. The goal of the Brethren is to come together with chosen ones in the grace of the community (*Gemeinschafts-Gnade*). The full citation reads:

Das Proselyten-machen also, daß ein Reformirter, ein Lutheraner, einer von der hohen Englischen Kirche ein Bruder wird, daß einer von den *Independenten* von den Schwenckfeldern, oder woher ist, ein Bruder wird, ohne Untersuchung der Richtigkeit der Lehre und dergleichen, das ist die Sache nicht; das ist wider der Mährischen Brüder ihren Grund-Plan. Der Brüder-Plan besteht in einer Gesellschaft auserwählter Leute zur Gemeinschafts-Gnade; und die müssen zusammen kommen.<sup>380</sup>

Thus, for Zinzendorf, the denominations (*Religionen*) are not the real point of interest in his thought; what matter are the true believers within them and how these are organised within a true church of believers. One may naturally consider these to be settlements of the Brethren, like Herrnhut, Herrnhag, or Bethlehem.

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<sup>378</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 158.

<sup>379</sup> The true believers who can be found within the different religions (denominations).

<sup>380</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 159.

The Count then shifts to address the listeners/readers upon the homiletic character of the Moravians: What should they preach? The answer is all that is legitimated by the heart, the locus of true faith:

Was sollen wir aber den Leuten predigen? Das sollen wir predigen, daß wenn sie wollen des Heilands Exempel folgen, so sollen sie ihre Zeit nicht mit *Scrupuliren* über den Sätzen ihrer Religion zubringen; sondern alle Wahrheiten ihrer Religion, die sich an ihren Herzen *legitimiren*, herzlich glauben, und alle Irrthümer der Religion, und was sich ihnen nicht als Wahrheit *legitimirt* hat, nicht glauben, sollen dabey von Herzen true Religions- Leute seyn.<sup>381</sup>

Zinzendorf argues that this can be proved by the Saviour's example. For some reason, he calls the temple "Kirche," hence the heading of the sixteenth homily: "Deine erstaunliche Tempel-Andacht." He paraphrases Jesus's words to his disciples regarding the destruction of the temple, mainly with the text from John 2:18–22.<sup>382</sup> Even though the pericope in the Gospel of John is the primary citation, he also uses the Synoptic Gospels in his argument. However, Zinzendorf emphasises the misinterpretation of the text. He writes that the people perceived that Jesus himself was to destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days:

Denn die Jünger würden ihn sonst nicht ums Datum gefragt haben, an welchem Tage es geschehen sollte, wenn er nicht gesagt hätte, daß so was geschehen sollte; aber er hatte nicht gesagt, daß er ihn wollte zerbrechen und wieder aufbauen, das war ein durch die Weisheit Gottes in der Lügner ihrem Munde zur Lügen gewordene Wahrheit, so wie es auch mit uns geht.<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 160

<sup>382</sup> "The Jews then responded to him, 'What sign can you show us to prove your authority to do all this?' Jesus answered them, 'Destroy this temple, and I will raise it again in three days.' They replied, 'It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and you are going to raise it in three days?' But the temple he had spoken of was his body. After he was raised from the dead, his disciples recalled what he had said. Then they believed the Scripture and the words that Jesus had spoken" (NIV).

<sup>383</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 161.

In this regard, the Count shares his view on the similarities between this example and the Brethren, and writes that even though everything adversaries say and write about the Brethren are lies, the truth becomes a lie when they refer to them (*in ihrem Munde*).

He then turns to another pericope to underline this argument. Jesus and the Samaritan woman from the Gospel of John 4:1–26. Zinzendorf introduces the argument by saying that even though the Saviour held no regard for his own religion, he always took its side:

Der Heiland hat also von seiner Religion nichts gehalten, das ist offenbar: aber er hat dennoch immer die Parthie von seiner Religion genommen.<sup>384</sup>

After this, the Count paraphrases the story in John quite literally but adds once more that the heart holds the central position. It is through the heart that God is experienced and when one has achieved this “new heart,” one has a temple—all that one needs for a service (*Gottes-Dienste*):

Sondern wer sein neues Herz wird bey sich herum tragen, der wird einen Tempel haben, und alles was er braucht zum Gottes-Dienste.<sup>385</sup>

Zinzendorf underscores the “Temple-reverence” by referring to Jesus clearing the temple courts (Mark 11:15–17). He did this out of religious ardour and reverence and emphasised: “Es ist mein Vaters Haus sagte er, hier ist nichts anders denn Gottes Haus, hier ist die Pforte des Himmels, solltet ihr solch Ding da vornehmen?”<sup>386</sup>

The Count claims that, today, this would be as if healing Babel. However, when people of the present aren’t willing to do this, it would be like tearing a piece out of a new garment to patch an old one. This is not so in the case of Christ, but it characterises everyone who wishes to implement new things by force in a denomination (religion). Curiously, the examples he uses are those working to make a denomination more similar, or attempting to improve certain

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<sup>384</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 161.

<sup>385</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 161.

<sup>386</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 162.

principles, practices, or liturgies. That would be to piece together a new garment, and they have no mandate to do this:

Wenn man gewisse *Principia* oder Gewohnheiten und Liturgien verbessern will in einer Religion, das heißt einen neuen Fleck auf ein alt Kleid setzen, als wozu wir keine *Comission* haben.<sup>387</sup>

However, to bring the heart of the person as close as possible<sup>388</sup> can be referred to as being a faithful “man of religion” (*Religions-Mann*). Furthermore, Zinzendorf describes how the Saviour has given them sufficient arguments through his example. Jesus proved this right up until the end of his life:

Dazu hat des Heilands Exempel *Arguments* genug gegeben: denn so hat er sich bewiesen bis ans Ende seines Lebens.<sup>389</sup>

In the final paragraphs of the homily, Zinzendorf turns to central motifs in his spirituality once more, namely the heart as well as the eternal bridegroom. When a brother is needed in his own denomination, being able to serve there since he belongs to that denomination, then he would treat the work of the heart with the style and words of his denomination. Through this he would make the souls acquainted with the eternal bridegroom:

Und wenn ein Bruder gebraucht wird in seiner Religion, und soll da und dort dienen, und kan es, weil er von der Religion ist, denn anders geht es nicht an, der wollte doch mit dem *Stilo*, mit der Sprache seiner Religion, das Herz-Werk *tractiren*, und die Seelen mit ihrem ewigen Braütigam bekannt machen, und thue es doch nicht in der Art und *Facon* einer andern Verfassung, auch nicht nach der hiesigen Art sich ausdrücken; sondern thue es als sein treuer Religions-Mann.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 162.

<sup>388</sup> Presumably to God (my comment).

<sup>389</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 163.

<sup>390</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 163–64.

Familiarising the souls with Christ in this manner is, in other words, what characterises a faithful man of religion.

The reason for this argumentation is, for Zinzendorf, not "conservation" or forming a new denomination for themselves. He admits that this is in fact an argument against Martin Luther who had, according to Zinzendorf, encouraged the formation of new congregations when righteous people wanted to be Christians. This critique of Luther is quite rare in the homilies since Zinzendorf on numerous occasions argues that he is a Lutheran. The faithfulness towards one's own denomination is once again underscored at the end of the homily:

Daß wenn die Brüder auf unsern Gemein-Anstalten gewöhnt sind von der Religion mit *Respect* zu denken, ein Reformirter oder Lutherischer Bruder, und wenn er sich zehn Jahre bey uns aufhält, darum nicht von seiner Religion abgeschwätzt wird; sondern ihr hernach noch mit eben der Kindlichkeit, Herzlichkeit, Einfalt, Zufriedenheit, Gewissens-Räume und Treue dienen kan, als wenn er sein Tage nicht unter den Brüdern gewesen wäre.<sup>391</sup>

The concluding argument is the faithfulness of Christ as the major example: that he was born and raised a Jew, and that he lived and died a Jew.

Ein Religions-Mann zu seyn, brauchen wir keinen andern Trieb und Beweg-Ursache, als daß es unser lieber Heiland gewesen, daß er als ein Jude Geboren und erzogen ist, und als ein Jude geboren und erzogen ist, und als ein Jude gelebt, und gestorben.<sup>392</sup>

### **Die Siebenzehnde Homilie**

This homily was given on 3 July 1747.

The text is:

*Deine Ohnmacht und Schwächlichkeit,*

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<sup>391</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 164.

<sup>392</sup> *Die Sechszehnde Homilie*, 165.

*Mach uns unsr'e Schwachheit recht.  
Deine Leidens- und Todes- Furcht,  
Beschäme der Zeugen Großmuth.  
Dein Verlaß mir deinem himmlischen  
Vater, zu leiden und nicht zu leiden,  
Sey unser Macht- Spruch von deiner  
Selbständigen Göttlichkeit.  
Deine willige Passion,  
Lehre uns die Leidsamkeit.*

Although the pietist views upon Scripture generally, and Zinzendorf's specifically, have been outlined earlier in this dissertation, the use of the pericopes stand out in the seventeenth homily since the Count uses not only one, but three texts as a departure point for preaching over these parts of the litany. He even justifies this use at the outset:

Es kommt nicht darauf an, was von Materien in die Wunden-Litaney zuerst oder zuletzt vorkommt. Es sind die Lammes-Texte in diesen Tagen von der Art, daß sie in die Wunden-Litaney besonders einpassen.<sup>393</sup>

In other words, the order of the litany is rather insignificant. It does not matter what comes first or last. He writes that the texts of these days are particularly suited regarding the Litany of the Wounds. The first reference is John 10:17,<sup>394</sup> which was the text read the day before. He then turns to the text of the day (which takes place in the garden of Gethsemane on Maundy Thursday). The verse is from Luke 22:44a.<sup>395</sup> Zinzendorf then cites the text for the next day, Luke 22:44b.<sup>396</sup> Zinzendorf then describes how these texts are to be received. The first gives occasion to consider weakness and powerlessness of Christ; the second concerns his fear of suffering and death; the third his fear of being abandoned by the heavenly Father; and the fourth to reflect upon his willing passion. This is connected to praxis. The Count

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<sup>393</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 166.

<sup>394</sup> “The reason my Father loves me is that I lay down my life—only to take it up again” (NIV).

<sup>395</sup> “And being in anguish, he prayed more earnestly” (NIV).

<sup>396</sup> “And his sweat was like drops of blood falling to the ground” (NIV).

mentions different stations for meditation. He emphasises that it is agreed that the Saviour was both weak and powerless:

Es ist eine ganz ausgemachte Sache, meine Geschwister, daß der Heiland einmal ohnmächtig und schwächlich gewesen.<sup>397</sup>

After having concluded this, Zinzendorf turns to some of his most widely used passages from the Bible: The resurrection of Lazarus (John 11:1–44). He comments this action as:

Die Auserweckung Lazari ist die aller-*equivocqueste* Handlung, die der Heiland in seinem Leben vorgenommen hat.<sup>398</sup>

The Count admits that there are few examples of people being resurrected, but he mentions three other texts: that of Elisha who raises the child (2 Kgs 4:29–35),<sup>399</sup> the story of when Jesus raises the widow’s son (Luke 7:11–17); and the story where Jesus resurrects the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:1–33).

This is also the homily where the highest number of referrals to pericopes can be found at the outset. In usual style, Zinzendorf continues the homily by paraphrasing the story of Jesus and Lazarus. In the first few paragraphs he simply retells the story, but when he reaches Jesus’s prayer before the resurrection, he stops to reflect upon the character of this prayer. This characterisation is also typical for Zinzendorf. He writes that Christ prayed like a child:

Endlich stellte er sich hin und betete wie ein Kind beten kan heut zu Tage, ein Gebet, das natürlich klung wie die Antworten, die er in der Wüsten und auf der Zinne des Tempels gegeben: lieber Vater! Ich weiß daß du mich allezeit erhörest, ich gebe dir die Ehre, und du wirst wissen, was das beste ist.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 167.

<sup>398</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 167.

<sup>399</sup> The importance of this story is even underscored in the twenty-seventh homily, where the plea is: “Do it like Elisha, we want to be the child!” This text was particularly important during Communion, when the image of the dead Christ acting like Elisha revived a child by lying on his body (Atwood [2004], 167).

<sup>400</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 169.



Zinzendorf begins to describe Christ's emotions as Christ is about to perform the miracle: how he was humble and human, and how he felt that people would rage over this last miracle before the Passion. Furthermore, that he knew with certainty that this would cost him his life. The Count adds that when one observes how awkward and anxious the Saviour was, one can see that he was both powerless and weak.

He then progresses by elaborating upon the humanness of Christ as he was on the Mount of Olives foreseeing his coming torment and death:

Und da es nun geschehen war, und den Todten auferweckt, und Gott ihn erhört hatte: so ging er endlich an seinen bestimmten Tod mit Leidens-und Todes-furcht. Er furchte sich vor dem Tode, daß er zitterte und betete am Ölberge und sagte: Lieber himmlischer Vater, wenn es möglich wäre, daß mir das verkürzt würde!<sup>401</sup>

As the story is described, the Count continues to address the emotions of Christ and in doing so shifts from description to his own interpretation. The plea to the Father is expanded, and the paragraph is concluded with the sweat of Jesus falling like drops of blood on the ground.

Zinzendorf describes the emotions of Christ as a wondrous thing, revealed by the Holy Spirit. He underlines that it shall be so, it belongs to the story, and that the Saviour, the Creator,<sup>402</sup> was afraid of his suffering and death:

Aber es soll so seyn, es gehört mit dazu, die ganze Welt soll es wissen, daß der Heiland, unser Schöpfer, sich vor dem Tode gefürchtet, sich vor seinem Leiden entsetzt hat.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 170.

<sup>402</sup> As noted, Christ as Creator is original in the spirituality of Zinzendorf.

<sup>403</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 171.

To have Christ in the heart is the condition for feeling that he is the husband of the believer. Zinzendorf describes how, when they are his people, the heart "walks as on roses" (*so geht uns Herz auf Rosen*), and the corpse-air, the death, and the odour of the grave blows towards them:

Nun, meine Geschwister! Wenn wir das zusammen nehmen, und haben das Lamm nicht im Herzen, und fühlen nicht, es ist unser Mann, so stehen uns die Haare zu Berge; den weil wir Menschen sind, und nicht ohne Antheil an dieser Mühe sind, so können wir nicht ohne die allertieffste Rührung dabey bleiben: wenn wir aber seine Leute sind, wenn es und so gut worden ist, daß wir wissen, er hat um unsertwillen gelitten; so geht unser Herz auf Rosen, wenn wir daran denken, so sind *Etefiæ* der Kirche, wenn nuns die Leichnams-Lüfte, der Todes- und Grabes-Duft Christi entgegen wehet.<sup>404</sup>

The quote below contains several of the key elements of Zinzendorf's spirituality: the importance of the heart, bridal mysticism (Christ as husband), the atonement and the veneration of the dead body of Christ, and the smell of his death and grave.

The Count expresses a peculiar notion regarding the Saviour's fear of suffering and death:

Meine Geschwister, wir geniessen des Heilandes Leidens- und Todes- Furcht, seine Schwächlichkeit, und sein demuthiges Bezeigen nicht nur geistlich; sondern es haben es seine Jünger viele hundert Jahre hernach genossen, sie wären gewiß alle vom Erdboden vertilgt worden wenn er mit dem Trotz und mit der Großmuth gestorben wäre, wie mancher seiner Martyrer.<sup>405</sup>

The believer enjoys, even savours the fear and weakness of the Saviour, and Zinzendorf asks: What is there to learn from this reliance on the Father to suffer and not to suffer? The answer is that they are then taught the language of power from his independent godliness.

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<sup>404</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 172.

<sup>405</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 174.

Zinzendorf continues to elaborate on the last petition of the heading, regarding the willing passion of Christ, and asks what one can learn from it:

Daraus lernen wir, meine Geschwister, daß wenn die Leiden niemand als uns betreffen, und keinen Einfluß ins Ganze haben, noch in unsern Beruf, der uns befohlen ist, wenn wir nicht aus Pflicht und Schuldigkeit und Treue uns manchmal müssen wider den Laden legen, so lassen wir uns alle Schmach anthun, und tragens.<sup>406</sup>

He concludes that it is the greatest wisdom of the children of God when they manage to suffer, and it makes sense regarding the envy of Satan. However, the heart must be "engaged with a man who suffered so much before, that his bride is without a weal. I don't see him differently when I suffer, one recognises better for his other I, one comprehends better that I am a Christian, and taken from Man":<sup>407</sup>

Aber unser Herz muß dazu da seyn, das muß leidsam seyn, dem Herzen muß es so seyn: ich bin einem Mann vertrauet, der ehemdem so viel litte, daß es sich nicht geziemt, daß seine Braut ohne Striemen sey, ich sehe ihm ja nicht unähnlich, wenn ich leide, man erkennt mich desto sichtbarer, für sein ander Ich, man begreiffst desto besser, daß ich Christin heisse und vom Manne genommen bin.<sup>408</sup>

### **Die Achtzehnde Homilie**

This homily was given on 6 July 1747.

The text is:

*Deine Creuz- Theologie,*

*Bleibe unser Glaubens- Bekenntnis.*

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<sup>406</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 176.

<sup>407</sup> Once again, it is the story of the creation of Eve from the rib of man (Genesis 2) signifying the mystical union of the believer with the heavenly bridegroom.

<sup>408</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 177.

The eighteenth homily starts with yet another plea to Christ: "May your theology of the cross remain our confession of faith!" It is an original notion. A plea regarding his theology of the cross. Naturally, a *theologia crucis* is no original concept within a Lutheran context. The original concept is that the plea is directed to Christ himself. It is well worth exploring what Zinzendorf attempts to outline, especially in the eighteenth homily.

At the outset he emphasises that the theology of the cross and the atonement have become so common for over a thousand years that they have been taken for granted. The consequence is that the people have almost forgotten how people considered these in the Saviour's own time. However, Zinzendorf states that the present day once again brings the old biblical teaching to mind:

Ich sage, die ieszige Umstände der Welt bringen uns die alte biblische *Idèen* von der Lehre vom Creuz wieder ins Gemüth, die man bey nahe tausend Jahre vergessen hatte: und wenn Ich denen Leuten, die das tausendjährige Reich schlechterdings von dem vierten *Seculo* herschreiben, ein *Argument suppeditiren* wollte.<sup>409</sup>

However, Zinzendorf draws a comparison between his own time and the first centuries of Christianity. He mentions how the teaching of the cross has been doubted in public in his age, while one could have been excommunicated in the past:

Das hat sich nun freylich sehr geändert. Wir sind gerade wieder in dergleichen Zeiten, darinnen der Heiland und seine Apostel waren.<sup>410</sup>

The Count gives an explicit critique against those calling themselves Christians who have "thrown the yoke of the cross of their necks." Thus, as soon as this has occurred in Christianity, the theology of the cross becomes a secret yet again. The Count underscores this

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<sup>409</sup> *Die Achtzehnde Homilie*, 178.

<sup>410</sup> *Die Achtzehnde Homilie*, 179.

with a citation from Mark 8:38.<sup>411</sup> The cross is a secret in Zinzendorf's view, and he writes that the Saviour undoubtedly expresses the theology of the cross in the words:

Was ich euch sage ins Ohr, das prediget auf den Dächern, weil er vorausgesehen hat, daß eine Zeit kommen würde, da die Lehre vom Creuz so allgemein werden würde, daß die Menschen, wenn sie sich sehr groß machen wollten, das Creuz, daran der Heiland gehangen hat, zu ihrem schönsten *Ornament*, und größten Schmuck machen und denken würden, es könnte keine grosse *Solennität* vorbegehen, wenn nicht das Creuz auf der Brust hienge.<sup>412</sup>

Zinzendorf criticises his present time day and describes how the universal testimony of the cross being lost is a reality in the heart (*Die Realität im Herzen*). Thus, the glory of the wounds is gradually lost, and the word once again becomes a confession of faith. He operates with a distinction between what he calls "Christen" and "Christianer." These terms are almost impossible to translate to English, but by this distinction he wishes to convey that through the "Christianer," Christianity once more becomes a peculiar religion—a sect of the cross. Finally, when the words of the cross are exterminated (*Exterminirt*), which has almost happened already, the one who preaches the cross will be called a Herrnhuter. The full concluding remark is as follows:

Darnach wirds dahin kommen, wohin es schon ziemlich gekommen ist, daß man unter den Protestanten einen Menschen, der vom Creuz Christi, von seiner Versöhnung und Blute redt, gleich an der Sprache kennen wird, daß er nicht von der rechten *Orthodoxie* ist, sondern, wie mans jetzt ausspricht, ein Herrnhuter.<sup>413</sup>

The next paragraph is a continued critique. The theology of the cross is called the noblest of all theology, and it is now hidden away. The Count exclaims: "Ach die böse Welt!"

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<sup>411</sup> "If anyone is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will be ashamed of them when he comes in his Father's glory with the holy angels" (NIV).

<sup>412</sup> *Die Achtzehnde Homilie*, 180.

<sup>413</sup> *Die Achtzehnde Homilie*, 181.

Zinzendorf underlines this with the word of the apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:2.<sup>414</sup>

He delivers a profound critique towards the philosophy of his time and claims that people will become fools if Scripture is set aside. However, this theology of the cross does not contain defensible, true arguments of reason. It is a confession of faith and a confession of the heart:

Sondern es ist ein Glaubens-Bekennniß, es läufft darauf hinaus, ich glaübs, mein Herz saet mirs, ich gläube, daß Jesus Christus mein Herr und Schöpfer ist, der mich verlorren und verdammten Menschen erlöst, erworben gewonnen von allen Sünden, vom Tode und der Gewalt des Teuffels, nicht mit Gold oder Silber, auch nicht mit Bogen, Schwerdt und Gewaltthätigkeit, sondern mit seinem eigenen theuren Blut, und mit seinem unschuldigen Leiden und Sterben, damit ich *independemment* von allen anderen Menschen und Sachen sein eigen sey. Das ist das kurze Glaubens-Bekennniß, daß wir aus dem Herzen heraus holen.<sup>415</sup>

Thus, the confession is associated with those believers who put their faith in the atonement, the suffering, and the blood of Jesus, and experience this in the heart.

### **Die neunzehnde Homilie**

This homily was given on 16 July 1747.

The text is:

*Dein recht zum letzten Willen  
Mach uns deinen Willen theuer,  
Dein mit dem Tode bestätigtes Testament  
Bleiben die Regel deiner Erben  
Deines Testaments Erfüller,  
Bringe die zerstreueten Kinder Gottes*

The nineteenth homily turns to legal terms to outline the legacy (testament) of Christ. This homily elaborates on how to keep the children of God within Christianity. The entire homily

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<sup>414</sup>“For I resolved to know nothing while I was with you except Jesus Christ and him crucified” (NIV).

<sup>415</sup> *Die Achtzehnde Homilie*, 183.

is an elaboration upon one theme: the last will of Jesus. The departure point is what Zinzendorf calls a threefold last will of Christ:

- 1) Des Heilands Recht ein Testament zu machen,
- 2) das Testament selber, das letzte, das der Tod bestätigt hat, und
- 3) des Heilands seinen Testaments-*Executores*.<sup>416</sup>

To underscore this testament Zinzendorf uses John 19:26–27a.<sup>417</sup> However, the original image the Count creates is that Mary and John receive an actual testament from the dying Christ which is found two chapters prior to the crucifixion in John 17:

Er ruffte seine Mutter und Johannem herzu, und stellte in ihre Hand sein Testament, daß sie ein Geist und eine Seele, zusammen des Lammes ehrwürdige Höhle seyn sollten, befahl sie einander, band sie zusammen, knüpfte zusammen Herz und Herz, und *configurierte* in ihre Personen alle die Tausende, die noch werden sollten, und die er in seinem Testamente mit den Worten, nicht nur sie, sondern alle, die durch ihr Wort an mich glauben werden, einander bis in die Ewigkeiten *substituirt* hat.<sup>418</sup>

To comprehend Zinzendorf’s line of thought, it is imperative to examine the importance the two verses from John 19 held for Zinzendorf. This pericope has a formative character in his thought and is where the church is established in his theology. He writes about this moment on several occasions and emphasises in his *Gemeinreden* that when one considers the first church, he is not speaking of Ephesus or Jerusalem, but the Holy Trinity—that is, church without flaw. The church exists from the moment when Christ says to Mary, “This is your son,” and to John, “This is your mother.” This passage is paraphrased in other texts, and a prominent example can be found in the fourth sermon on the *Confessio Augustana*, where he writes:

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<sup>416</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 184.

<sup>417</sup> “Near the cross of Jesus stood his mother, his mother’s sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw his mother there, and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to her, ‘Woman, here is your son,’ and to the disciple, ‘Here is your mother’” (NIV).

<sup>418</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 187.

Und der Heiland hat in demselben Moment mit dem einzigen Wörtgen: das ist dein Sohn, das ist deine Mutter, mehr ausgerichtet, mehr *præstirt*, als wenn er hätte lassen die ganze Menge so vieler tausend Engel zusammen kommen, und hätte in ihrer gegenwart den Satan mit allen seinen Engeln vertilget.<sup>419</sup>

Zinzendorf continues to elaborate upon how they were bound together in the nineteenth homily, heart to heart—and not just them, but for everyone who was to come:

Daß sie ein Geist und eine Seele, zusammen des Lammes ehrwürdige Höhle seyn sollten, befahl sie einander, band sie zusammen, knüpfte zusammen Herz und Herz, und *confinirte* in ihre Personen alle die Tausende, die noch werden sollten, und die er in seinem Testamente mit den Worten, nicht nur sie, sondern alle, die durch ihr Wort an mich gläuben werden, einander bis in die Ewigkeiten *substituirt* hat.<sup>420</sup>

Zinzendorf states the testament itself and formulates a plea once more. “Your testament by death confirmed, by the rule of your heirs.”<sup>421</sup> However, the testament is not valid when the person is alive, but first becomes so when he is truly deceased:

Ein Testament gilt nicht, so lange der Mensch lebt, aber wenn er wirklich abgeschieden ist, wenn er wirklich diese *Atmosphære* verlassen hat, darnach haben die Menschen, die nach ihm bleiben, die in derselben Luft und Gegend zurück bleiben, die er verlassen, mit seinem letzen Willen zu thun, mit der *Execution* seines letzten Willens. Da macht man sein Testament auf, da sieht man, was er hat haben wollen.<sup>422</sup>

It seems like Zinzendorf attempts to capture the essence of this testament when he states that the testament itself is precisely no more than what is expressed in the hymn “Was macht ein

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<sup>419</sup> L. von Zinzendorf (1747), *Der öffentlichen Gemeinreden im Jahr 1747 erster und zweiter Teil*, Hauptschriften, bd 4, Vierte Rede, 80.

<sup>420</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 187.

<sup>421</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 188.

<sup>422</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 189.



Creuz-Luft-Vögelein.” This is a short testament, made by Christ in every part. It is interesting (keeping in mind that the Count preaches over liturgical text) that when he expresses the essence of the testament, he also refers to praxis—in this case, a hymn that presumably would be known by all who would listen to the nineteenth homily or, indeed, who would read it after it was printed.

The Count refers to the appearance of Christ in suffering. Furthermore, he refers to the eighth homily and the plea for Jesus to look upon the believer with broken eyes. He adds a quote from Galatians 2:20<sup>423</sup> to underscore his point and writes that this is the real testament:

Das ist das eigentliche Testamente, darauf kommts an im Testamente, er hat allein seinen Seelen und Herzeln zugleich sich selbst gemacht, seinen Todes-Leichnam, seine ganze Marter-Person mit Leib und Seel.<sup>424</sup>

Zinzendorf outlines further the state and character of the believer and uses familiar imagery of his spirituality: the “cross-air,” the “smell of blood,” the “sweat in the fight of penance and death,” the “whole body of suffering,” the “faithful soul of the husband”:

So ist der allmächtige *Executor* des Testaments gleich da, der läßt nicht zu, der *maintenirt* uns in dem Besitz aller der Creuz-Lüfte, aller der blutigen Dünste, des Schweisses im Buß-und Todes-Kampfe, des ganzen Marter-Leichnams, der ganzen treuen Eh-Manns-Seele, die in seinen Kindern lebe und regieren soll.<sup>425</sup>

Once again, he underscores that the one rule is that “the believer no longer lives, but Christ lives in him.”<sup>426</sup> And the Count adds to the citation, writing that the believer doesn’t even think anymore. Christ thinks in him. The following is an interesting reflection upon the Count’s views on knowledge, and how this is interpreted for the believer:

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<sup>423</sup> “I no longer live, but Christ lives in me” (NIV).

<sup>424</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 190.

<sup>425</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 191.

<sup>426</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 192.

Also ist die einzige Regel: Ich lebe nicht mehr, sondern mein Mann lebt in mir, ich denk' nicht mehr, mein Mann denkt in mir, er redt aus mir, er handelt durch meine Hände, er geht mit meinen Füßen, er sieht durch meine Augen, er hört mit meinen Ohren, er *reflectirt* mit den *Idèen*, mit der *Facultät*, die er mir zu denken gegeben hat; sie sind alle in seiner Hand, ich *disponire* nicht mehr drüber, er belebt sie.<sup>427</sup>

The next pericope he adds to the line of argument is once more the parable of the yeast, used to describe the nature of the believer: a “Sauerteigs-Natur”. This is also applied to the character of the Moravians. Where they are sent, this nature is within them. Typically, the preaching of the gospel can be administered with few words:

Wenn ich *Ordre* kriege, ich soll mich *communiciren*, ich soll meine Gnade, meine Christheit mittheilen, so kans ohne viel Worte geschehen, wenn zwey, drey, zehen, hundert zusammen kommen, so werden zie alle von einer Gnade, von einem Leben, von einem Blut, von einer Luft durchgangen.<sup>428</sup>

Zinzendorf then continues by preaching the mystery of the Passion, wounds, cross-air, and by telling those listening to or reading his homily to be dear small fishes in the sea of blood. He even describes how the believer has both bed and table in the side wound of Christ:<sup>429</sup>

Wir wollen hineinschwimmen ins Wunden-Meer, wir wollen bald Täublein seyn auf seine Pleure zu, auf seine Seite, auf sein Creuz, auf seine Creuz-Luft zu, bald Fischlein im Strom der Wunden, der den Erdboden bedeckt, da wollen wir Bettgen und Tischgen haben.<sup>430</sup>

According to Zinzendorf, the Saviour has two executors for his testament: the Father and the Holy Spirit. The Count adds that the Saviour said this, and it is known to them (the Moravians). Then a citation and paraphrasing of John 17 is used to underscore the argument

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<sup>427</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 192.

<sup>428</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 193.

<sup>429</sup> See Fogleman (2007), 88.

<sup>430</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 194.

that the Father is executor. Furthermore, the Count asks what the role of the Holy Spirit as executor is and writes that it is to bring the distracted children of God together:

Was ist den des heiligen Geistes sein Theil der *Execution*? Er bringt die zerstreuten Kinder Gottes aus der ganzen Welt zusammen, wir singen: Dazu der Geist versammelt hat das Volk aus aller Welt Zungen, das sey dem Haupt zu Lob gesungen.<sup>431</sup>

The last paragraph of the nineteenth homily deals with salvation as the consequence of the testament of Christ. Zinzendorf concludes with his crucial text constituting the true believers, once again the story of Mary and John by the cross—the first siblings of the cross (*Creuz-Geschwister*). The conclusion of the homily is:

Und ein solcher Zusammenhang ist, wie zwischen der Maria und dem Johannes, dem ersten Creuz-Geschwister: denn der kommt aus dem innersten Elends-Gefühle, aus einem gemeinschaftlich armen bettelhaften Zustande, und aus einer gemeinschaftlichen Begnadigung, Befeligung, und hineinfahren in den Rock der Gerechtigkeit, ja gar in des Heilandes Leib und Seele.<sup>432</sup>

### **Die Zwanzigte Homilie**

This homily was given on 23 July 1747.

The text is:

*Deine heilige Blut- Tauffe,  
Zünde hin durch Gottes Erdboden.*

The twentieth homily cites John 19:15 at the outset.<sup>433</sup> The words of Pilate before the crucifixion function as a departure point following the introductory petition: “Your Holy baptism in blood, ignite all of God’s earth.” Zinzendorf adds, “O blessed and blessed again, for him who can rejoice in him in heart and mind.”<sup>434</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 195.

<sup>432</sup> *Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 198.

<sup>433</sup> “Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!” (King James Version).

<sup>434</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 199.

The Count outlines how they have started the year in the congregation with this text, and he states that amongst all the things one can encompass in Christ is the passion. No other aspect is more interesting than the moment when Jesus was presented to Pilate:

Es ist so sehr viel an ihm zu sehen, aber es ist doch unter allen den Blicken keiner *interessanter*, als der, da ihn der Pilatus *präsentirt*, als sein Tauff-Zeuge, wie man einen Menschen, der eben aus der Tauffe kommt, in seinem Meister-Hemde darstellt, wenn ihm die Tauff-Tropfen noch von seinem Haupte fließen.<sup>435</sup>

Zinzendorf continues this description extensively and establishes a link between the baptism of Christ and the Passion. However, the Count begins to outline a different baptism, a baptism in blood. He writes that the first Christians felt great joy for this kind of baptism, and that it was made into a sacrament of initiation for the whole Christian religion. He explains how the baptism in blood was linked to martyrdom amongst the earliest Christians:

Die heilige Marter-Tauffe ist der Eingang in die Christenheit, in den Bund mit Christo: wenn aber ein Heide sich bekehrte, und wurde hingerissen vor den Richter, sollte den Götzen opfern, und wollte nicht, und bekannte Christum bis in den Tod, und er wurde ums Leben gebracht, im *Theatro*, oder auf einem Echafaut, oder *tumultuarisch*, wie es etwa zugging; so wurde er unter den Getaufften gezehlt: den man sagte, er hat die Marter-Tauffe ausgestanden, er hat die Blut-Tauffe gehabt.<sup>436</sup>

This baptism in blood is also called a "bloody baptism of the cross" regarding the Passion of Christ. He underlines this with a citation from the book of Revelation which describes how those decapitated in the name of Jesus would be included amongst the holy, having part in the kingdom of the Lamb.

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<sup>435</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 199.

<sup>436</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 201.

All of the earth and its inhabitants are considered the just heirs of the Lamb, and Satan does not hold power over one single soul:

Darum erkennen wir den ganzen Erdboden mit allen seinen Einwohnern für gerechte Erbtheile des Lämmleins, für ihm zugehörige Creaturen, und gestehen mit Satan nicht das geringste Recht mehr zu, an einiger Seele.<sup>437</sup>

All souls belong to the Saviour; he is the lord over the living and the dead. This is the reason for his death, his resurrection, and being alive once more. Judas the apostle claims him to be the only Lord<sup>438</sup> over death, sin, devil, life, and mercy, holding everything in his hands.

Through his baptism he is anointed to be priest for all eternity and, furthermore, to:

Damit der Menschen-Sohn geweyhet worden ist zum Priester der Zeit und der Ewigkeit, zum Schöpfer der neuen Creatur, zum andern Adam, zum Erstatter aller verdorbenen Dinge, zum Tilger alles Fluchs. Und zum Bürgen für alle noch verschuldete Creaturen, die in ihren Thürmen sitzen und da verfaulen sollten.<sup>439</sup>

Zinzendorf claims that the meaning of this is to set fire to the whole earth. What follows is a rare citation from the Old Testament, which is, in fact, the only time this pericope is used in the homilies. He states that this setting fire is what is uttered in this psalm. The pericope is from Psalm 24:7.<sup>440</sup> This is what gives the brethren assurance. Zinzendorf then asks: What does this igniting of the world mean? It is to let a fire continue to burn, not to put it out:

Was heißt denn hinzünden? Hinzünden heißt wenn man ein Feuer lauffen läßt, und dasselbige geht seinen Gang fort, und wens nicht gelöscht wird, so zündets ein ganzes Land an: wenn das Feuer kein Ziel nicht bald findet, wozu es bestimmt ist, so brennts immer fort bis zum Ziel, bis daß es das angezündet hat, was es *finaliter*

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<sup>437</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 203.

<sup>438</sup> Here, Zinzendorf uses the term "Despota." I have chosen a somewhat milder translation.

<sup>439</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 203.

<sup>440</sup> "Lift up your heads, you gates;  
be lifted up, you ancient doors,  
that the King of glory may come in" (NIV).

anzünden soll, und bis alles zusammen gefallen ist, was zusammen fallen kan durch dasselbe Feuer.<sup>441</sup>

This is the kind of fire that has been ignited after his baptism of blood, and no one has the power to put it out. No one can defend themselves from it, stand it, or extinguish it.

Zinzendorf underscores this when he adds a citation from the Song of Songs 8:7.<sup>442</sup>

By referencing this verse, Zinzendorf adds some other connotations. The Song of Songs has been used several times in the homilies, and it is central for bridal mysticism. Thus, Zinzendorf connects the fire with love. When the Count then rhetorically asks, “What kind of fire is this?”, he answers that it is nothing other than the same Christ’s baptism of blood, shed for the atonement of all sins:

Aber was ist das für eine Feuer? Es ist nichts anders, als dasselbe Blut Jesu Christi, das damals vergossen ist zur Vergebung aller Sünden, und das noch nicht aufgehört hat zu quillen bis ins ewige Leben, das noch immer läufft, das noch nicht versieget oder vertrocknet ist, damit noch bis diese heutige Stunde alles besprengt werden muß.<sup>443</sup>

Zinzendorf underscores this with a verse from Hebrews 10:22.<sup>444</sup> He continues by stating that the blood being sprinkled upon them is the same as in the time of that letter. Blood must be sprinkled upon their conscience, hands, feet, all limbs—blood upon all their dealings:

Drum sind wir auch nicht zu weit davon, sondern dasselbe Blut, daß zur Zeit der Epistel an die Hebräer besprengen mußte, das besprengt noch. Soll uns wohl seyn, so muß Blut gesprengt werden auf unsere Herzen, Blut auf unser Gewissen, Blut auf unsere Hände und Füße, und alle Glieder, Blut auf alle unsere Geschäfte, und sonderlich zu der Zeit, wenn wir einmal wieder abstäuben, wenn wir uns wieder einmal rein machen, wenn wir uns waschen wollen, wenn wir einmal wollen in der

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<sup>441</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 204.

<sup>442</sup> “Many waters cannot quench love; rivers cannot sweep it away” (NIV).

<sup>443</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 204–5.

<sup>444</sup> “Let us draw near to God with a sincere heart and with the full assurance that faith brings, having our hearts sprinkled to cleanse us from a guilty conscience and having our bodies washed with pure water” (NIV).

ehelichen *Idèe* vor unser Lämmlein treten, dazu er uns *priviligirt* hat, so heilig als Jesu Wunden an Leib und Geist.<sup>445</sup>

Zinzendorf then writes about the living certainty of the atonement,<sup>446</sup> the gaze of faith upon the candidates for salvation, those who have been baptised with the baptism of the cross and have received the sacrament of the holy baptism in blood. Their hearts enter a new state:

Der das Sacrament der heiligen Blut-Tauffe zuerst empfangen hat, eine solche Wirkung aufs menschliche Herz, daß es einem aus seinem ganzen vorigen Zustande heraus setzet in einen neuen, und daß es den Grund und Boden des Herzens umkehrt.<sup>447</sup>

He concludes that for those people who have the blood as their element, for whom the smell of the corpse (of Christ) has become the air of life, who withdraw into their inner being daily, are after that fully his. They are his people, and they will remain so until they gaze upon he that they believe in.

Zinzendorf then elaborates further on ignition as the certitude of faith:

Zünde hin: Das heißt dieselbe Glaubensgewißheit, dieselbe Glaubens-Predigt, die gehet nach Osten und Westen, nach Süden und Norden, die greiffet die Herzen an in allen Wildnissen, die fällt in sie hinein wie eine Flamme, und macht, daß sie nicht mehr können ihr selbst seyn, macht sie zerinnen, und zerschmelzen vor Liebe zu dem Freund, vor Liebe zu dem Herrn, vor Liebe zu dem Schöpfer, der ihre Seelen mit seinem Tode gekauft hat.<sup>448</sup>

The erotic language is evident. The believer melts with love for the friend (a title used for the lover in the Song of Songs), with love for the Lord and for the Creator. This is the effect of

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<sup>445</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 205.

<sup>446</sup> "Daß ein Lamm geschlachtet war."

<sup>447</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 206.

<sup>448</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 207.

the holy baptism of blood, the sacrament of the baptism of torment which the body of the Lamb has still smelled thereof:

Das ist der *Effect* der heiligen Blut-Tauffe, des Sacraments der heiligen Marter-Tauffe, von der des Lämmleins Leib noch gedünstet hat, von der Broden noch ausgegangen ist, und sich mit der Luft, mit der zeitlichen irdischen Luft vermengt hat.<sup>449</sup>

Zinzendorf continues to elaborate upon the smell—the air of Christ—and its effect. It became mixed with the air of the world, but after the resurrection, the effect was at its strongest, when Christ still had the smell of blood and ordained the apostles with the breath of torment. The text from the Bible he chooses to underscore his point with is from John 20:22.<sup>450</sup> Once more, he returns to the parable of the yeast, as before linked to the apostles and their mission after the resurrection:

Eben dieselbe Marter-Tauffe ist noch bis auf den heutigen Tag das, womit der Teig eingeweyhet wird, der einmal Sauerteig werden muß, der einmal wieder andere zu Sauerteig machen, fortsäuern, fortsalzen und fort dauern muß bis in die Ewigkeiten, bis alles in einem Punct, bis alles in einem Mann, bis alles in des Einen seine Arme zusammen gelauffen ist.<sup>451</sup>

Zinzendorf concludes the homily with an admonition to go out and spare no effort to convince the world of the importance of the passion of Christ and to bring all nations to their knees before the light of his wounds, the sacrament of his baptism in blood and the sun of righteousness, until all the chosen will say with one voice: “you are worth it, since you have been slaughtered:”<sup>452</sup>

Und sparet keine Mühe nicht, die Welt zu überzeugen, bis sich vor seiner Wundenlicht bis sich vor dem Sacrament seiner Tauffe, ihrem blutigem Lichte, vor der Sonne der

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<sup>449</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 207.

<sup>450</sup> “And with that he breathed on them and said, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit’” (NIV).

<sup>451</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 207.

<sup>452</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 208.



Gerechtigkeit, alle Nationen auf ihre Knie legen, und bis nur eine Stimme wird aus alle Auserwählten: Du bist es werth, den du bist geschlachtet.<sup>453</sup>

### 5.7 Part V The Passion (8, and 21-28)

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|---------------------------|--|
| The Eighth Homily         | <i>Gebrochene augen!</i> (Dead eyes!)<br><i>Seht uns zum Augen heraus!</i> (Look out through our eyes!)  |
| The Twenty-first Homily   | <i>Dein Schweiß im Buß- kampf</i> (May your sweat in penitential struggle)<br><i>Dünst uns über Leib und Seel!</i> (Pour over us in body and soul!)  |
| The Twenty-second Homily  | <i>Ihr Ritzen von der Dornen- Kron</i> (Your scratches from the crown of thorns)<br><i>Zeichnet uns an der Stirne</i> (Mark us on our foreheads!)  |
| The Twenty-third Homily   | <i>Blasse Lippen!</i> (Pale lips!)<br><i>Küßt uns aufs Herz!</i> (Kiss us on the heart!)   |
| The Twenty-fourth Homily  | <i>Speichel- trieffender Mund</i> (Mouth dripping spittle)<br><i>Daß du niemand ausspeien müssest!</i> (That you would not have to spit out anyone!)   |
| The Twenty-fifth Homily   | <i>Blutiger Schaum vom Rücken</i> (Bloody foam from your back)<br><i>Wasch uns unsere Füße!</i> (Wash our feet!)<br><i>Zerschwitzte Haare</i> (Sweat-soaked hair)<br><i>Trocknet sie!</i> (Dry them!)  |
| The Twenty-sixth Homily   | <i>Offne Arme</i> (Open arms)<br><i>Nehmt uns!</i> (Receive us!)   |
| The Twenty-seventh Homily | <i>O ihr heiligen fünf Wunden</i> (O your five holy wounds)<br><i>Macht's wie Elisja, wir wollen das Kind seyn!</i> (Do like Elisha, we want to be the child!)   |
| The Twenty-eighth Homily  | <i>Durchgrabne Hände</i> (Pierced hands)<br><i>Weiset uns wo wir geschrieben stehn!</i> (Show us where we are written!)<br><i>Durchbohrte Füße</i> (Nail-bored feet)<br><i>Wenn steht ihr wieder auf dem Ölberge!</i> (When you stand again on the Mount of Olives!) |

This section focuses upon the appearance of the suffering Christ. It is an almost erotic meditation where Zinzendorf imagines facial expressions and the expressed suffering of Christ: his eyes, the sweat, marks from the crown of thorns, pale lips, mouth, his damp hair, arms, the five wounds, hands, and feet. To emphasise these meditations, Zinzendorf uses

<sup>453</sup> *Die Zwanzigste Homilie*, 208.

numerous biblical references. I have chosen to connect these with main aspects of Zinzendorfan spirituality: bridal mysticism and eroticism, blood and wounds, and mission. I have chosen to include the eighth homily, since it deals with images in close relation to homilies 21–28. The appearance of the eyes of the suffering Christ thus has a natural place in this section since homilies 9–15 emphasise the exemplary life of Christ. While this section consists of meditations, the section before deals with a different kind of imitation. In that section, Zinzendorf emphasised the imitation in the congregation and choirs. Furthermore, he described the school of the Holy Spirit, being firm in Scripture and through these themes the believer can recognise Christ. The creation of the church is connected to John 19, where this is linked with the Passion of Christ. The following section has a far more mystical character.

### **Bridal Mysticism and the Passion—The Ring Metaphor**

The twenty-eighth homily is the textual climax and ends with the merging of suffering and the mystical wedding of the believer to Christ. Blood and bridal mysticism are combined as the wedding is performed through the Passion of Christ. The wedding ring is the ultimate symbol in this context. It is, according to Zinzendorf, a fairly new consideration that will be dealt with in this homily. The wedding ring becomes the ultimate symbol of the union, quite traditionally, but the originality lies in the Count’s use of the symbol, and how he imagines the ring worn by Christ. His wedding ring is neither worn on the left, nor the right finger, but in the middle of the hand, and in both hands:

So trägt der Brautigam der Seelen seinen Trau-Ring mitten in der Hand, und in beyden Händen.<sup>454</sup>

Zinzendorf expands this image by describing the engraving inside the wedding ring as a symbol of the unity between Christ and the believer. An ordinary wedding ring is engraved with the name of the bride, whilst the wedding ring of Christ has the names of all the souls that are engaged/promised to him:

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<sup>454</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 293.

Im Trau-Ringe steht der Name von der Braut; in des Heilands Trau-Ringen stehen alle Namen der mit ihm verlobten Seelen, auch allenfalls derselbe mystische Name der ganzen mit ihm verlobten Kirche, der Männin; und also *virtualiter* aller derjenigen ihre Namen, die zu der Kirche gehören, die den Leib ausmachen, und dieses Leibes Glieder sind. Und in denen sich eben dasselbe Blut reget.<sup>455</sup>

To describe Christ's love for the believer, Zinzendorf cites Isaiah 49:16: "See, I have engraved you on the palms of my hands; your walls are ever before me."<sup>456</sup> This is precisely a chapter describing God's unending love towards humans. Even a mother can forget her child, but the Lord will never forget.

The ring metaphor is elaborated upon even further to ornaments as earrings. Just as one has one's ears pierced to hang beautiful rings there, the groom has had his hands pierced, and the name of the bride is carved out with the nails that were driven into his hands:

So gut man hat die Ohren durchbohrt, und die schönsten Ringe hinein gebracht zur Zierde: so gut hat sich auch der Brautigam die Hände durchbohren lassen, und der Braut ihren namen mit seinem Blut und Schweiß hineingegraben und ätzen, und mit den Nageln, die drein geschlagen sind, hinein zeichnen lassen.<sup>457</sup>

The next biblical reference Zinzendorf uses to expand the metaphor is taken from the Song of Songs. This biblical text has been important in the development of bridal mysticism. The sermon on the Song of Songs by the medieval mystic Bernard of Clairvaux is one of the most influential works in this regard. Sermons 83–86 in particular consider how the human soul's likeness to God is recovered through the love between the divine bridegroom and the loving soul as bride. Sermon 83 may be described as Bernard's most profound presentation of the love between God and humans figured in the spousal relation.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 294.

<sup>456</sup> NIV.

<sup>457</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 294.

<sup>458</sup> Bernard McGinn (2006), *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism* (New York: The Modern Library), 256.

From the Song of Songs Zinzendorf chooses a verse about the hand as well, taken from 5:14a: "Seine Hände sind wie goldene Ringe, voll Türkise."<sup>459</sup> The NIV reads as follows: "His arms are rods of gold set with topaz." The following argumentation is interesting, and it is almost like the Count associates freely over this text and at the same time adapts and expands the image of the hands of the groom. As such, his reading of the Song of Songs expands images and connects them with the suffering Christ. In a liberal manner, the Count completes the verse with thoughts of his own, though the actual verse 15b in Luther 1545 reads: "Sein Leib ist wie reines Elfenbein, mit Saphiren geschmückt." Or in the NIV: "His body is like polished ivory decorated with lapis lazuli." Zinzendorf reads the verse his way and writes a description:

Sie sehen so blau und durchbohrt aus, als wenn er einen der schönsten Türkis-Ringe in jeder Hand hätte.<sup>460</sup>

Thus, he completely alters the image in the Song of Songs. Instead of the lover's body polished and unblemished, it is the blue, pierced hands of Christ which is his meditation.<sup>461</sup> He continues this association, returns to Isaiah 49, and concludes that the passage from Song of Songs is connected to it:

Der Hohe-Priester hat die Namen auf der Brust getragen, auf dem Amts-Schildlein:  
ich aber trage dich in meinen Händen, da haben dich meine Schmerzen hinein  
gebeitzt; wenn du nun an meine Hände denkst, so denke an den Verlobungs-Ring den  
ich mit deiner Seele gewechselt habe.

Zinzendorf admits that this speech is quite allegorical, but nevertheless, true—it is the blessed state (*Punct*), the state of mercy (*Gnaden-punct*). To emphasise this point, he again paraphrases other biblical texts, first connecting the ring to the book of life in Revelation (Zinzendorf here uses the Latin term, *Libro Vivo*, which is mentioned in several chapters of

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<sup>459</sup> Luther Bibel 1545.

<sup>460</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 294.

<sup>461</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 294.

Revelation, even though Zinzendorf never specifies which). The second pericope he cites is from Psalm 45 at this point, providing the reference to the chapter in which the text is to be found. It reads, “Die Braut stehet zu deiner rechten”; or in the NIV (full verse), “Daughters of kings are among your honoured women; at your right hand is the royal bride in gold of Ophir” (Psalm 45:9).

Concluding the passage Zinzendorf venerates the objects of the homily: rings and hands.

O ihr Trau-Ringe, o ihr blutige, blaue, zerschwellene Hände, laßt keinen einigen Mit-Einwohner bey uns seyn, der in euren Ringen seinen Namen nicht so gut als gelesen hätte, in euren Höhlen, in euren Nagel-Löchern.<sup>462</sup>

The plea to be kissed by the pale lips of Christ is another expression for unity with the suffering Christ. The plea is even to be kissed on the heart. Zinzendorf describes how the pale lips will pull the soul out of the body by his kiss. Zinzendorf applies a paraphrase over John 14 to underline this argument.<sup>463</sup> When the Saviour finds a good heart, it receives the kiss of the pale lips, and the soul becomes healed, and is assisted, helped, forever. The believer is liberated from all lamentation:

Und so ists mit dem Kuß der blassen Lippen, wenn er empfunden und angenommen wird, wenn er ein gut Herz findet, das schon lange drauf gewartet hat, ja da sagt man: meine Seele ist genesen, nun ist meiner Seele auf ewig geholfen, nun kan ich mir wieder wohl seyn lassen, nun bin ich von allem meinem Jammer befreyet.<sup>464</sup>

When the kiss of peace is received (the original text says “when the kiss occurs”)—the kiss that the souls have anticipated—then it is an echo from the heart: “O creator of my soul, who has formed every hair on my head”<sup>465</sup>.

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<sup>462</sup> *Die acht und zwanzigste Homilie*, 295.

<sup>463</sup> “Do not let your hearts be troubled. You believe in God; believe also in me. My Father’s house has many rooms; if that were not so, would I have told you that I am going there to prepare a place for you? And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come back and take you to be with me that you also may be where I am” (John 14:1–3 [NIV]).

<sup>464</sup> *Die drey und zwanzigste Homilie*, 225.

<sup>465</sup> *Die drey und zwanzigste Homilie*, 225

Ach Schöpfer meinen-Oel Verwandler meiner Zährlein, o du in freuden-Oel  
Verwandler meiner Zährlein, mein's Menschthums Ehe-Mann, da hat sichs Geschöpf  
und der Schöpfer zusammen gefunden, da ist die Braut und der Brautigam zu einander  
gekommen, da hat das Fleisch sein Fleisch, da hat ein Bein das andere gefunden, und  
da ist die Vereinigung geschehen von ohnehin unzertrennlichen Leuten, die von  
rechtswegen zusammen gehören ewiglich.<sup>466</sup>

The believer was kissed once, and since then couldn't live without him. Zinzendorf elaborates on the kiss with a text from 2 Kings 13:21 about the prophet Elisha, which he refers to on several occasions in the homilies.<sup>467</sup> In this pericope, a man is resurrected just by contact with the dead bones of the prophet. This is then applied to the pale, martyr lips of Christ. The same occurs when they are pressed against the believer's heart. (The somewhat ornamented eighteenth-century German is hard to translate accurately, but Zinzendorf describes the lips as "die Marter-Leichnams-Lippen.")

The combination of passion and bridal mysticism is elaborated upon in the twenty-fifth homily as well. The jewellery metaphor is also prominent. In this context, it is also connected to the elaborate celebrations at Herrnhag, the "Feste der Kyria."<sup>468</sup> Zinzendorf writes that when the Saviour is adorned in the presence of his church, his whole house, and his wife (having been vividly imagined at the Kyria celebration). On this occasion, the choir also practised foot-washing as an independent ritual. As in the twenty-eighth homily, bridal mysticism and adoration of the blood and wounds of Christ are combined:

Die er an der Schönheit seiner Braut sehen wird, Blut die Fülle herunter fließen  
lassen, um sie zu waschen von allen Anklebungen, von den geringsten Befleckungen  
des Leibes und Gemüths, damit sie ihm in allen Stücken gefallen kan.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> *Die drey und zwanzigste Homilie, 225.*

<sup>467</sup> "Once while some Israelites were burying a man, suddenly they saw a band of raiders; so they threw the man's body into Elisha's tomb. When the body touched Elisha's bones, the man came to life and stood up on his feet" (NIV).

<sup>468</sup> See the analysis of the seventh homily.

<sup>469</sup> *Die fünf und zwanzigste Homilie, 255.*

The key pericope in this respect is the foot-washing found in John 13:5–9.<sup>470</sup> It is not only a ritual, but an expression of the intimate love between believers and the heavenly bridegroom. The key feature is, originally, that Jesus dries their feet with his sweaty hair. This act is not mentioned in the pericope, but is taken from a different one, namely Luke 7:37–38, 44–48.<sup>471</sup> Thus, Zinzendorf combines the two pericopes and expands the image of Christ. He is not only himself performing the act but is also connected to the “sinful woman” in the Luke pericope. Her humble act is followed by the Lord forgiving her sins. This again can point forward to the atonement of the cross, when the forgiveness of the sins of all mankind is performed. This is stated with even more profound evidence as Zinzendorf in the following passage reflects upon baptism and connects this to the foot-washing. This “water for the feet” (*Fuß-Wasser*) corresponds to the “water of baptism” (*Tauff-Wasser*), and this strengthens the biblical argument in the passage. In a homily which is seemingly held in Zinzendorf’s somewhat unordered fashion, this line of biblical argument, a biblically founded discourse, seems well disposed and organised. It represents a well performed “text within the text” which is characteristic for this cluster of Passion homilies.

As the “sinful woman,” Jesus dries the feet of the believers with his hair, and thus the connection is even stronger. Furthermore, his hair is connected to the Passion since it is matted with sweat (*zerschwitzt*). Zinzendorf states the reason:

Warum soll er uns aber mit seinen Haaren trocknen: Die Redens-Art ist hergenommen von dem, was wir in der Litaney zu der Kirche sagen: Gesalbte Locken deines Haars,

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<sup>470</sup> “After that, he poured water into a basin and began to wash his disciples’ feet, drying them with the towel that was wrapped around him. He came to Simon Peter, who said to him, ‘Lord, are you going to wash my feet?’ Jesus replied, ‘You do not realise now what I am doing, but later you will understand.’ ‘No,’ said Peter, ‘you shall never wash my feet.’ Jesus answered, ‘Unless I wash you, you have no part with me.’ ‘Then, Lord,’ Simon Peter replied, ‘not just my feet but my hands and my head as well!’” (NIV).

<sup>471</sup> “A woman in that town who lived a sinful life learned that Jesus was eating at the Pharisee’s house, so she came there with an alabaster jar of perfume. As she stood behind him at his feet weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears. Then she wiped them with her hair, kissed them and poured perfume on them (...). Then he turned toward the woman and said to Simon, ‘Do you see this woman? I came into your house. You did not give me any water for my feet, but she wet my feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair. You did not give me a kiss, but this woman, from the time I entered, has not stopped kissing my feet. You did not put oil on my head, but she has poured perfume on my feet. Therefore, I tell you, her many sins have been forgiven—as her great love has shown. But whoever has been forgiven little loves little.’ Then Jesus said to her, ‘Your sins are forgiven’” (NIV).

sind die Liturgi des Altars. Sie liegen vor dem Josua, ihm den Schweiß abzutrocknen da.<sup>472</sup>

The foot-washing is given a crucial role, maybe even a sacramental act, as it is, according to the text, the liturgy of the altar. The state of the hair holds an even deeper symbolism.

Zinzendorf explains that he has used this expression to convey that when the Saviour dries the feet of the believer, his hair will leave bloody traces on their feet:

Es ist nicht gewöhnlich, es ist auch nicht das allerangenehmste, daß man die Füße mit etwas feuchtem abtrocknet. Ich habe das auch gewußt, da ich die Redens-Art, zerschwitzte Haare, hier gebraucht habe: ich habe aber meine Ursache dazu gehabt, und habe damit anzeigen wollen, daß wenn der Heiland unsere Füße trocknet, so soll er sie nie so trocknen, daß nicht noch Spuren seines blutigen Schweißes übrig bleiben, den es ist ein Segen für unsere Füße.<sup>473</sup>

This is elaborated even further when he states that the eternal blood of atonement is used for washing the feet of the believers, as much as it is needed. Thus, the foot-washing is inextricably connected to the suffering and atonement of Christ. The mystical marriage with Christ and the Passion is expressed most profoundly throughout this group of homilies, for example the twenty-seventh. In this homily, the marriage is connected to several biblical pericopes. At the outset there is a plea to do like Elisha, and, as Zinzendorf states, "they [the brethren] want to be the child." The reference is to 2 Kings 4:29–35 where Elisha's disciple, Gehazi, is sent to raise a child from the dead.<sup>474</sup> He fails to raise the child, so Elisha performs the act himself. Zinzendorf's interpretation is trinitarian:

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<sup>472</sup> *Die fünf und zwanzigste Homilie*, 255.

<sup>473</sup> *Die fünf und zwanzigste Homilie*, 256.

<sup>474</sup> "Elisha said to Gehazi, 'Tuck your cloak into your belt, take my staff in your hand and run. Don't greet anyone you meet, and if anyone greets you, do not answer. Lay my staff on the boy's face.' But the child's mother said, 'As surely as the LORD lives and as you live, I will not leave you.' So, he got up and followed her. Gehazi went on ahead and laid the staff on the boy's face, but there was no sound or response. So Gehazi went back to meet Elisha and told him, 'The boy has not awakened.' When Elisha reached the house, there was the boy lying dead on his couch. He went in, shut the door on the two of them and prayed to the LORD. Then he got on the bed and lay on the boy, mouth to mouth, eyes to eyes, hands to hands. As he stretched himself out on him, the boy's body grew warm. Elisha turned away and walked back and forth in the room and then got on the bed and stretched out on him once more. The boy sneezed seven times and opened his eyes" (NIV).



Endlich kam der Prophet selbst, und legte sich auf den Knaben, und das wiederholte er dreymal, (wie wir auch manchmal eine Sache im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes thun, und lassen den, der es heißt, den Vater, den Sohn und den Heiligen Geist in der Handlung walten, und einen jeden das seine thun:) da schnaubete der Knabe und wachte auf.<sup>475</sup>

As one notes in this passage, the prophet lies down on top of the boy, and in the full pericope they even lay mouth to mouth. It may be that during the Sifting, this would also have erotic connotations.

This possibility becomes more evident in the following passage as Zinzendorf meditates upon central texts of love, first from the Song of Songs 8, 6a.<sup>476</sup> The Count argues that this unification is to be as strong as a seal on a letter and formulates a plea to God not just to surround him, but to hold him, and for the believer to: “hang on, never let yourself get lost again.”<sup>477</sup> He then refers to Matthew 19, which deals with marriage as well, and adds a paraphrase over Romans 8:38–39:<sup>478</sup>

Daß die Seele sagen kan, nun weiß ich, wir kommen nicht mehr von einander in Ewigkeit, weder hohes noch tiefes, noch keine *Creatur* kan mich scheiden von der Liebe.<sup>479</sup>

This paraphrase is followed by a return to the Song of Songs again (8:6b).<sup>480</sup> At the end of this paragraph Zinzendorf refers to yet another core text about love: First Corinthians 13.

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<sup>475</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 283.

<sup>476</sup> “Place me like a seal over your heart, like a seal on your arm” (NIV).

<sup>477</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 284.

<sup>478</sup> “For I am convinced that neither death nor life, neither angels nor demons, neither the present nor the future, nor any powers, neither height nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord” (NIV).

<sup>479</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 284.

<sup>480</sup> “For love is as strong as death, its jealousy unyielding as the grave. It burns like blazing fire, like a mighty flame” (NIV).

However, he does not cite the chapter but merely points to its importance. The image of the believer is the bird soaring in the air, inseparable from the husband:

Daran erkennt man ihn, aber angerührt, gezeichnet, durchgangen, gesalbt sind wir damit und zusammen geleimt. Die Kraft, das Freuden-Öl, das Leben ist zurück geblieben, es ist uns ein Salb-Öl auf die Hände, ein Balsam aufs Haupt, ein Segen aufs Herze, ein Licht auf unsern Leuchter worden.<sup>481</sup>

The true and clear sense of the words “O ihr heilige fünf Wunden, machts wie Elisa, wir wollen das Kind seyn” is the time when the deliverance comes and the believer can go into the side wound at the end of days:

Sie macht uns das gegenwärtige Leben, den Tag, der sonst weder Tag noch Nacht wäre, erträglich, bis die stunde unserer Auslösung kommt, und wir ihm können in seine Seite hineinfahren, bis wir nicht mehr nöthig haben, von ihm besucht, umarmt und *embrassirt* zu werden, sondern wir unser Recht nehmen und holen können, wo er zu Hause ist.<sup>482</sup>

The believer is filled by love for Christ, in love with him.

### **5.8 Part VI Consequences of the Passion, the Merits of the Wounds for the Individual and the World (29–33)**

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| The Twenty-nineth Homily | <i>Du Zeichen des Menschen-Sohns (You, the sign of the Son of Man)<br/>Erscheine dem Israel nach dem Fleisch,<br/>Ehe du in den Wolken kommst! (Appear to Israel according to the flesh before you come in the clouds!)</i>   |
| The Thirtieth Homily     | <i>Du grosses Seiten- Loch (You large side hole)<br/>Beherberge die ganze Welt! (Take in the whole world!)<br/>Doch Seiten-spalte, ich bitt' dich<br/>Sonderlich, ach! behalte dein Volk und mich! (But also side chasm. To you I pray especially, oh, keep your people, and me!)</i> |

<sup>481</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 286.

<sup>482</sup> *Die sieben und zwanzigste Homilie*, 287.

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| The Thirty-first Homily  | <i>Dein durchstochenes Herze</i> (May your pierced heart)<br><i>Klopfe und hüpfе dir über uns!</i> (Beat and leap over us!)  |
| The thirty-second Homily | <i>Ihr ungenannten und unbekanntен Wunden</i> (May your unnamed and unknown wounds)<br><i>Seyd alle gegrüßt!</i> (Be greeted, all of you!)   |
| The Thirty-third Homily  | <i>Würdige Wunden Jesu!</i> (Worthy wounds of Jesus!)<br><i>Wer wills und wehren, daß wir euch</i><br><i>Hier und dort ewig ehren?</i> (Who will keep us from honouring you here and there forever?)<br><i>Ihr habts verdient.</i> (You have earned it.) |

As a point of departure for this section, it is natural to reflect upon the thirty-third homily. This is definitely the most extensive of all the homilies at 54 pages. Supported by homilies 29–32, it not only sums up the homilies of the litany, but also gives an outline of the consequences of the Passion, eschatology, and what characterises a true Christian.

Zinzendorf’s point of departure in the thirty-third homily is the evidence that he has given several times: that their theology is not a theology of the present time (contemporary). Nor is it a temporary cognition that changes through the decades:

Ich habe das vielmahls angeführt zum Beweis daß unsere Theologie keine Zeit-Theologie, keine temporarische Erkenntnis ist, wie andere dergleichen Erkenntnisse sind, die sich von Decinnis, zu Decinnis (...) verändern.<sup>483</sup>

All the metaphors of the thirty-four homilies are present in the thirty-third, and many of the biblical references are used again. Zinzendorf’s objection to these “temporary theologies” is the eternal wounds of Christ. These wounds are eternal, for all ages. Let us consider how the emphasis on the wounds of Christ is outlined in this extensive homily, and the textual references and interpretations used to substantiate his doctrine.

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<sup>483</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 335.

## **The Wounds**

For Zinzendorf, the core of perception is for the believer to fix his gaze upon the side wound.<sup>484</sup> This is the focal point of every consideration: never to lose sight of, and keep the “simple eyes fixed” upon, the wounds of Jesus:

Das ist der Wunden-Punct, das ist der Blick, den man nicht wendet von den durchgrabnen Händen, das ist das Auge, das wir auf die Seiten-Spalte behalten, das einfältige Auge auf Jesu Wunden, davon der Heiland sagt: wenn das Auge nur auf ein Object sieht, auf ein Pünctgen, so wird der ganze Leib erleuchtet, so wird der ganze Mensch lauter Licht werden.<sup>485</sup>

The reference used is from the Gospel of Matthew 6:22–23.<sup>486</sup> The one who has observed the wounds, like Thomas (John 20:27),<sup>487</sup> can observe everything illuminated.

He describes the wounds through the use of several characteristics.

The wounds are worthy (*würdig*),<sup>488</sup>  
they are wounds of the covenant (*Bundes-Wunden*),<sup>489</sup>  
dearest (*Liebste Wunden*),<sup>490</sup>  
wondrous wounds (*Wunder-Wunden*),<sup>491</sup>  
powerful (*Kräftge Wunden Jesu*),<sup>492</sup>  
closing (*Geschwundne Wunden*),<sup>493</sup>  
secret (*Geheime Wunden*),<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 361.

<sup>485</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 361.

<sup>486</sup> “The eye is the lamp of the body. If your eyes are healthy, your whole body will be full of light. But if your eyes are unhealthy, your whole body will be full of darkness. If then the light within you is darkness, how great is that darkness!” (NIV).

<sup>487</sup> “Then he said to Thomas, ‘Put your finger here; see my hands. Reach out your hand and put it into my side. Stop doubting and believe’” (NIV).

<sup>488</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 335.

<sup>489</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 337.

<sup>490</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 339.

<sup>491</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 342.

<sup>492</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 345.

<sup>493</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 348.

<sup>494</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 350.

the shadow of the wounds (*Wunden-Schatten*),<sup>495</sup>  
clear (*Klare Wunden*),<sup>496</sup>  
glistening (*Funkelnde Wunden*),<sup>497</sup>  
cavernous (*Hohle Wunden*),<sup>498</sup>  
crimson (*Purpur-Wunden*),<sup>499</sup>  
juicy (*Saftige Wunden*),<sup>500</sup>  
near (*Nahe Wunden*),<sup>501</sup>  
painful (*Schmerzens-Wunden*),<sup>502</sup>  
warm (*Warme Wunden*),<sup>503</sup>  
beautiful (*Niedliche Wunden*),<sup>504</sup>  
soft (*Weiche Wunden*),<sup>505</sup>  
hot (*Heisse Wunden*),<sup>506</sup>  
a treasure (*Wunden-Schatz*),<sup>507</sup>  
ours (*Unsre Wunden*),<sup>508</sup>  
mine (*Meine Wunden*).<sup>509</sup>

The one who has found salvation in the wounds of Christ becomes sanctified by them in body and soul. The wounds even serve as the instrument of knowledge. Here, Zinzendorf uses the term “*Wunden-Hermenevtic*.” When the blood from the wounds is shed over the words—when they are read in the light of the wounds—then a quite different Bible is being read, a

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<sup>495</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 353.

<sup>496</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 359.

<sup>497</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 365.

<sup>498</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 367.

<sup>499</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 369.

<sup>500</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 371.

<sup>501</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 372.

<sup>502</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 373.

<sup>503</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 374.

<sup>504</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 375.

<sup>505</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 378.

<sup>506</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 379.

<sup>507</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 380.

<sup>508</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 383.

<sup>509</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 383.

different New Testament, and a person who has never been taught a word in Greek or Hebrew can observe the true meaning:

Wenn nun darnach die Worte, die man so lieset, wie die Propheten und Apostel geredt haben, mit den Wunden besprengt werden, wenn man in dem Wundenlichte lieset, so lieset man eine ganz andere Bibel, ein anderes Neues Testament, andere Sprüche, als man vor diesem gelesen hat, und ein Mensch, der sein Lebetag kein Griechisch und Hebräisch gelernt hat, kan so in den wahren lautern Sinn hinein sehen, und kan hineinblicken, und kan ein solcher *Exegete* werden durch seine Wunden-  
*Hermenevtic.*<sup>510</sup>

Zinzendorf continues by stating that if the reader of the Bible had sweated twenty years over the original text, he would have gained a lot of wind, a lot of probabilities, a lot of scruples in his head, and would have become half a rabbi; but he would have gained darkness from that, he would have more error than before, more uncertainty than before, he would have learned that he knew nothing. That would have been the whole effect. But as soon as he began to get the "wound-vision" (*Wunden-Blick*) and understand the mystery that a Lamb was slain and that the Lamb is his Creator, then everything becomes clear before his eyes and he can comprehend the language of the Holy Scripture, the language that belongs to the heart.<sup>511</sup>

Once again, Zinzendorf perceives the heart to be the organ of revelation and religious perception. It is, as mentioned earlier, only through the heart that one receives the Saviour. Only through the heart is the atonement fully understood. In this regard, Zinzendorf is highly critical towards educated theologians.

The Count continues by writing about the true believer:

Er hat die Probe, er weiß wie man das Wort probiren muß, woran mans kennen muß in was für einem Lichte die Wahrheit erscheinen muß wenn sie Wahrheit ist, und

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<sup>510</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 363.

<sup>511</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 363.

wenn ihm ein Sprüchhelgen, ein Text, ein altes Wort, ein biblisches Wort: den Blick gibt, den er bey den Wunden hat, so sagt er: du bist Gottes Wort, du bist meines Herrn Wort, ich höre meinen lieben Herrn reden, ja das ist Wahrheit, es ist, als wenn ich Ihn reden hörte, ich fühle, daß das sein Sinn ist, es *harmonirt* mit seinen *Ideen*, denn ich habe seinen Sinn, ich habe ihn gesehen, ich habe sein königliches Gesetz, das er im Herzen hat, gesehen, ich habe drinne studirt, ich habe das Gesetz studirt, das er sich gemacht hat, für meine zu sterben, und das er erfüllt hat bis aufs letzte *Jota*, dadurch er mich von allen Banden entbunden, und zum freyen Creuz-Luft-Vögelein geschaffen und eingesetzt hat.<sup>512</sup>

### **The Individual and “the Others”: Emphases and Challenges**

It is interesting to note the shift that occurs in the last two descriptions of the wounds, when Zinzendorf calls them “mine” and “ours.” There is a shift from description to possession. He writes that all people—young and old, big and small, everyone who believes:

Unsre Wunden Jesu! Die alle Schaaren, jung und alt, groß und kleine befahren, wer glauben hat.<sup>513</sup>

It is for everyone—of all languages and genders. No-one is left out, not even the most evil person, the most appalling creature, the abomination of all fellow men:

Der allerteufflichste Mensch, die entsetzlichste Creatur, die *Abomination* aller ihrer Mit-Menschen, hat ein Recht zu den Wunden und zur Versöhnung, die nicht allein für unsere, sondern auch für der ganzen Welt Sünde geschehen ist.<sup>514</sup>

The wounds are also “mine”—that is, for every believer. They are “for me alone, for my heart”:

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<sup>512</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 364.

<sup>513</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 383.

<sup>514</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 384.

Meine, ja meine, mir ist's als wäret ihr ganz alleine für mein Herz da.<sup>515</sup>

There must be certain times when the wounds of Christ are solely for the believer. This, according to Zinzendorf, is a grave mistake that has led to much harm, when the believer, in love of his neighbour, is so in love and infatuated by the preaching and the desire for repentance that he lacks the time to consider himself:

Es ist ein grosser Fehler, den man mit vielem Schaden erfahren muß, wenn man sich in die Liebe zu seinem Nächsten, ins Predigen und in die Bekehrsucht so vergafft und verliebt, daß man nicht Zeit hat an sich zu denken.<sup>516</sup>

In other words, Zinzendorf thus emphasises the focus the believer should have upon oneself, not only towards his neighbour. Being a witness is all very well, but one's own feelings (*Gefühl*)<sup>517</sup> are equally important. Consequently, the Count warns the believer not to chat away one's own grace and blessedness, not to run dry or exhaust or neglect one's own experience:

Ein Zeuge seyn ist recht gut, aber sein eigenes Gefühl, seine eigene Gnade und Seligkeit verplaudern, unterdessen, daß man andere Leute herzurufft, seine eigene Erfahrung *negligiren*, über dem Ausfliessen selbst vertrocknen, und sich zu ausschöpfen lassen, wie man einen Brunnen austrocknet, daß nichts mehr da ist, das geht unmöglich an.<sup>518</sup>

Thus, from the beginning, the siblings must first strive to get to know the dear little Lamb (*Lämmlein*), as if they were alone together in the world.

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<sup>515</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 383.

<sup>516</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 384.

<sup>517</sup> The term “Gefühl” is translated to “feeling,” but the full meaning of the word is somewhat lost in translation. In Zinzendorf's terminology it is an individual term, often used to describe one's awareness of the heart relationship with the Saviour.

<sup>518</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 384.



The complementary image provided by Zinzendorf is that of the vine and the stick, of which the soul needs to wind itself around like ivy:

Und so lange eine Seele noch einen Stecken braucht, um den sie sich herum winden muß, wie Epheu oder ein junger Weinstock, und kan ohne einen solchen Stab nicht bleiben, und hat sonst keinen Saft und Kraft, und will doch ein Rebgen seyn am Weinstock; so ists noch nichts ganzes mit ihr, so kan sie nicht mit Wahrheit sagen: Ich bin ein zarrer Rebe, Der Weinstock selbst bist All an dem ich wachs’ und klebe: denn wir müssen mit dem Heilande allein zu thun bekommen, Er muß uns in seiner Mutter Haus und in seine Kammer bringen, und allein mit uns haushalten können, *separirt* von allen Creaturen, wenigstens zu gewissen Stunden und Augenblicken.<sup>519</sup>

Meditating upon being alone with the Saviour is typical for Zinzendorf—and this is no exception. It is the seemingly contradictory relationship between individuality and plurality which is original. Mission is important—but not at all costs. The individual spirituality is never to be forgotten—but is to be nurtured in daily contact with the Saviour. Therefore, he adds, has the prayer-hour (*Stunden-Gebet*) been introduced over the last twenty years:

Hauptsächlich darum ist auch vor zwanzig Jahren das Stunden-Gebet eingeführt, daß die Seelen lernen sollen mit dem Lamm allein umgehen (...).<sup>520</sup>

This word *umgehen*, deriving from *Umgang*, is a key term within Zinzendorf’s thought. It is not only an exhortation to spend time in prayer; it is a spirituality with erotic connotations. Moravian ideas of “marital relations” with the husband (or *ehelicher Umgang mit unserm Manne*) drew on far older traditions according to Paul Peucker. To picture Holy Communion as an embrace with Christ and using erotic language to describe the longing for and union with Christ was not unusual within Christianity.<sup>521</sup>

This daily living with the Saviour (*Umgang*) is a central aspect of Zinzendorf’s teaching. Zinzendorf saw “Umgang” as the Saviour Creator’s gift of relationship at the beginning of the

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<sup>519</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 385.

<sup>520</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 385.

<sup>521</sup> Peucker (2015), 82

Christian life. This discipline can be understood as rules which enable one in the end to attain a perfection of life and a relationship with God, or it can be understood as itself "a whole new mode of being."<sup>522</sup> According to Arthur Freeman, "Umgang" is living with the one who is both the source of life and guidance, and who is also the very incarnation of Christian life. In the eleventh homily this "daily association" is the precondition for grasping the whole doctrine. Thus, through this "Umgang," Jesus becomes the companion of life, resourcing and directing it. He also becomes an alternative centre of awareness, so that it is appropriate to use of him the term "my other I."<sup>523</sup>

Combining this with the heart again, it becomes an elegant exposition emphasising the importance of the individual's relationship with the Saviour. According to Zinzendorf this is the main focus of the theology, the main thing for the congregation:

Das ist die grosse Sache in der *Theologie*, das ist die Haupt-Sache eines Herzens, daß es das Lämmlein nicht nur mit der Gemeinde, sondern als ein *Individuum* für sich genießt und empfindet, als ein Wein-Beergen für sich seinen Saft hat, daß der Heiland nicht nur am Ganzen satt wird, sondern auch an einem jeden Herzen ins besondere.<sup>524</sup>

### **Characteristics of the Believer**

The unification between Christ and the believer is outlined using vivid imagery of blood and wounds. The one who comes receives a stroke of blood, which is an eternal signature that will never disappear. He becomes bloody, blood drips from him, and anyone who touches him also becomes bloody. Everyone who comes near him receives some of his nature and ways:

Wer den Wunden Jesu nahe kommt, der kriegt einen strich, einen Blut-Strich, eine Signatur, die ihn ewiglich nicht wieder verläßt, er wird blutig, und wenn er mit anderem Leuten zu thun hat, so trieft er vom Blut, wer ihn anrührt, der wird mit blutig, wer ihm nahe kommt, kriegt was von seiner Art und Natur weg.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>522</sup> Freeman (1998), 221.

<sup>523</sup> Freeman (1998), 222.

<sup>524</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 386.

<sup>525</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 369.

Thus, as the believer preaches the gospel, he reaches out with a bloody hand and kisses with a bloody mouth. However, the believer shall only go where he is led. Once again Zinzendorf uses Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8),<sup>526</sup> but also adds a reference to Peter in the house of Cornelius (Acts 10). The common feature of both texts is the fact that both Philip and Peter are led by the lord, and, in both, baptism is performed. In the first, the Ethiopian Eunuch, in the second what the author calls “the circumcised believers” in the pericope in Acts 10.<sup>527</sup> Furthermore, both pericopes are central in conveying that the gospel is for all people. They both underline how one needs to know who is chosen by the lord, and the examples used are Paul in the house of Ananias (Acts 9:1–19)<sup>528</sup> and the anointing of David amongst all the sons of Isai (1 Samuel 16), both key texts of the Lord’s calling. Thus, the believer is likened to David, Peter, and Philip. This is explained by using the pericope about the anointing of David, then of baptisms being performed. These are sacramental acts expressing the state of the true believer.

It may seem that the pericopes have an active/passive function. Could one assume that Zinzendorf perceived the true believer to be both the “anointer” and the “anointed,” the “baptiser” and the “baptised”? However, the Paul story is not of a sacramental character but could still be seen as important within this context. It is a story of conversion, of spiritual awakening, a feature quite central to the awakening (in German, *Bekehrung*) of many important pietist leaders. For Zinzendorf, this serves as a model for what he calls a national awakening or repentance (*National-Bekehrung*), and the repentance is wonderful and instantly calls the believer in a given direction:

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<sup>526</sup> See *die sechs und zwanzigste Homilie*, 277.

<sup>527</sup> “While Peter was still speaking these words, the Holy Spirit came on all who heard the message. The circumcised believers who had come with Peter were astonished that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on Gentiles. For they heard them speaking in tongues and praising God. Then Peter said, ‘Surely no one can stand in the way of their being baptized with water. They have received the Holy Spirit just as we have.’ So he ordered that they be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. Then they asked Peter to stay with them for a few days” (Acts 10:44–48, NIV).

<sup>528</sup> “But the Lord said to Ananias, ‘Go! This man is my chosen instrument to proclaim my name to the Gentiles and their kings and to the people of Israel. I will show him how much he must suffer for my name.’ Then Ananias went to the house and entered it. Placing his hands on Saul, he said, ‘Brother Saul, the Lord—Jesus, who appeared to you on the road as you were coming here—has sent me so that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit.’ Immediately, something like scales fell from Saul’s eyes, and he could see again. He got up and was baptized, and after taking some food, he regained his strength” (NIV).

Drum gehts mit der Bekehrung gar sehr artig und wundervoll, unter einer unbeschreiblich stündlich und augenblicklichen *Direction*: daß also unsere Sache gewiß umsonst, und unsere Arbeit in dem Herrn nicht vergeblich ist. Wenn uns nur nahe kommt, auf Befehl des Heilandes, dem gehts wie uns, er wird Wundenhaftig und trieft vom Blut.<sup>529</sup>

### **The Juicy Wounds**

Zinzendorf characterises the wounds as “juicy” and states that when one is weak and thirsty, everything juicy is pleasurable.<sup>530</sup> His biblical example is from 1 Samuel 14:27.<sup>531</sup>

Als Jonathan einmal so eine grosse Schlacht gethan und sich durchgehauen hatte, und sahe, daß alle Leute müde und matt waren, und er wars auch; so nahm er seinen Stab, und weil das Feld-oder Wald-Honig so da war, so steckte er die Spitze von seinem Stabe hinein, und kostete und nahm einen Mund voll Honig.<sup>532</sup>

The Count states that this is not forbidden at the present time. The one who is tired and weary, who is thirsty, can come. The lord will refresh him. He uses the example of Jonathan to elaborate and writes that whoever sharpens their rod and scratches the wounds just a little will experience a sweetness and receive all power that has been lost.<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>529</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 370.

<sup>530</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 371.

<sup>531</sup> “But Jonathan had not heard that his father had bound the people with the oath, so he reached out the end of the staff that was in his hand and dipped it into the honeycomb. He raised his hand to his mouth, and his eyes brightened” (NIV).

<sup>532</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 371.

<sup>533</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 372.

The believer is secured in Jesus's puddle of blood. When salvation is found in the wounds of Jesus and atonement is received, then one can venture out into cold air with an eternal cloth of protection:

Aber wenn man in den Wunden das Heil gefunden, und dadurch so selig geworden ist als Jesu Wunden an Leib und Geist, da kan man sich in alle Luft wagen, da hat man ein ewiges Kleid, eine solche Decke, die einem in allen Wettern zu statten kommt, die für Kalte und Hitze dient.<sup>534</sup>

No child can lie in his puddle more comforted and assured as He keeps it in His side. The believer is given such comfort that Zinzendorf writes about the bliss of lying down in the soft wounds of Jesus. Faith is found in the side of Jesus, where the believer sits as a dove. The believer lies down in the wounds of Jesus, where one speaks, thinks, sings, and plays:

da hat einen der Heiland hinein genommen, und hingelegt in seine Wunden, in seine weiche Wunden, in sein sanftes Bettelein, das er für seine Sabbaths-herzelein zurechte gemacht hat. Davon wird nun geredt, gedacht, gesungen und gespielt, jedoch am seligsten gefühlt, und wer das hat, der ist der Sünde zugesiegelt, dessen Schlaf-Gemachs-Thüre ist zugeschlossen, wer zu ihm will, der muß kritzeln, er darf nicht einmal hart anklopfen, es zittert alle Welt mit ihren Heeren, einen in seinem Schlaf und Ruhe zu stören, es ist eine verborgene Wache davor gestellt.<sup>535</sup>

Once again, the wounds provide a safe place of comfort from the troubles of the world.

### **Bridal Mysticism**

The wounds have an erotic quality, and the unification with the holy bridegroom is also present in these homilies. The wounds are treasures, and the believer is in a place as it is written in the Song of Songs 2:3.<sup>536</sup> In this place the believer sees the Saviour in the full beauty of his suffering:

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<sup>534</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 375.

<sup>535</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 379.

<sup>536</sup> "I delight to sit in his shade, and his fruit is sweet to my taste" (NIV).

Ich sitze unter dem Schatten, daß ich begehre; und sitzt an einer solchen Ecke, wo man sich den Heiland in seiner ganzen Leidens-Schöne so deutlich, klar und unvermischt vorstellen kan, daß einem nicht das geringste wesentliche von seiner ganzen Gestalt und Ähnlichkeit entwischen kan.<sup>537</sup>

However, for Zinzendorf, there is no controversy in pairing up both genders when describing this love. In the thirty-first homily, the love of Christ is a "motherly love of the groom." These apparent opposites are of no hindrance when Zinzendorf describes the love of the holy bridegroom:

Denn wenn er gleich allwissend ist, und alles voraus siehet was mit der Seele noch geschehen wird, so leidet doch seine mütterliche, seine Brautigams-Liebe, sein zartes Herz kein solch *Raisonnement*.<sup>538</sup>

Zinzendorf writes:

So gehts auch dem Heilande, denn wir dürfen menschlich von Ihm denken; Jesus liebt wie man auf Erden liebt, wenn man sich einem schon ganz ergibt: also bis Er eine Seele hat, wo er sie hinhaben will, in die Arche der heiligen Christenheit, welches nicht die äusserliche Gemeine ist, sondern bis er sie in ihrer Gegend, an ihrem Orte, in den Geist und in die Seele der Gemeine hinein versetzt, daß die Gedanken ihres Herzens wahrhaftig so sind, wie die Gedanken seiner Leute; so lange ist ihm bänglich, so lange fühlt er einen Schmerz, und darum sagt er: Mir hast du Arbeit gemacht, mir hast du Mühe gemacht mit deiner Missethat.<sup>539</sup>

Further on in the thirty-first homily, Zinzendorf makes a reference to Ephesians 4:30,<sup>540</sup> encouraging the Brethren not to grieve the Holy Spirit:

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<sup>537</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 353.

<sup>538</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 327.

<sup>539</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 327.

<sup>540</sup> "And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with whom you were sealed for the day of redemption" (NIV).

Darum braucht auch die heilige Schrift den Ausdruck: Betrübet nicht den heiligen Geist, machts ihm nicht schwer, macht nicht, daß er um den Bräutigam, an dem er seine Luft sieht, über dessen Stimme er sich hoch erfreut, euretwegen verlegen seyn, oder ihm manchmal eine unangenehme Zeitung bringen muß, ihm wenig Vergnügen über die oder jene Seele, über die und jene *Situation* der Dinge machen kan.<sup>541</sup>

He urges the believers to be friendly, have consideration, and to prepare themselves in accordance with the mind of the Lamb. Zinzendorf then continues by describing the pain in the heart of the bridegroom (*Bräutigams-Herzen*), caused by the believers he hasn't obtained:

Da du deine Hände so oft umsonst ausgestreckt hat, und bist ihnen entgegen gegangen, und hast sie nicht gekriegt, sie sind dir nicht einmal in den Weg gekommen, so daß dirs wirklich in deinem Bräutigams-Herzen bitterlich wehe gethan hat.<sup>542</sup>

However, Christ should rejoice over the ones he has recieved:

Nun erfreue dich über uns, daß du uns endlich gekriegt hast, laß uns nicht mehr, und durchgeh die Reyhen, die du nach der Last dein Herz zu erfreuen von dem Vater hast.<sup>543</sup>

This is the meditation that Zinzendorf recommends for the believers. He has carried the child—the sheep—home with joy, those who walk on his pastures in many parts of the world and areas. They stand under his right side as a groom (*Bräutigams-recht*), and are brought into his family, sitting as a dove in the hole of the rock:

das Kind, das Schaaf mit Freuden heimgetragen hat, das nun in so viele Welt-Theilen und Gegenden überall auf seine Weide geht, unter seinem Bräutigams-Rechte steht,

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<sup>541</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 327–28.

<sup>542</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 329.

<sup>543</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 329.

und in seine Familie gebracht worden ist, das wie wirs gestern ausgedruckt haben, wie ein Täubgen im Fels-Loch sitzt, wo der Löwe, der Vater mit seiner Gottes-Kraft, mit der *Autorität* seines Feld-*Generalats* das Täubgen schützt, das aber für Gebrech und Fehl immer weinet nach Christi Seel.<sup>544</sup>

Zinzendorf describes the heart of Christ in connection with the divine truth, and how it always remains the same; how it, at the time, should and could be believed:

Die göttliche Wahrheit bleibt immer dieselbe, und in des Heilands Herzen ist alles so, wie es in der Zeit kan und soll gegläubt werden, bis auf den letzten Moment, und wie es soll und kan erfahren werden durch alle Ewigkeit.<sup>545</sup>

However, for Zinzendorf it is not possible to construct a systematical doctrine. He writes that it would be futile work to fit the truth and method of the Holy Spirit into a system:

Aber die practische Erfahrung der Wahrheit und die Methode, deren sich der Heilige Geist and den Herzen bedient, das erste und letzte, das vor-und nachgehende, alles das in ein *Systema*, in einen Zusammenhang zu bringen, wäre eine recht vergebliche Arbeit.<sup>546</sup>

Therein also lies a critique of what we may call “scholarly Christians.” He writes about the people with no spiritual feeling (he uses the word “Gefühl”; see above). He calls them the “inhabitants of discourse,” and delivers a critique of his present:

Das ist für die Einwohner von *Dioscoris*, aber für vernunftige Leute kan nichts anders heraus kommen, als daß sie endlich anfangen, nichts zu glauben, wie das heutiges

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<sup>544</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 329.

<sup>545</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 319.

<sup>546</sup> *Die ein und dreyßigste Homilie*, 319–20.



Tages der Gang ist, den die Religionen nehmen der Plis, den das ganze Kirchen-  
Wesen anfängt zu bekommen.<sup>547</sup>

They have deemed the Brethren heretics; however, they are confused when no heresy can be found in their words. Zinzendorf describes the critics as if they have eaten the Confessio Augustana:

Die Leute reden sich aus, als wenn sie die Augspurgische Confession gegessen hätten.<sup>548</sup>

The critique pointed at the Brethren from "these people" is that they are enthusiasts. However, according to Zinzendorf, they cannot claim them to be enthusiasts since they are gazing into the wounds of Christ the whole day long:

damit können sie uns wieder nicht zu *Enthusiasten* machen. Denn wenn wir sagen: wir sehen den ganzen Tag in die Wunden Jesu hinein, wir sehen Den im Bilde, der dort für unsre Noth am Creuze sich so milde zu todte geblutet hat; wir sehen auf den Apostel und *Reformatorem* der Kirche hin, auf den grossen *Chef* unserer *Confession*.<sup>549</sup>

This is perceived through the advice and instruction of the letter to the Hebrews. So, Zinzendorf asks, why are they in conflict with us? The heart is joyous when he is mentioned, and confessed. Thus the heart of the believer is capable of independent feelings:

Wohlan, warum streiten sie denn mit uns? Unsere Wunden-Litaneyen, unsere Beschreibungen der Glieder Jesu, die *Application* der Person und Menschheit Jesu auf unser Herz, auf unsere Glieder (das Herz ist froh, wenn es ihn nur nennt und seine allmächtige Menschheit bekennt,) das kommt alles von dem Gesichte her, das wir sehen.<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 356.

<sup>548</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 357.

<sup>549</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 357.

<sup>550</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 358.

He is always before their eyes with his “wound-scratches” (*Wunden-Ritzen*), in his light of the nail-prints (*Nägel-Maale Licht*). There they pledge to sit. This is the main focus for the believer. This is never lost in their story, it is always before their eyes. It constitutes their differences compared to other people.

Childlike behaviour became one of the characteristics of the spirituality of the Sifting. Johann Friedrich Cammerhoff wrote in a report about the children of the settlement in Bethlehem:

We also told them [the children] something about the cross-air birds, and we sang songs about them. That pleased them very much, and they were overjoyed. It is their greatest joy to think and talk with each other about going to the Lamb and kissing his wounds. And indeed they have no other concept of death than this one. What is more blissful on earth than being such a child?<sup>551</sup>

During the 1740s, Moravians observed and studied the behaviour of children, and recorded their observations in the children choir diaries, which are full of anecdotes of how the children responded to the stories about the Lamb of God, the blood and wounds of Christ, and especially the side wound. This also led to the rather peculiar behaviour of the adults attempting to imitate the children, expressed by the adults starting to put diminutives in use.<sup>552</sup>

When the Count later describes what he calls the “unmentioned and unknown” wounds, it is also the heart that is the organ for perception. When the heart considers even the unknown wounds, they cease to be that.<sup>553</sup> He writes that they have the hope and promise that the Saviour from one year to the next will open the treasure of his wounds more and more—and that he will reveal this gradually in their hearts:

Wir haben die Hoffnung und die Verheissung, daß uns das Lamm von Jahr zu Jahr den Schatz seiner Wunden mehr und mehr aufschliessen wird, daß er uns alle die Wunder,

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<sup>551</sup> Peucker (2015), 68–69.

<sup>552</sup> Peucker (2015), 69,

<sup>553</sup> *Die zwey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 330.

die drinnen liegen, und die bey uns auch nicht im Streite sind weil wir ihm doch den verwundten Füßen für nichts so fröhlich vorweinen als für sein Büssen, eins nach dem anderen offenbaren, in unsern Herzen verklären, und machen wird, daß wir einen bleibenden Seegen, eine bleibende Balsams-Kraft, und einen Geruch des ewigen Lebens daraus ziehen werden.<sup>554</sup>

### **The Brethren—Zinzendorf’s thoughts regarding the Moravians in Church History. Controversial References?**

Several theologians and religious leaders are mentioned in the homilies, some of them quite controversial. In the following section it is interesting to observe how they are referred to in the homilies. The question poses itself: In what way did Zinzendorf perceive the Brethren within Christian tradition? The examples mentioned are all significant figures in the history of Christianity. Did he, in some way, consider the Moravians to be some sort of culmination of history? The figures below are most certainly prominent.

Within a German Lutheran context it is surprising that Zinzendorf chooses to describe the status of the pope. He uses the pope as an example of a priest, admittedly in a reference, but it is nevertheless peculiar to use such an example: “Der Röhmische Pabst selbst ist Pfarrer zu St.Johann im Lateran.”<sup>555</sup> Another example that must have been of a very controversial character indeed is the mention of Ignatius of Loyola. Zinzendorf states that they found the name of Jesus engraved upon Ignatius’s heart after his death, and this he uses as an example of the pickling upon the heart, one heart that will never disappear:

Das bleibt nun Ewig, das ist eine Beize, die nimmermehr ausgeht, die durch keinen Kost heraus gebracht werden kan, weder durch rauhes Wetter noch scharfe Luft, sondern es bleibt: und wenn der Herzens kundiger an jenem Tage hinein sieht, so sieht er sich noch in dem Herzen drinnen mit allen seinen Wunden; wie man vom Ignatio

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<sup>554</sup> *Die zwey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 335.

<sup>555</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 351.

sagt, daß nach seinem Tode in seinem Herzen den Namen Jesu eingegraben und geätzt gefunden.<sup>556</sup>

Throughout the homily Zinzendorf brings in other less controversial authorities. He associates the clear appearance of the wounds with one of the hymns of Christian Friedrich Richter with the text “my friend melts with love in his blood” (*Mein Freund zerschmeltzt aus Lieb in seinem Blute*).<sup>557</sup> The example is used to convey that the wounds of Jesus provide such clarity that everything that can corrupt this view—everything that might blur it and all that can obfuscate a clear view—falls away:

Der Sinn also, meine Geschwister! der Worte ist, daß die Wunden Jesu eine solche Klarheit, einen solchen Blick ins Herz hineingeben, daß eine Seele, die die Wunden hat eingesehn, die hineingesehen kan, ohne daß es ihr die Augen blinzen macht, die in einer solchen *Connexion* mit den Wunden Jesu steht, daß sie ihr *naturell* und *familiair* worden sind, daß sie sagen kan, sie lebt drinne sie ist fröhlich bey ihrem Lichte, die hat ein heiteres Herz, ein klares Gemüth, einen aufgeklärten offenen Kopf, und alle die gewöhnlichen Nebel, die von unserer Mischung, vom Verstand und Unverstand, von Munterkeit und Niederschlagenheit, und überhaupt von der ganzen *Vicissitudine rerum*, und alles dessen was so die gegenwärtige Hütten-Zeit mit sich bringt, beschwert sind, alle dieselben fallen weg, und alle die Verdüfterungen, die Benebelungen und die Dunkelheit.<sup>558</sup>

It is also interesting to note Richter’s views upon marriage and sexuality. In our context it may be quite relevant to consider a few citations from his decisive work *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht vom Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen*. In the preface to this popular book, Richter outlined how he wanted to give instructions for remaining healthy or to attain lost healthiness. However, this was no purpose in itself. Healthiness or being healed from illnesses was, according to Richter, necessary to maintain the body for the purpose of

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<sup>556</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 354.

<sup>557</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 359.

<sup>558</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 360–61.

keeping the ability to observe the will of God in the visible world. However, he warned strongly against too much focus upon the body, and thus overlooking its importance as an instrument of the soul.<sup>559</sup>

Spener is also mentioned in the text. Zinzendorf writes that whoever is called by the Holy Spirit becomes like the believers as well. They become wound-like (*Wundenhaftig*) and drip with blood. In regard to this, Zinzendorf writes that he comes to think of Spener, who used to say that it is as a full barrel that one drilled a hole in, then blissful power (*Gnaden-Kraft*) would flow out.<sup>560</sup> He also cites Luther in connection with Paul, and writes that they must never come away from wounds of the Saviour or his state of the cross:<sup>561</sup>

Meine Geschwister! Wir dürfen nicht einen Augenblick von des Heilands Wunden, von seinen Creuz-Gestalt wegkommen, er muß mit uns, wie D. Luther sagt, zu einem Ruchen, oder wie Paulus schreibt, zu einer Person werden, so daß man nicht mehr lebt, sondern Jesus lebt in uns,<sup>562</sup> wie wir singen: Seyd getrost und hoch erfreut, Jesus trägt euch, meine Glieder.<sup>563</sup>

Jesus carries the believer.

In this group of homilies there is also a reference to Johann Arndt. Arndt is presented almost as a pinnacle of spiritual evolution. Zinzendorf criticises the rather free poetry of the last fifty years, and adds that this was not the case in the past. From the Bohemian Brothers until the time of Johann Arndt, one showed greater caution:

Aber in den alten Zeiten, da man mehr aufs solide gesehen hat, von den Böhmischen Brüdern an, bis auf Johann Arndts [Zinzendorf misspells Arndt, and omits the "it" in

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<sup>559</sup> Jürgen Helm (2011), "Der Pietismus und die Leiblichkeit des Menschen," in Breul and Soboth, *Liebe, Ehe und Sexualität im Pietismus*, 167.

<sup>560</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 371.

<sup>561</sup> Zinzendorf uses the word "Creuz-Gestalt," which is difficult to translate into English.

<sup>562</sup> The reference is taken from Romans 14:8 which reads: "For none of us lives for ourselves alone, and none of us dies for ourselves alone. If we live, we live for the Lord; and if we die, we die for the Lord. So, whether we live or die, we belong to the Lord" (NIV).

<sup>563</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 373.

the original text] Zeiten, hat man vorsichtig gehandelt, und hat aus der Bibel, und aus den erkannten Kirchen- Schriften seine Idéen herüber genommen in die Lieder.<sup>564</sup>

These passages can be confusing when one considers that Zinzendorf focused most sincerely on the Brethren belonging within a Lutheran framework, and maybe even more so when considering that the danger of being labelled a sect was one of his greatest fears. One could even say that the great anxiety connected with the Sifting was precisely the danger of having a deviant doctrine from the established Protestant churches. In the historiography of the Brethren, several biographers and scholars have considered Zinzendorf's "Bildungsreise" as being critical to understanding his ecumenical thought. The Count even stated this himself when he writes that, after journey he sought to discover the best in all confessions.

However, one might pose the question whether the life and works of the Count are somewhat more complex than this. In this context it is important to keep in mind the example mentioned above when Zinzendorf states that their theology is no "Zeit-Theologie." Thus, their theology was, in his view, not bound by the present time, but was a theology for eternity.<sup>565</sup> But the question remains: Why would he write this when simultaneously wishing for the Brethren to be part of the Lutheran "religious establishment"? One possible reason could be his definition of "religion." In Zinzendorf's terminology, "religion" is used for the great historical churches. He operates with a distinction between those giving allegiance to them, calling them "Christianern." However, the ones defined by Christ and bearing his name are called "Christen."<sup>566</sup>

It may have been provocative in some contexts that Zinzendorf even states that there are valuable teachings within the historical *Religionen* and that their confessions are right for them. He admits that there are true Christians in every Christian religion along with the nominal members. According to Zinzendorf, the Saviour sees to this. And furthermore, the Count saw something of special value in every religion. In Freeman's words, each had its

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<sup>564</sup> *Die dreyßigste Homilie*, 311–12.

<sup>565</sup> Freeman (1998), 32.

<sup>566</sup> Freeman (1998), 247.

treasure.<sup>567</sup> Thus, according to Freeman, one of the keys for understanding Zinzendorf’s dual understanding of religion as a phenomenon is to be found in this line of thought. One might question, however, whether Zinzendorf’s mention of many of the most prominent figures in the history of churches also has to do with his views upon the role of the Brethren in history (as suggested above).

### **Death—The Body and the Unification**

The last few paragraphs of the thirty-third homily (pp. 387–88) deal with the final things. Its title is: “Am ende aller Noth, Ölt und ein ihr Wunden Roth.” As the believer receives the kiss of peace from Christ, he is pulled out of the body (*die Hütte*). This is the extreme unction (the last rites), the true sacrament:

Das ist die letzte Ölung, das wahre Sacrament des Heilige Chrisams, da ein Herzgen, wenn es nun in die Ewigkeit geht; wenss nun durch das Friedens-Küßgen des Bräutigams heraus gezogen wird aus seiner Hütte, sagen kan: Mein liebes Herz, ich will kommen, da bin ich, hole mich, aber ich habe ein Hüttgen, das *balsamire* erst, das öle mir doch ein, tauch es tief in dein Blut.<sup>568</sup>

He pleads the Lord to immerse him deep in his blood and keep him in his sweet decay and dissolution in his final cure of salvation—the final and eternal sanctification:

Das bewahre du mir auch, unter keiner niedlichen Verwesung und *Dissolution*, unter seiner *Salivations*-Cur, seiner finalen und ewigen Heilwerdigung, *balsamire* mirs ein.<sup>569</sup>

This extreme unction or final rite is not a sacrament, but it connects to the focus the Brethren place upon the corpse of Jesus. Zinzendorf describes the sweet decay of the body, which is typical for his spirituality. This was certainly also a dominant feature of the Sifting. Paul

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<sup>567</sup> Freeman (1998), 248.

<sup>568</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 387.

<sup>569</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 387.

Peucker describes this aspect of the Sifting, where there was a display of the dying body of Christ. He continues by outlining a preoccupation with the corpse and the grave of Christ developed during the second half of the 1740s. The Brethren were taught the transforming power of the corpse of Christ. In April 1746, Rubusch spoke about how the entire brothers' choir would turn a swarm of bees around the corpse.<sup>570</sup> Zinzendorf also gave a discourse on Good Friday in 1747 where he described how, by approaching the dead and senseless body of Christ, the believer too could become “cold and stiff” against sin.<sup>571</sup>

In the eighth homily Zinzendorf utters the petition “Broken Eyes. Appear even in ours!” (*Gebrochene Augen! Seht uns zum Augen heraus*). The broken eyes are the eyes of the dead Christ, appearing in the eyes of the believer that he, like Christ, has died to sin.<sup>572</sup> It is interesting to observe that since Christian Renatus was considered to have reached this state of union with Christ, one of his portraits depicts him deathly pale and holding a slip of paper with the exact same words—*Gebrochene Augen, seht uns zum Augen heraus*—the very words from the Litany of the Wounds. Furthermore, Peucker claims that by 1749, Christ's grave was no longer the resting place of the Saviour; it had become the place where man was to unite with Christ.<sup>573</sup> In the grave, a person had lost all temporal, earthly qualities and become pure. Furthermore, the image of the grave was combined with the image of the side hole. For instance, Zinzendorf applied Isaiah 51:1 to the side hole.<sup>574</sup>

At the end of the thirty-third homily, Zinzendorf connects the grave to the side wound, thus combining these key features, and concludes the homily with a petition for the final sanctification—and life after death. He pleads God to:

Laß mir ein Korn werden zum ewigen Leben, laß mirs eine schöne Wohnung werden,  
da ich mich wieder verfügen kan, die ich wieder einmal ausdehnen kan durch alle  
Gliedmassen und Gelenke, wenn der neue Mensch, der Mensch der Ewigkeit, der mit

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<sup>570</sup> Peucker (2015), 86.

<sup>571</sup> Peucker (2015), 87.

<sup>572</sup> Peucker (2015), 88.

<sup>573</sup> Peucker (2015), 88.

<sup>574</sup> “Listen to me, you who pursue righteousness and who seek the LORD: Look to the rock from which you were cut and to the quarry from which you were hewn” (NIV).



Leib und Seel in deine Arme kommen soll, der dem Schöpfer seiner Seel, dem Formirer seiner Härlein vom Vater zum Weibe *präsentirt* werden soll.<sup>575</sup>

The body<sup>576</sup> is created anew in a beautiful way and presented by the father to the bride. Thus, as noted several times earlier, the gender of the believer in eternity is now female and they are united with the holy bridegroom for eternity. The words of Monique Wittig's 1981 essay "One is Not Born a Woman" surely comes to mind when reading this last page of the most extensive thirty-third homily.<sup>577</sup> The difference is, of course, that she connects the body and materiality to this world whilst Zinzendorf's focus is the next. However, it does make sense when she uses Simone de Beauvoir as a reference. Beauvoir underlined particularly the false consciousness which consists of selecting among the features of the myth that women are different from men.<sup>578</sup> Wittig differentiates between "woman" and woman. "Woman" is a definition forced upon woman by society, and as such is a label of oppression. A reflection could be: What is "woman" and woman according to the bridal mysticism of the Brethren?

The new creation is for all eternity, an eternal body:

Wenn Abba *Consecrator* seyn, und das Geschöpf den Schöpfer freyen wird, das ietzt entfeelte, da liegende, und hernach verfaulende, jährende und doch zu einem ewigen Hause bestimmte Hüttlein wieder beleben wird.<sup>579</sup>

To underline these passages of new creation, Zinzendorf cites the promise of one of the funeral songs of the Brethren:

Auf diese seine Verheissung und *Autorität* versprechen wir in dem bekannten Begräbniß-Liede, daß wir einmal die Hütten, die ietzt in die Erde gelegt, und in ihren

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<sup>575</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 387.

<sup>576</sup> It is interesting to note that even though Zinzendorf tends to use the term "Hütte" for the body, the term applied in this paragraph is "Wohnung".

<sup>577</sup> The essay was reproduced in Wittig's 1992 book, *The Straight Mind. And Other Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press), 9–20.

<sup>578</sup> Wittig (1992), 13.

<sup>579</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 387.

Tiegeln versiegelt werden, unsern heiligen und keuschen Jesus-Gliedern wieder einfleischen wollen.<sup>580</sup>

Then he concludes the thirty-third homily, and as such the whole collection of homilies, by stating that this is their charter, and with that, the believer goes into the wounds of Jesus:

Das lassen wir ihnen zur Urkunde, und fahren damit in Jesu Wunde.<sup>581</sup>

The fact that this homily was given as an address is the reason for the homily being followed by the congregation singing two verses of one of the hymns of the Brethren. It is quite rare for the homilies to have the actual text of the hymn inserted, but in this example, it is what Zinzendorf does. This concluding hymn touches upon several core motifs: the suffering Christ, the wounds, the congregation, and the holy bridegroom.

*Bis dahin gläube ich der Augen Todten Strich,  
Des Wundes Speichel-Trauffe,  
Des Leichnams Feuer Tauffe,  
des Hauptes Dornen-Schricken,  
Die Fürchen auf dem Rücken*

*Bis wir zu seiner Stund den Leib für uns verwundt,  
Da wir so fest auf bauen,  
In unserm Fleische schauen,  
Und so wie uns jetzt<sup>582</sup>  
Grüssen die Maal an Händ` und Füßen.<sup>583</sup>*

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<sup>580</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 387–88.

<sup>581</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 388

<sup>582</sup> It is interesting to note that Zinzendorf adds a parenthesis after this sentence that, at this point, the members of the congregation exchange the kiss of love and peace: “dabey gab sich die Gemeine den Kuß der Liebe und des Friedens.”

<sup>583</sup> *Die drey und dreyßigste Homilie*, 388.

This is followed by an ornamented “Gloria Pleuræ!” as the last two words of the homilies.

## **6.0 Conclusions**

### **Zinzendorf’s use of the Bible**

When Zinzendorf conveys the message of Scripture, he uses the term “Wunden-*Hermenevtic*.” When the blood from the wounds is shed over the words—when they are read in the light of the wounds—then quite a different Bible is being read, a different New Testament, and a person who has never been taught a word in Greek or Hebrew can observe the true meaning.

Textual references to the Bible, including the Passion (mostly according to John) are prominent within the homilies and are crucial for the homilies in constructing a “text within the text and to underscore the main themes of the homilies

Zinzendorf uses a text from the gospel of Luke, 13, 20-21 and explains how the homilies are communicated through the “leaven nature” (Sauerteignatur) and “leaven power” (Sauerteigskraft). These terms are used throughout the homilies. This text is used both to describe the nature of the believer and the nature of the congregation. By doing this Zinzendorf emphasises the relationship between the believer and the congregation, but he also creates a recurring motif which ties the homilies together.

The gospel of John is the biblical book with the highest number of citations, and a key text is John 19:25–27, as Christ says to Mary “Here is your son,” and to the disciple (John) “Here is your mother.” According to Zinzendorf, this was when the church was first created. It was the point of departure for Christianity. The text connects love, passion, and the formation of the church. Thus, these two texts are connected and are important for the argumentation in several of the homilies.

The Song of Songs is also of great importance (see the paragraph below concerning Bridal Mysticism). Second Kings 4:29–35, where the prophet Elisha brings a boy back to life by laying himself upon him, is also significant. It is mentioned in the petition of the twenty-seventh homily (Do like Elisha, we want to be the child!)<sup>584</sup>, and in the seventeenth homily.<sup>585</sup> The story of Elisha was used in ceremonies to describe the intimate physical embrace between Christ and the believer. Thus, it connects the homily to the liturgical use of the text in the community of Herrnhag.<sup>586</sup>

I have noted how Zinzendorf applies biblical texts for his explanation of the liturgy, even though he usually doesn't usually explain them They are to be understood with the heart.<sup>587</sup> However, he must have considered the Litany of the Wounds to be significant enough for such an elaboration. Zinzendorf applies pericopes that would be well known amongst the Brethren. By doing so he both provides an explanation of the litany and emphasises its importance.

### **Imitating Christ**

Jesus as an example is a key feature of the thirty-four homilies. The word *imitatio* is never used in the homilies, but it comes close to the intent of Zinzendorf.

I have considered imitating Christ to be the key feature of homilies 9–20.

There is a distinction between two different types of imitating Christ: Part IVa is “imitating the life of Christ,” as exemplary for the believer, whilst IVb, “imitating the Passion of Christ.”, connects the believer to the suffering of the Saviour.

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<sup>584</sup> *Die Sieben und Zwanzigste Homilie*, 279.

<sup>585</sup> *Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 167.

<sup>586</sup> Peucker (2015), 81

<sup>587</sup> *Die Erste Homilie*, 1.

However, imitation is certainly also a focus in several of the homilies preceding the ninth homily. In the fourth homily, Holy Communion is a point of departure for imitating Christ. Zinzendorf operates with a distinction between "Gemein-Gnaden" (mercy of the congregation) and "Gemein-Handlungen" (actions of the congregation). The latter stems from what he calls the "sacramental embrace."<sup>588</sup>

#### **IVa, homilies 9-15:**

To Imitate the life of Christ is what Zinzendorf characterises as the simplicity of Christ.<sup>589</sup> To acquire the simplicity of Christ is to reach a blessed state. Imitatio is also to be faithful to one's vocation, and faithfulness will make the heart and mind stick to Christ.<sup>590</sup> Being like Christ is the reward, and in the ninth homily, imitation is even to become like the dead body of Christ. True dedication is to go into the corpse of Christ with body and soul.<sup>591</sup> Imitation is to acquire the ideal qualities of Christ. For the believer, this is received with the heart. If the believer is without heart, he remains ignorant.

#### **IVb, homilies 16-20**

Secondly, to imitate the passion of Christ shows how being a faithful man of religion is to bring the heart as close as possible to the Saviour. In the seventeenth homily it is described how the believers are even taught the language of power from what Zinzendorf calls Christ's "independent Godliness".<sup>592</sup> In this context the suffering of the believer is also a condition for imitatio.

In the nineteenth homily it is outlined how the husband (Christ) lives in the believer; how Christ speaks and acts through him.<sup>593</sup> Furthermore, it is outlined how Christ walks with the

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<sup>588</sup>*Die Vierte Homilie*, 49.

<sup>589</sup>*Die Dreyzehnde Homilie*, 130.

<sup>590</sup>*Die Elfte Homilie*, 114-115.

<sup>591</sup>*Die Neunte Homilie*, 100.

<sup>592</sup>*Die Siebenzehnde Homilie*, 165.

<sup>593</sup>*Die Neunzehnde Homilie*, 192.

believer, sees through the believer's eyes, listens with the believer's ears, reflect and invigorates the hands of the believer. All the senses of the believer become instruments for Christ. The symbol used for describing this is the testament (the legal term), and the Trinity as executors of his last will. According to Zinzendorf, the real testament is the similarity that is facilitated between the believer and Christ—soul and heart. The believers are even made like his dead body, all his suffering with body and soul. The blood of Christ instigates the imitation and is a necessary condition for imitating Christ. The blood must be sprinkled upon the conscience, hands, feet, all limbs, and all dealings of the believer. This is all founded in the baptism of blood—the atonement.

### **Bridal Mysticism**

The twenty-eighth homily is significant, and the prime example of Zinzendorf's bridal mysticism in the homilies.<sup>594</sup> According to medieval tradition, the classical text of bridal mysticism is the Song of Songs. It is used to describe the mystical marriage with Christ, the holy bridegroom. Furthermore, the wedding ring metaphor is central. The ring becomes the symbol of both marriage and suffering. Zinzendorf describes how the names of the believers are engraved in the pierced hands of Christ. He has two rings, each made by the nails that were driven through his hands. The wedding is connected with the suffering, and the eroticism is underscored by the believer's plea to be kissed by the pale lips of Christ. The crucifixion represents both suffering and a wedding ceremony. Bearing the gender-changing ceremony in mind, one would expect the side wound to be an object of adoration in the homily, but it holds no such position. The objects are the pierced hands of Christ as a wedding ring.

This is in accordance with the important position marital theology held during the late 1740s.<sup>595</sup> The emphasis in Zinzendorf's bridal mysticism was not simply the community of believers, but also the individual Christian.<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>594</sup>See part 5.7, 158-161 and 5.8 179-180.

<sup>595</sup>See 4.4.4

<sup>596</sup>See 4.4.4

## **Gender**

How is the gender of Christ presented in the homilies? In this context the bridal mysticism is the key observation. Jesus remains male, the only true man according to the bridal mysticism as presented in the homilies. The Saviour thus maintains his masculinity as the holy bridegroom. Femininity is reserved for the Holy Spirit<sup>597</sup> and all believers. Thus, the gender-changing ceremony of Herrnhaag corresponds with the bridal mysticism as expressed in the homilies since the gender of all believers is female.

However, there are no connections to be found regarding the alleged feminine qualities of Christ. As I have referred to,<sup>598</sup> it becomes debatable whether these even existed. Christ does not become female. All the single brothers do during the ceremony. In this regard, the homilies may be viewed as instrumental with their strong emphasis upon the femininity of the believer. The conclusion is that the gender of the believer remains female in accordance with bridal mysticism. I have found no evidence in the text of gender flux. Even though all believers are female, this remains constant.

## **The Impact of the homilies during die Sichtungszeit**

When and where Zinzendorf gave the homilies was emphasised at the outset of this dissertation. Though the homilies were given in the summer months of 1747 at Herrnhaag, no direct link can be observed between the homilies and the occurrences the year after. Homilies given upon the Litany of the Wounds would not necessarily be considered controversial amongst the Brethren. However, the occurrences the year after definitely were. After reading the homilies, important features of the Sichtungszeit are certainly present like gender and bridal mysticism. However, the text is not as radical as the praxis of the gender-changing

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<sup>597</sup> The gender of the Trinity is also significant within the spirituality of Zinzendorf. Even though God (the Father) and Christ the son are male, the Holy Spirit is identified as female, the mother in the seventh homily is, for example, the Spirit called the true mother (*wahre Mutter*).

<sup>598</sup> See 4.4.

ceremony at Herrnhaag on 6 December 1748, at which Christian Renuus declared all the single brothers to be sisters.

The text presents central features of the spirituality of the period and was published. This indicates the importance of the text. The occurrences were put to an end, but the thirty-four homilies remained a central body of published texts from the period.

### **The Thirty-four Homilies- a work of importance**

What intrigued me at the outset of this dissertation were the controversies connected to this infamous “Sifting Time.” In Zinzendorf research, works from this period were dismissed, and classified as what Herrmann Plitt called “Die Zeit krankhafter Verbildungen.”<sup>599</sup>

However, it is important to consider the difference between text and festivities. To dismiss the festivities as folly does not imply the dismissal of the texts of the period. To regard the years 1743–1750 as “sickly” (Plitt)<sup>600</sup> has unfortunately meant rejecting the texts as well. Thus, historiography and early research have ignored one of the most important works by the Count.

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<sup>599</sup> See 2.2.1.

<sup>600</sup> Plitt (1871), 3.



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